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46TH CONGRESS, 2d Session. } SENATE. { REPORT 693, Part 3.

REPORT AND TESTIMONY

OF THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

OF THE

UNITED STATES SENATE

TO INVESTIGATE THE CAUSES OF

THE REMOVAL OF THE NEGROES FROM THE SOUTHERN STATES TO THE NORTHERN STATES.

IN THREE PARTS.

PART III.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1880.

PART III.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

TO INVESTIGATE THE CAUSES OF THE

REMOVAL OF THE NEGROES FROM THE SOUTHERN STATES TO THE NORTHERN STATES.

Sessions held at Washington, beginning Monday, April 5, 1880.

PART THIRD.

THIRTY-SEVENTH DAY.

TESTIMONY OF B. J. WATERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 5, 1880.

Committee met this day, at 10 o'clock a. m. Present, Senator Voorhees, chairman; and Senators Vance, Windom, and Blair.

B. J. **WATERS** was sworn and examined.

By Mr. **WINDOM**:

Question. State your name and residence.—Answer. My name is B. J. Waters; my residence is Fort Scott, Kans.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am an attorney by profession.

Q. Have you taken any notice of the arrival of colored people from the Southern States into your part of the country?—A. I have to some extent.

Q. How many have arrived within, say, the past year?—A. I think fully three hundred.

Q. Have you talked with any of them as to the cause of their leaving the South?—A. I have talked with a great many of them—with the most of them, I think.

Q. What reason do they give for coming, as a general thing?—A. The reasons generally given by them to me are, that they are defrauded out of their rights, denied school facilities, and interfered with in their politics.

Q. Interfered with how? What did they say in regard to that?—A. I have talked with men from Grimes County, Texas; from Washington County, Texas; and from Tennessee; and with a very few from Mississippi. They complained that their meetings were broken up, and their school teachers whipped; at least, in Grimes County, Texas, a white man, who went down there to teach school, was taken and whipped, and compelled to leave the country. These things made it utterly impossible to live there with any satisfaction.

Q. Why was that man whipped and compelled to leave the country?—A. Only that he was teaching school.

By Mr. **BLAIR**:

Q. Go on and state fully any further that they said to you as to their reasons for leaving, and give any instances of ill treatment mentioned by them that occur to your recollection.—A. The only case of teacher-whipping that I was told of, was this one that was reported as having occurred in Grimes County, Texas. I had been in Texas considerably myself, and regarded it as being a pretty good country, and was anxious to understand why anybody having a home there should want to leave it, so I used to make inquiry of these colored men from Texas in relation to the subject. They gave as a reason that they could not get a fair compensation for their labor, and were cheated out of what they earned. Some were denied their political rights, meetings were broken up, several spoke of religious meetings being interfered with, on account of what had been said in them partaking somewhat of a political nature. These complaints were principally confined to the colored people from Grimes County, Texas. Those from Tennessee gave as their universal reason for wanting to get away, that they were not given the protection that they thought they were entitled to; that they were not afforded the school facilities that their children needed, and that they came to Kansas for the purpose of bettering their condition.

Q. What protection did they think they were entitled to that was not given them—protection in the exercise of their political rights?—A. Yes, sir; in the exercise of their political rights.

Q. The most of those whom you observed down there, at Fort Scott, came from Texas or Tennessee?—A. Yes, sir; from Texas or Tennessee.

Q. How many did you say there were in all?—A. Between three and four hundred.

Q. Were they mostly men, or were they men, women, and children, in the usual population?—A. They were about in the same proportion as the other settlers that come through to Kansas—perhaps a few more women and children than the average of white settlers that come from Eastern States to Kansas.

Q. What seems to be their pecuniary condition?—A. As a general thing they have gone into the country. There was a considerable colored population in that part of Kansas before the coming of these last emigrants; the number in that neighborhood must have been twelve or thirteen hundred prior to this exodus movement; some owned farms near there; but a large element remained in town, engaged in various kinds of employment. Those that came in during this exodus movement have mostly gone into the country. Some of them have purchased farms. Two of them, men from Texas, are running a grocery store there in Fort Scott.

Q. Do they seem to have become generally absorbed into the population of the State, the same as is the case with white immigration?—A. Yes, sir; they come suddenly, in squads; they are about town a few days, and then appear to disappear. The strike out into the country, and that is the last we see of them.

Q. Then they seem to come there and to become absorbed among the population of the State, about like white settlers?—A. Yes, sir. Three weeks ago last Saturday, thirty-eight colored men arrived there from Middle Tennessee. There had been a member of the delegation out there before that, and purchased a couple of farms for them. They got in there at eleven o'clock in the forenoon; and before night, with the exception of perhaps half a dozen, they had all gone out onto those two farms.

Q. What is your position or occupation at Fort Scott?—A. I am a lawyer there.

Q. Do you observe in your intercourse with the people of that part of Kansas any feeling of hostility or aversion to this emigration on account of race?—A. I do not think there has been any, so far as I have been able to hear. I have not been through the city or country much.

Q. Do you know of any fact calculated to show that this exodus is stimulated by Republicans for political advantage?—A. No, sir. There is no necessity for that in Kansas, if it should be desired; every county in the State, with possibly the exception of one or two, is a Republican county.

Q. If any other fact occurs to you bearing upon the subject of this investigation, you can state it.—A. I do not think of anything.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You say it was in Grimes County, Texas, that this school-teacher was whipped and driven out?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When, according to their statement, did it take place?—A. I made a memorandum of that and some other cases, if I can find it.

Q. Did it occur within the last year or so?—A. Yes, sir; within the last year.

Q. I will not detain you to have you give the particulars. Was there any complaint that they were denied their political privileges in Grimes County, Texas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they complain that they were not allowed to vote?—A. They complained that they were not allowed to vote as they desired to vote.

Q. How many do you think came to Fort Scott from Texas, as nearly as you could ascertain?—A. From Texas? Really I could not tell you how many. One man from Texas, I was trying to get his name, told me that he was acting as agent in this exodus movement, and that he had been the means of taking into Kansas upward of five hundred men from Texas; some of them stopped at Parsons, and some pushed on into other parts of the State.

Q. From what part of Tennessee did those Tennesseeans come from?—A. One of them, I know, was from Murray County; his name was Thomas Dodson.

Q. What was his grievance?—A. They generally complained that their political privileges and rights were interfered with; they could not vote.

Q. Do you mean to say that colored men cannot vote in Murray County, Tennessee?—A. They complained that they could not vote with the satisfaction and freedom they would like to have.

Q. Did Thomas Dodson tell you that he wanted to vote the Republican ticket in Murray County, Tennessee, and was not allowed to do so?—A. No, sir, I did not say that; but they complained of the general disposition of oppression against them.

Q. From what other points in Tennessee did any of those Tennesseeans come?—A. Quite a number were from Murray County; and as for the rest, I could not say what counties they were from; all they said was that they were from Middle Tennessee.

Q. What condition did these people seem to be in; were they pretty well dressed, or were they destitute and ragged?—A. Well, their appearance was about the same as that of those you will find down there in the Southern States.

Q. Had they any money?—A. Some of them had some money; those thirty-eight that came from Tennessee purchased farms; whether by a combination of capital or not I do not know; they purchased two farms.

Q. How much land?—A. One place contained one hundred and sixty acres; the other I do not know how many, but I think about the same.

Q. Did they come there with that money, so far as you know?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You did not know of any charity being extended to them?—A. No, sir; they never asked for charity so far as our city or county was concerned.

Q. Still they complained that they could not enjoy their rights where they came from?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And said that they had been cheated out of their wages?—A. I do not think that they put it in just that way, but there was a general complaint that they had not been properly treated as to wages.

Q. Did you take some pains to inform yourself, by talking with those people, as to their reasons for leaving the Southern States?—A. Yes, sir, I did, as they came in; some of them would come into my office and ask me about the price of land—though I was not in the land business.

Q. Can you give us an idea as to how many immigrants have gone into Kansas up to this time?—A. I cannot tell you.

Q. Ten thousand?—A. I could not tell you.

Q. You think there is no opposition on the part of the people of Kansas to these colored people coming there in any numbers?—A. I do not know of any.

Q. Are they rather invited there?—A. I think not, sir; any more than that we have an emigration society there, inviting people from all parts of the United States and from Europe to come there.

Q. There is no more opposition to colored people coming there than anybody else?—A. Well, some people do talk and say that there are about as many of them there as there is work for, and that they do not want any more.

Q. O, then, some people *do* talk?—A. Yes, sir. I understood you to ask with reference to people generally. Taking them collectively, I say the people do not object; but individually, *some* people do.

Q. If many individuals talk in that way, that would make it rather a collective affair, wouldn't it?—A. The fact of the matter is, so far as I have observed, that it has created no particular sensation since the beginning; at the beginning, when it was a new thing, when they came in such numbers to Wyandotte, Leavenworth, Atchison, &c., there was considerable excitement; but since then it has become a matter of course; and these companies of colored men come, and drift out into the country, and nothing in particular is said or thought about it.

Q. You think that Kansas is a good country for them to come to?—A. Kansas is a good country for *anybody* to come to. But I will say this with reference to their coming there: I have asked them generally this question—whether, if they could have and exercise the rights they ought to have, they would prefer to live in Texas, Mississippi, Tennessee, &c., to living in Kansas; and they have uniformly said that they would; that they were better acquainted with the mode of working, liked the climate better, and from early associations preferred to live there.

Q. How many that came to Kansas have you known to return to the South?—A. I have known of some.

Q. About how many?—A. Very few.

Q. Where did they return to?—A. To Mississippi. They were among the earlier ones that came.

Q. You have not looked out for those that returned so much as for those that came?—A. I have not looked out for either especially.

TESTIMONY OF J. W. WHEELER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 5, 1880.

J. W. WHEELER (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. In Saint Louis, Mo.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Since the 17th of July, 1867.

Q. Where did you reside prior to that time, and how long?—A. I resided in Indianapolis, Ind., for three years.

Q. And prior to that where?—A. I was in the Army for three years, as a servant.

Q. Where were you born?—A. In Lexington, Ky.

Q. Were you ever a slave?—A. No, sir.

Q. State whether you have any knowledge regarding this exodus movement; and, if so, what knowledge, and whence it is derived; if you have been connected with it in any way, state fully your connection with it, and all you know about it.—A. In February of last year, a number of refugees came to Saint Louis—the first that came there. I did not see them land. Their arrival caused a great deal of agitation in Saint Louis. Mr. Tandy, one of our committee—one of the philanthropic board—went and got a hundred dollars and shipped them to Kansas.

Q. How many were there of them?—A. Fifty or seventy-five.

Q. What were they; men alone, or men, women, and children?—A. They were mostly women and children.

Q. How many of the men were heads of families?—A. I could not say how many.

Q. Twelve or fifteen?—A. I should say twenty or twenty-five.

Q. What seemed to be their condition pecuniarily?—A. Well, their condition in regard to clothing was very bad; some of them were almost naked. Some of them wore two or three coats that were so ragged as to constitute the equivalent of only one piece. Some of them looked as if they had been starving for three months.

Q. Where were they from?—A. From Madison Parish, La.

Q. You spoke of your committee; was there a committee existing before their arrival?—A. No, sir.

Q. How did you come to know that they were there?—A. Through the papers, and through Mr. Tandy's applying to the philanthrophic board. They came there like as if it were on Wednesday, and by Saturday they were shipped off to Kansas.

Q. When did you first know of their being there?—A. The next day after they came there.

Q. How came you to have knowledge of this; are you a member of any philanthropic board?—A. The board was not organized at that time.

Q. What is your employment?—A. I am a contractor.

Q. What for?—A. In tobacco—inspecting tobacco.

Q. To what extent?—A. I employ from ten to thirty men a day.

Q. Did you go where they were on their arrival?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, now, to confine our attention to the first batch, what did they say to you as to where they came from, why they came, their purpose, &c.?—A. As to the first batch, we did not have much talk with them; being the first that came they created quite a sensation.

Q. Did you have any talk with them as to where they came from, and what made them leave?—A. I did, to some extent.

Q. What did they say was the reason that made them leave?—A. They said the reason they left was because they could not possibly make a living. And another reason generally alleged was insecurity of life. Not one of them ever spoke of politics. Sometimes some of the women said that their husbands would not be in the houses, when election came on, three or four nights in three or four months at a time.

Q. Why not?—A. They were compelled to stay out of doors on account of the bulldozers. Any man that dare ask for his rights would be put out of the way. The manner in which they told me this convinced me that it must be true.

Q. Did they speak from their own knowledge?—A. Yes, sir; entirely.

Q. You talked with the parties who had experienced these outrages?—A. Yes, sir; and with women who had protected their husbands, telling them when to go out; when it was not safe to stay in their houses.

Q. You say you did not have a great deal of talk with the first lot?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did they have any property?—A. None at all; take the fifty or seventy-five, and you could put all that they had in a two-horse wagon.

Q. Did they say how they were enabled to get there?—A. We did not ask them that.

Q. They came by boat?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They paid their way to Saint Louis?—A. I suppose so.

Q. Did they state how they got the means to pay their fare to that place?—A. Some of them said they had a cow, or a horse, which they sold for $4 or $5 apiece, and so got money to get that far.

Q. And on reaching there were absolutely penniless?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State now what you did for them.—A. As I said, Mr. Tandy went to the philanthropic board, and secured a hundred dollars; also the board gave them rations, on the levee there, and paid the money to the railroad company, and sent them to Topeka, Kans.

Q. Did they want to go to Topeka?—A. They wanted to go to Kansas.

Q. Did they state why they wanted to go to Kansas; what were the attractions to Kansas?—A. They did not say.

Q. In some way they had received the impression that Kansas was a good place to go to?—A. It seemed so.

Q. Did they say Topeka?—A. No, sir; they said "Kansas"; and we thought Topeka was a good place to land them.

Q. Had you friends or acquaintances in Kansas to whom you referred them?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you open communication with parties there?—A. Not until the board was established.

Q. What is this philanthropic board?—A. I do not know the history of it.

Q. How long has it been in existence there?—A. Six or eight years.

Q. Was it established for the benefit of the colored people?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. It was not organized, then, with reference to this exodus?—A. No, sir; I understand it was organized to help white emigrants.

Q. The board had previously helped white emigrants?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, you have got the first lot to Topeka; if you have nothing more to tell in regard to them, you may tell us about the second lot.—A. About two weeks after that, one Sunday morning, about seven o'clock, the news went all over the city that some more had arrived. I went down, and found about five hundred colored people on the levee. It was very cold—about the coldest day we had that winter. We did not know what to do with them. I was trustee of my church; I went to the elder and asked him to open the church, and let them go in. The members of the Baptist Church went to their elder; and the conclusion of the whole matter was that the Lower Baptist Church, the Eighth Street Church, and the Saint Paul Chapel Church opened their doors, and they were kept open for two or three weeks, while the churches were occupid by between three and four hundred colored people. After they had been there about a week, a meeting was called, through the instrumentality of some of the leading men there, and a relief board was formed. I was one of the first members. They made me treasurer of the board. We made an appeal to the generosity of the public. The appeal was successful; money came in freely, and we paid off the debt which we had contracted, $1,100, for the transportation of that first lot.

Q. Did you converse with any of them while they were there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, tell us where they came from, and what reason they gave for coming?—A. Many of them came from Louisiana; some of them from Madison Parish; some of them came from Mississippi; some from what is known as Hard Times Landing, and other points all along shore; they got on the boat at almost every landing, as the boat came up.

Q. Did they give any reason for leaving their former homes and coming to Kansas?—A. They did; they gave as a reason that they were misused down there; that their rights were trampled upon; that there was continual insecurity of life; most of them placed their cause of leaving on the ground of insecurity of life. They said that they were not safe down there. I talked with, I suppose, about two hundred, and of them all not more than ten gave any political reason for leaving. Almost all gave as a reason that their lives were insecure down there. They said they had stood it so long, and could not stand it any longer; that from year to year their condition had grown worse and worse; that they were kept in debt, and could not get out of debt on account of the exorbitant prices which they had to pay for the necessities of life. I asked them why they came up there. I told them that they could not not stand this weather. It was, to many of them, the coldest weather they had ever seen. I told them they could not live through such weather as that, clothed as they were; they would have to go back south. They said they had only one death to die, and they might as well die in the North as in the South.

Q. They spoke, you say, of insecurity of life as the principal cause of their leaving?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they state what insecurity of life—what danger they were subjected to or apprehended?—A. They complained of men going around through the country whipping, shooting, and bulldozing them.

Q. What for?—A. Some gave as a reason that the men who were whipped and bulldozed were leading men among the colored people, and advised them what to do; some were mere boys that could read papers, and that told the other colored people what was in the papers; such boys the bulldozers wanted out of the way.

Q. The class who were subjected to danger were the leading men and the intelligent boys; they were in special danger?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. From what source—from what class of men—were they in danger? Who threatened them?—A. They termed them "bulldozers."

Q. Who were the bulldozers? Were they colored people?—A. No, sir; white men.

Q. What did they bulldoze them for?—A. That I cannot tell.

Q. Was it on account of their religious principles, did you understand?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was it because they worked hard all the time, and gave away the results of their toil?—A. No, sir.

Q. What was the cause then?—A. It seemed that the cause principally alleged was their desire to act as men.

Q. In what respect?—A. In any respect; to protect themselves against the wrongs perpetrated against them and their families.

Q. What wrongs?—A. They said that they would would work all the year, and when they went to make a settlement they were always in debt; and if they dare ask any questions about certain things they were misused and threatened.

Q. You say if they dare ask questions about certain things; what things did they ask questions about?—A. About how it came that they were in debt. They could not understand how it came that, from year to year, after working hard the whole year, they should be in debt; and if they asked questions what they were in debt for, they were threatened with being driven off the place; or if you did not do what they desired about everything, they would say that you need not go back on that place any more.

Q. The threats, then, were from their employers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were they ever threatened or ill treated by other men, not their employers?—A. Yes, sir; other men, who were not their employers, went through the country and threatened them.

Q. Was the insecurity of life of which they complained on account of politics?—A. They never spoke of insecurity of life on account of politics; they just said "insecurity of life," and that nothing could be made down there.

Q. Did you talk with any of the women in regard to their ideas?—A. Yes, sir; I talked with a good many of them there in our church; I was at the church daily, because I was a trustee of the church, and I talked with the people that were there, all the time.

Q. What did the women use to say about these things?—A. Their complaints were just the same; they said they would rather die than go back south; they had been mistreated, and their husbands murdered or threatened.

Q. What was done to their husbands?—A. I can only say that they were run out of their houses—not allowed to stay in their houses.

Q. Why were they afraid to stay in the house?—A. They were afraid their lives would be taken.

Q. Did they give any instances of men being killed—of their husbands being threatened?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they give any particular instances that you can remember? If so, go on and state them.—A. I made a memorandum [taking several slips of paper from his pocket] of men that were killed or bull-dozed, one way or another.

Q. Where did you get the facts contained in that memorandum?—A. I got them from the persons I talked with there—from those emigrants.

Q. And you wrote down what they said to you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, go on, and state what you were told.—A. One of the men I talked with was a man named Frederick Marshall; he lived in Natchez, Miss.; he says that he saw a man killed, and also a boy. The boy was killed simply because he could read and write. That is all that was alleged against him. One man, a relation to one Walter Proof, was killed for political reasons—but for what political reason was not stated. Clarence Winn, of Madison Parish, Louisiana, he said that he paid four and five dollars for ginning cotton; he rented thirty acres of ground; at the end of the year he was in debt; when he went to get away, the man that he had been working for asked if he was going away; he said yes; the other asked him why he was going; he said that he had been working there seven or eight years, renting twenty-five or thirty acres of ground, and paying four or five dollars for ginning, and getting on an average forty or fifty dollars a bale for cotton; and that he was not making anything. Then the man he was working for told him that if he had made up his determination to go, he need not go back onto his place. And he took him at his word and left. He said that they raised corn down there; they sold it for forty cents a bushel; but when they wanted to buy they had to pay seventy-five cents to a dollar a bushel for it. George Page, of Madison Parish, Louisiana, he stated that he left home because of the exorbitant prices charged for the necessaries of life down there. He said he had to pay twenty-five to thirty dollars a barrel for pork. He said he had worked there hard and steady for a number of years, but the best he could do he kept getting poorer and poorer. He was a man with a family. He left, he said, to better his condition. He told me that he saw masked men, in Franklin Parish, riding around through the country in disguise, whipping men.

Q. White men or colored men?—A. White men riding around whipping colored men. One man, named Curtis Pollard, was an ex-senator of the Louisiana legislature. We kept him there about two weeks. He spoke there nearly every day. He said he left Louisiana because his life was threatened for telling the colored people that they had better leave Louisiana and go to Kansas, or somewhere where their rights would be respected. That made the white people mad at him, and they threatened to kill him. Lewis Woods, of Madison Parish, Louisiana, said he paid $10 an acre rent for land, and could not, under any circumstances, make a living. When he went to make a settlement at the end of every year, he found himself every year, five, or ten, or thirty, or fifty dollars deeper in debt than he was the year before.

Q. How much was that land worth, to purchase it?—A. He did not say. He said he had seen colored men whipped in his parish by disguised white men.

Rev. J. K. Daniels. He was a minister that staid in the church there a considerable time. After awhile we sent him along. He was a blacksmith. Now he is doing well.

Q. He was a preacher, you say, as well as a blacksmith?—A. Yes, sir; he preached at our church once. He also spoke at the mass-meetings we had there. He told the story how they got along down there.

Q. Do you know where he was from?—A. He was from Warren County, Mississippi.

Q. Did he tell why he left the South?—A. He said he left the South because he could not make a living there, and because he could not vote as he wanted to. He said (here witness read from his memorandum): "A man was killed, named Washington Davenport. I saw him killed. I would not return South for anything."

Q. What did he say this man Davenport was killed for?—A. He did not give the reason. He said he was killed by these men riding around the country.

Q. These masked white men?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. **Windom**:

Q. Did he say *when* these disguised white men were riding around through the country?—A. He said generally it was just before election. They were all the time intimidated by the men that they rented from; but there was no band of men riding through the country, making threats and killing colored people, until just before the time of election.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. Go on with the statement you were making from that memorandum.—A. John Macey, of Hinds County, Mississippi, and Daniel Fox, of Delta, La., gave the same story; that they left the South on account of these disguised men riding through the country killing and threatening people, and because they could not make a living down there.

Q. Go on.—A. That is all, I believe, that I had any intimate talk with. Of course I talked with a good many others, but I did not take down what they said. Of course I never thought that anything like this committee was coming up, or I might have got more. They talked all pretty much the same way.

Q. What became of this company of five hundred persons?—A. They staid there in the churches until we established our board. We organized it the next day about eleven o'clock. John Turner was made president. We got a good subscription. We got credit on the boat there to the amount of $1,100 before we paid a cent. We shipped these people to Leavenworth, Kans., and from there they were distributed through the country.

Q. Did they say anything with regard to their school privileges?—A. They said they had no schooling at all, except in some parishes four or five months schooling in the year; and in some places they had no schools at all. And the amount of intelligence that the children had demonstrated clearly that they could have had no schooling.

Q. Did you find among these children any that could read and write with facility?—A. None at all. They were very eager to learn their A, B, C's. Some of them knew that, and that was all they did know.

Q. What was the age of the children you are now speaking of?—A. Such children as usually attend school—from five to sixteen years old. They said their children had no school facilities; they felt very bad about that. We thought the only way we could find out whether they told the truth about it was to question the children; and so we did. Some we took into the Sunday school and put in the primary class, and they could not read at all.

Q. Of that company of five hundred how many were children?—A. Of that five hundred about one-third were men and two-thirds were women and children.

Q. Did I understand you to say that there were none of those children who could read or write?—A. Very few, and those who could were those who had parents that had some means in the South, and had sent them to private schools. None of them had been able to secure any education in the public schools—none whatever.

Q. Where did you say the most of them were from?—A. From various points in Louisiana, Mississippi, and all along the river. They came up on the steamer James Howard, which started from New Orleans, and it seemed as if somebody must have got on at almost every landing, they came from so many places.

Q. You found the children all ignorant, indicating that there were no school facilities at any of those localities?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you see bearing on the question of the disposition of the children to learn if they had a chance?—A. They were very eager to learn. We had about three hundred of those people in our church, and on Sunday we got them together and found them very eager to learn the alphabet. Not only the young children but the older people.

Q. It could not have been, then, that they had had school facilities where they came from, or with this disposition to learn they would have known something?—A. We judged not. Certainly they were very ignorant, and they showed a very great desire to learn.

Q. Did the parents exhibit an anxiety to have their children learn?—A. They did, very much.

Q. I understood you to say that they gave that as one reason of their leaving?—A. Yes, sir; that was one; they laid great stress on that—that and the insecurity of life.

Q. Do you remember whether any of them complained of any interference with their religious worship?—A. Not of the first batch. Later than that, in August, some of them complained of that, but we never had much talk with that batch that came in August, at least I did not, because I was going through the State then and was not in the city much. I went and received money and paid it out.

Q. You said you sent these five hundred to Leavenworth?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What became of them then?—A. We distributed them through the State wherever we could find employment for them.

Q. What kind of employment did you find for them?—A. Farming, mostly. We sent six or seven of the first boat loads to Leavenworth, Kans., until that was blocked, then we sent some to Topeka, Kans.

Q. What do you mean by "blocked"?—A. There were too many there; they could not distribute them out fast enough. Then we sent them to Topeka; we sent a goodly number there, and the mayor and the city council came down to Saint Louis and had a consultation with our board for the purpose of working in harmony with each other. Then we arranged that when we were going to send a boat-load we sent a dispatch on ahead to prepare for them. The mayor said he would do everything he could to alleviate their wants.

Q. Do you know whether, as a matter of fact, those early emigrants were pretty generally distributed, so as to get comfortable situations?—A. Well, yes, sir; till about the next August, when they complained of there being more there than they could find places for. Then we sent an agent, a member of our board, up there, to go out through the country and get them homes. He went up there and staid about three weeks, and succeeded in getting homes for them all.

Q. Go on and give us, in your own way, an account of the exodus from and after the disposition of this second lot of five hundred.—A. Well, I can only say that load after load of them came up there; almost every boat brought some. We had our committee of transportation to receive them. We rented a house there, No. 618 North Levee street, and kept the emigrants in there until we could succeed in getting places for them. We contracted a big debt there, and managed to keep the city clean [of emigrants], until I believe they almost ceased to come. Then the matter was placed in the hands, or rather left in the hands, of Mr. Yeatman; he took control of it. We got in debt so much that we could not well get out, and so we put the matter into the hands of Mr. Yeatman, and he fed them and paid the boats what was required for transportation. So things went on until the beginning of this year; then we took it up again, and have been moving on and doing the best we can.

Q. Is the business still going on?—A. Yes, sir; O, yes; it opened again about the first of December, then a goodly number came in, and the work has been going on ever since.

Q. Where are they sent to?—A. Last year we sent them directly to Kansas. About that time we had a goodly number of applications from other States, particularly from Indiana, Nebraska, Illinois, and Ohio.

We sent some to Illinois. At one time we had about a hundred on hand and no place to send them to, and J. Milton Turner made application for sixty farming hands, which we let him have to ship to Indiana; whether he shipped them there or not we do not know.

Q. At what time was that?—A. I think it was some time about last August—maybe July. We turned over sixty of them to him, and that took the bulk of them off from our hands. We had not more than three or four families then, till we started again.

Q. When did you start again?—A. I think about December; but there was not a time during all the year that we had not three or four families on our hands.

Q. Did any of them find employment in Saint Louis?—A. Yes, sir; a goodly number.

Q. What kind of employment?—A. Any kind that they could get; I have employed a goodly number myself; some are working on the levee.

Q. Did they seem to come with any wild and extravagant notions of the paradise they were to find in Kansas and other Northern States?—A. Some few of them had such notions of Kansas flowing with milk and honey, &c., but the majority of them had no such foolish notions as that.

Q. They came there expecting to work if they gained a living there?—A. Yes, sir; they say they can make a living; the only thing they want is a chance. Many of them hoot at the idea of being given anything. They have no expectation of receiving "forty acres of land and a mule," or anything of the sort.

Q. Please state, as near as you can, about how many, in your judgment, have come from the Southern States, and have been distributed through that Saint Louis asssociation or board to various points where they have been employed?—A. I can only speak of the board till I left there. A good many have undoubtedly been sent on since I left. Up to that time, I should say, about twenty-one or twenty-two thousand.

Q. Up to the time you came here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they were still coming there and being sent out?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did the migration seem to be increasing or lessening?—A. It was on the increase all the time.

Q. Would twenty-five thousand be a fair estimate of the number that has passed through there?—A. Through the hands of our board?

Q. Yes.—A. Perhaps not our board, but I should not wonder if that many had passed through Saint Louis. A good many went on the railroad directly through, and never stopped at all. Then a goodly number have gone to Kansas from Texas that never came to Saint Louis.

Q. Do you think, from your knowledge of the entire matter, that, up to this time, fifty thousand colored people have left the Southern States for the North?—A. From all that I can learn the immigrants to different parts of Kansas must have been between twenty-five and thirty thousand.

Q. To Kansas alone?—A. Yes, sir; to Kansas alone.

Q. In regard to the number that have gone to other parts of the North, I suppose the estimate would be necessarily inaccurate if you should try to make it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Of those people that have gone to Kansas, how many have you known to return to the Southern States?—A. Only one. He was a man that said he wanted us to give him money to go and get his wife and bring her to Kansas. He said she was at Holly Springs, Miss. I told him that I could not pay out money for any such purpose unless the chairman of the board said so. I went to see the chairman about it, and he said I could do so; at that I paid the money to the man, and he went to Holly Springs after his wife, he said. We have never heard of him since. He may have come back with her, but we do not know anything about it; I heard it said that there was a boat-load of about two hundred that came down and went back South, and that Mr. Miles Sells paid their way. How much truth there was in that I do not know.

Q. Who is Miles Sells?—A. A firm of cotton brokers there in Saint Louis.

Q. Do you know why they went back?—A. I do not know why they went back; I never saw them. It was reported that there was a boat at the levee with a couple of hundred colored people who were going back South, and I thought that if they had so little sense as to go back South I did not have any desire to see them.

Q. Those colored people that went back, were they from the vicinity of Saint Louis, or were they from the interior?—A. I understood that they came from Kansas. An agent had been sent up there, I disremember his name, to get them to go back South. I was told that he made them fine promises, and offered them a certain amount of things if they would go back, and I guess in that way he got those renegades up there to go back South.

Q. You mentioned that the Rev. J. Milton Turner applied to you for some laborers?—A. Yes, sir; he wanted some sixty laborers.

Q. Was he engaged in conducting the exodus? State what you know regarding his connection with the exodus from first to last?—A. When our board was formed I was placed on the financial committee; but in the summer time I had so much other work to do that I could not attend, so I asked to be excused. They excused me, and J. Milton Turner was put on in my place, and he became secretary of the financial committee. About that time the chairman of the financial committee gave out several books to members of the financial committee to solicit subscriptions for aid. After three or four days had elapsed the chairman called in the books, called for those who had the books to bring them in, and to bring in the money that had been subscribed and paid. All the members brought in their books except Turner. We do not know whether he received any money or not, but he did not send his book in. The matter ran along for two or three weeks. The question came up in the board about Turner's book. During that time Turner had established another association, which he called the Refugee Aid Association, or something of that kind, I think—I am not certain about the name; it was to help immigrants. Then a motion was made in our board that Turner be expelled from the board. The motion carried, and he was expelled from our board. After that he began to speak openly against the exodus. For what reason, I cannot tell.

Q. Up to that time he had been as much in favor of it as anybody?—A. Yes, sir. He made appeals in the colored churches, and white churches too, for money to aid the colored people.

Q. Had he expressed himself on the advisability of colored people leaving the South?—A. He had; he had said in public meetings that they were entirely right in leaving the South; he had indorsed the movement.

Q. It was not simply that he thought it a duty which they owed to the demands of charity to aid these people now that they were there, but that he thought they did right in leaving the South on account of the sufferings and outrages which they had endured?—A. He just thought that if they received such treatment as they said they had received they ought to leave; and he thought that they ought to be helped, not only to the necessaries of life, but helped to a better country.

Q. Is there any other matter to which you desire to call our attention?—A. No, sir.

Q. Your society is still in operation?—A. It is.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Did you say that you were a tobacco inspector at Saint Louis?—A. No, sir.

Q. What then?—A. A tobacco contractor.

Q. Then you do not hold any position under the government?—A. No, sir.

Q. When did you see Mayor Case, the mayor of Topeka, at the time you said that Topeka was blocked?—A. I cannot say the date.

Q. Did you see him yourself?—A. Yes, sir.

(Two or three remarks of this witness will be found interpolated in the testimony of the next witness.)

TESTIMONY OF M. H. CASE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 5, 1880.

M. H. CASE sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. At Topeka, Kans.

Q. What position do you occupy there?—A. I am mayor of that city.

Q. State whether you went to Saint Louis some time last summer or fall, to see about getting emigrants up into your country.—A. I have never been there on that business.

Q. Were you there on any such business?—A. I have not been in Saint Louis in eight years until last Saturday, when I came through there on my way to Washington.

Q. There is no truth, then, in the statement of the witness, Wheeler, who has just left the stand, that you——

Mr. WHEELER (interrupting). I wish to say, gentlemen, that I was mistaken; it was Governor St. John, of Kansas, who was down there.

The CHAIRMAN. How came you to make such a mistake?

Mr. WHEELER. I will say that I met the committee, and I was informed that the mayor of Topeka was to be there. It seems that the mayor did not come, but that Governor St. John did come.

The CHAIRMAN. And you made the mistake of confounding the governor of the State of Kansas with the mayor of the city of Topeka?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Governor St. John?

Mr. WHEELER. I would not know him.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mayor Case, of Topeka?

Mr. WHEELER. No, sir; I will say I was in that company only about three-quarters of an hour; and having heard it said that the mayor of Topeka was to be there, I have always supposed that the man that was there was the mayor of Topeka.

Q. Mr. Mayor, state whether you have had any experience on the subject of colored people coming into Kansas; and, if so, what?—A. I will say that at Topeka they have been looked after, mostly, by a committee that was organized, I think, about a year ago last February.

The first batch that came there came while I was away from home, so that I do not know so much about them.

Q. How many of them came into your county; what is the name of your county?—A. Shawnee.

Q. How many colored people have come into your county?—A. I should judge some eight or ten thousand.

Q. Into that county?—A. I should think so.

Q. Is that a large county?—A. No, sir; about the ordinary size of counties.

Q. Topeka is the State capital, is it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Governor St. John lives there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is your understanding that he has been active in getting these people into your State?—A. He certainly has been active in providing for them after they got there. What he has done in the way of getting them into the State I am not prepared to say.

Q. You say that when these colored people came to your city they were cared for by a committee?—A. I so understand it; I have generally turned them over to that committee.

Q. How frequently, and to what extent, have applications been made to you, as mayor of the city, for help?—A. Well, for the past six or eight months, very seldom; only when they wished to get aid to leave there and go into the country.

Q. Was that because they were a class of immigrants that did not need support, or because the committee cared for them?—A. Because of the committee being there, and having a large supply of goods.

Q. What is that association; is it a voluntary association?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many constitute that committee?—A. I never was a member of it, and have taken little pains to inform myself.

Q. Comparatively few?—A. Yes, sir; half a dozen or so, more or less.

Q. You say you think that some eight or ten thousand colored people have come into that county; what proportion of them have needed charity upon their arrival there?—A. I can only guess at that; I have no means of knowing; I should say perhaps seven-tenths.

Q. Then it has been a pretty expensive matter?—A. Not so very expensive for the city; they have been taken care of by donations.

Q. As a matter of fact they have been expensive to somebody?—A. Yes, sir; a large amount of money has been expended there.

Q. On what source has this committee relied for its means to help these seven-tenths of all this great number of immigrants; has it relied on the people of Topeka?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where has the money come from?—A. All over the country, and some even from Europe; and not only money, but crates of crockery, and boxes and bales and barrels of goods and clothing, &c., from all parts of the country.

Q. This committee takes charge of these things?—A. Yes, sir; and distributes them.

Q. What has become of this large body of colored people? Where are they now?—A. I can hardly tell you; they have been sent in every direction.

Q. Scattered all over the State?—A. Yes, sir; and perhaps out of the State.

Q. Mr. Wheeler tells us that he thinks from twenty-five to thirty thousand emigrants have passed through Saint Louis to Kansas; do you estimate the number to be as many as that?—A. I have no means of knowing, aside from my observation at Topeka; beyond that anything I could say would be simply guess-work—rumor.

Q. Is this immigration desired upon the part of the people of Kansas?—A. The people are divided upon that subject, apparently; by their talk the division would seem to be more political than otherwise.

Q. You mean by that that our Republican friends favor it, and the Democrats do not?—A. No; there is a large proportion of the Republicans who do not favor so much of it; they feel as if they are getting too much of a good thing.

Q. Getting a surfeit?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Being the mayor of Topeka, I take it that you are a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; I am.

Q. Is it your fear, or feeling, that you are getting almost too much of it?—A. I think there is more in that vicinity, in that part of the State, than is good for the colored people themselves.

Q. And the whites too?—A. And the whites too. There is a surfeit of them; they cannot get work; at least they complain to me that they cannot get work to do, after they get there.

Q. Are many of them staying around Topeka?—A. There are a good many there all the time; but they are going and coming mostly.

Q. Are there colored agents connected with the business—bringing these people in there?—A. I have understood so; I do not know so much about these matters as I would if this commission had not existed there, and done most of the work. They have put up some barracks there, outside of the city, and quarter them there.

Q. Would it not have been a hard time for these people this past winter, if it had been a hard winter, instead of a soft and mild one?—A. Undoubtedly there would have been a great deal of suffering, sir.

Q. Do they keep healthy? Is there much sickness among them?—A. There has been quite a good deal of sickness among them, and a good many deaths.

Q. Has there been more than the ordinary death-rate?—A. I should say there had, in my judgment.

Q. From what you have heard on the subject, where do the most of these people come from; from what States?—A. Those that I have talked with seem to have come mostly from Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee.

Q. Do they complain to you of bad treatment?—A. They do, sir.

Q. Do they state that they are not allowed to vote?—A. Yes, sir; that they are not allowed their political privileges; and various other complaints. Some of them complain that their lives are insecure. I have taken some pains, or did, for a while, take some pains, to inquire into that. I did not find but one, I believe, of those that I talked with that had any *personal* knowledge of shooting, whipping, and that sort of thing.

Q. The rest related what they had heard from some one else?—A. Yes, sir; I was quite particular to ascertain what they positively knew.

Q. So far as you inquired, you were able to find but one person who had any personal knowledge of these things?—A. Yes, sir; I made those inquiries in the earlier stages of the matter, when I was more curious about such things than I have been for the past few months.

Q. Were any of those immigrants from Texas?—A. There might have been some from that State; I think there were.

Q. Do you remember whether there were any from Grimes County, Texas?—A. I do not remember.

Q. Some of them were from Mississippi, you say?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. From what part of Mississippi?—A. From the vicinity of Vicksburg; I know I helped some from near that place to go back.

Q. How many from near that place did you help go back?—A. I do not remember exactly—I think six or eight.

Q. To what extent have they gone back, or seemed to desire to go back to their former homes?—A. Compared with the whole number, very few; perhaps a hundred or two in all have been seeking means to get back. I have helped some of them get tickets a part of the way home. Mr. Strong, general manager of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad, has helped me.

Q. Then there is a vein of dissatisfaction running through them about Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And some of them have actually gone back?—A. Yes, sir; we started a party of them off to Tennessee; I think Mr. Strong gave a party of them passes to Kansas City.

Q. What was the number of those that returned?—A. I saw but three or four; but I understood that they had families; I understood so from them. They applied to me for assistance to get back.

Q. You say that seven-tenths of them were objects of charity?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they seem willing to work, if work could have been obtained?—A. Yes, sir; the most of them seemed willing to work, and the rest pretended to be; but I have known of their having opportunities to work which they did not seem anxious to avail themselves of, or have seen them give up work instead of finishing it and getting paid for doing it.

Q. Can they do farm labor, such as is done in Kansas?—A. I am not posted on that.

Q. The farmers of Kansas do their farm work generally by machinery, do they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your profession?—A. I am a lawyer.

Q. How long have you lived in Kansas?—A. About fifteen years; I went there in 1865.

Q. You are a native of what State?—A. Pennsylvania.

Q. What advice would you give, if you were asked to give advice to these people as to continuing to emigrate into Kansas?—A. I would certainly advise them to stay where they were; they can do better where they were than they can in Kansas. A great many of them have told me so, after being there two or three months. I sent a party to this emigrant association to see if they would assist them to get back, after they had been there three or four months.

Q. Where were they from?—A. I think they were from Louisiana. The spokesman of the company—the man who acted as such during their conversation with me, told me that he had been there three or four months, and in all that time had earned only enough to buy him a pair of boots. The association had sent him to Manhattan, a place west of Topeka, about sixty miles; in the course of three or four months he came back for aid to get home. I told him the association was assisting colored people, and no doubt would help him. He said he had been there, and they would not do anything. I saw Mr. Hebard, then clerk of the board, and he did refuse; he said the board had no means to return them; he claimed that they had already assisted these men to get west. This colored man told me that he did better in the South. I am sure that thousands of the emigrants to that State are dissatisfied, and would go back to their homes if they could. But a good many were ashamed to make application; and they were informed, besides, that they could not obtain assistance to get back if they did apply.

Q. Then it is your deliberate judgment that it would be better for them to stay South than to come North?—A. It is my deliberate judgment that they had better stay there than to come to Kansas, unless they come so that they can buy farms and help themselves.

Q. A population seven-tenths of whom are objects of charity, is not a very desirable acquisition to any State?—A. I think that when the time comes that this donation business ceases—I do not know what they will do in Kansas, if they continue coming as they have been coming. I do not know that the public will ever cease to donate; but if they should, the colored people in Kansas would be in a very bad position.

Q. What the is population of Topeka?—A. Some fourteen or fifteen thousand, I think.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You say you helped a number of these immigrants back home from Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did you help them?—A. I helped them officially.

Q. Through the funds of the city?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In what way?—A. I bought half-fare tickets for them.

Q. To what extent?—A. For about fifteen or twenty.

Q. Do you know of any persons offering to assist them South?—A. I did receive a circular to that effect, and had it published in a newspaper. Some society or company proposed to pay the transportation of any that wished to go back. I had it published, and in three days, several of these immigrants were looking for the means to get to Kansas City, so that they could take advantage of this offer.

Q. How many responded to it?—A. I cannot say. I called to see Mr. Strong, the general manager of the railroad, when I was starting to come here; but he was absent when I called, and I could not get the information on that point which I desired.

Q. From Kansas City to Topeka is how far?—A. About sixty-five miles.

Q. You say a vein of dissatisfaction seems to run through these emigrants?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Rather a slender vein, is it not, so far as you have been able to discover, in comparison with the entire "streak," as miners would say—in comparison with the twenty or thirty thousand colored people who have gone to Kansas?—A. Well, yes; it would seem so; though very few of the whole number that were dissatisfied called on me, I suppose.

Q. You say you would advise them to stay where they are. Now, we have had evidence here that in the State of Louisiana alone, since the close of the war, over two thousand colored persons have been murdered for political reasons, and immense numbers whipped, cheated out of the wages due them for their labor, &c. Assuming these things to be true, would you advise them to stay there and endure these things rather than come to Kansas, even if they freeze?—A. As I understand their condition in the South, I think they had better stay there.

Q. You are taking into consideration the difficulties in Kansas. Looking at the difficulties they encounter in Kansas, if they were fairly treated in the South you think they had better stay South?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But assuming these stories of murder and maltreatment to be true, you would not advise them to stay there, would you?—A. I would not advise them to come to Kansas.

Q. Would you stay South yourself, under such circumstances?—A. I think I would, if I were not better adapted to make a living North than they are.

Q. You think you would prefer to be whipped or murdered than to be in Kansas without money?—A. I think if they will be quiet, and mind their own business, in the South, they will not be whipped or murdered. A good many of them have told that story when they first came in; but when they want to get back South they tell *why* they told that story.

Q. Do you think that nobody has been maltreated or misused in the South?—A. They may have been to some extent, but not to the extent they represent; I think not.

Q. Would they better their condition, do you think, by going to Indiana?—A. I think they might better their condition by going to some of the older States; I should like to see them go to Indiana; it might change the politics of that State.

Q. You spoke of a large amount of funds being raised; that is not unusual, is it, for many purposes?—A. No, sir.

Q. A large amount has been raised for the relief of the suffering Irish, has there not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Probably ten times as much as for the suffering negroes?—A. I do not know just how they compare.

Q. Has there been one-twentieth as much raised to help the negroes as to help the white people of the South during the yellow fever season?—A. I am not competent to judge; I do not know how much either of them were. I know the yellow fever sufferers received a great deal of assistance.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You spoke of some persons telling you stories of outrages, when they first came there to Kansas, but who told a different story when they wanted to get back South?—A. Yes, sir; in a few instances.

Q. They told a different story?—A. Yes, sir; they said the stories which they told when they first came were not true.

Q. Did they explain why they told them?—A. They said they had been informed that they must, in order to receive aid. They expected to receive money, and to get those old clothes and things.

Q. You don't know in how many more instances it may be true?—A. I don't know that it is true in these; I only give what they said.

Q. Still, they were wanting to go back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And did go back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They had told you about being put in peril of their lives by bulldozers and all that sort of thing?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And afterward told you that they did it to get the benefit of aid?—A. Yes, sir; one, who was the spokesman for several more, said to me, "Nobody but the no-account niggers get hurt down there."

Q. I see in the printed slip a call, headed by John P. St. John, your governor; your name also appears, as mayor of Topeka; also that of C. M. Brown; the description of him is given as a "negro politician"; do you know him—the C. M. Brown described in the printed explanation of this organization?—A. I think I have heard of the gentleman, and possibly seen him; I would not know him if I were to see him.

Q. Is he living in Topeka now?—A. I think he is, if I understand to whom it is that you are referring.

Q. State whether or not he has built a nice property there since he has been in this position.—A. I think——well, the fact is, his identity is so mixed with me, that I might make a mistake.

By Mr. **WINDOM**:

Q. About how many of those colored persons have told you this changed story when they wanted to go back?—A. There was this one little squad; one of them did the talking, and the rest stood by listening. Then, on another occasion there was a man and his wife and his girl, eight or ten years old, and there were two or three more persons standing about the office door; they told pretty much the same story.

Q. You don't know whether they told the right story in this case, or whether they told the right story in the first place, and now told this for the purpose of exciting somebody's sympathy in order to get back?—A. Of course I could not tell.

By Mr. **BLAIR**:

Q. You said you thought the negroes could get along well enough in the South if they would mind their own business and attend to their own affairs?—A. I said I thought they might get along better in the South than in Kansas, if they would attend to their own affairs and keep quiet.

Q. In what regard did you understand that these colored people who had been misused and ill-treated had failed to attend to their own affairs and to keep quiet?—A. These two squads said that the only ones that got into trouble were the no-account niggers who were always talking politics.

Q. Then all the information you have on that subject comes from these two persons or squads, who wanted to impose upon your sentimentality, or something of that sort, in order to raise funds?—A. Well, you might put it in that way.

Q. Do you take the testimony of those two persons as counterbalancing all the evidence of murders and outrages coming from thousands of witnesses from all parts of the South?—A. No, sir; of course not.

Q. Do you have the impression that these stories of interference with the exercise of suffrage in the South are all false?—A. I think some of them are greatly exaggerated, but that many of them are true, to a greater extent than they ought to be, undoubtedly.

Q. If they are true to a greater extent than they ought to be, can you blame these people for seeking to escape from the perpetrators of such outrages?—A. No, sir; and I do not blame them.

Q. But you think Kansas is getting more than her proper share, more than she can assimilate?—A. Yes, sir; in such numbers as they are coming, and are liable to come.

TESTIMONY OF H. C. PARK.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 5, 1880.

H. C. **PARK** sworn and examined.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Question. Mr. Park, what is your residence?—Answer. Atchison, Kans.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am the publisher of a newspaper, the Atchison Daily Patriot.

Q. What is its politics?—A. Democratic.

Q. That is right. How long have you lived in Atchison?—A. For sixteen or eighteen years.

Q. Have any of these emigrants—colored emigrants from the South—come to your town, or passed through it? If so, in what numbers?—A. I would suppose that twelve or fifteen hundred, possibly two thousand of them, have come to and passed through our town.

Q. Where are they from?—A. Mainly from Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

Q. Have you talked with them?—A. I have talked with quite a number of them. I visited the boat that brought the first squad there.

Q. Have any of them gone back?—A. So I have heard; but I know personally of but one case; my particular attention was called to the case of a man who walked back to Kentucky.

Q. What part of Kentucky was he from?—A. I do not know.

Q. You say you have heard of others going back?—A. Yes, sir; I have heard that quite a number have gone back.

Q. Was a committee organized at your place to take care of these folks?—A. Yes, sir; all of the city council.

Q. What proportion of them were dependent upon charity?—A. Of the first lot that came there, numbering, perhaps, three hundred or three hundred and fifty, all were objects of charity; all of them had to be cared for by the city and county. Our county overseer of the poor there for the district, composed of the city of Atchison, has taken care of quite a number of those that have come there since.

Q. What is the public sentiment there in your part of Kansas in regard to the continuance of this emigration?—A. I do not believe that there is a man, woman, or child in Atchison that wants it.

Q. Do you speak of Republicans as well as Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; all the papers in Atchison, Republican and Democratic, have spoken out against it.

Q. What Republicans?—A. I speak of the Atchison Daily Champion, more particularly.

Q. Is it opposed to the exodus?—A. Yes, sir; that paper has had quite a number of editorial articles opposing it, and advising the colored people to stay South.

Q. I have had little or no opportunity to speak to you. If you will go on and state any other matter that you think will be of interest in connection with this investigation I will be obliged to you.—A. I hardly know what to say more than I have.

Q. I will ask you this then: You have stated that the people were quite unanimously opposed, without respect to party, to the continued influx of these colored people. Do you think that there is any demand amongst the farmers for their labor?—A. No, sir; I think not. During the busy season some of them get employment for a while. Quite a number of those who were shipped west, on our railroads leading west, to the western counties, are now drifting back to the towns, as I am informed by the city officials. I do not think they understand our mode of farming.

Q. The farmers there mostly do their farm work by machinery, do they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And these folks are not used to the kind of plows they have in Kansas?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nor reapers and mowers?—A. No, sir.

Q. They have all that to learn?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did I understand you to express the opinion that there is as much white labor in Kansas as the demand calls for?—A. There seems to be. I have heard no complaint about any scarcity of labor.

Q. Have you heard any expression from the farming community of that county of any desire for black labor?—A. No, sir; they prefer white labor.

Q. By the way, what county is that?—A. Atchison County. We have in our county a little colony, you might call it, of colored farmers who have been there for a good many years, and I think it has not proved a success by any means.

Q. How large a colony is it?—A. There are ten or twenty colored families in that immediate settlement.

Q. How long have they been there?—A. Some ten or fifteen years.

Q. And you think they have not proved a success as farmers?—A. No, sir; the last time I passed through there I saw no particular change in the appearance of things from what it was ten or fifteen years ago. They do not seem to improve and get ahead as our white farmers do.

Q. You do not raise cotton in that county?—A. No, sir.

Q. Your crops are corn and wheat?—A. Yes, sir; corn and wheat, and vegetables of various kinds, and fruit.

Q. Do you raise tobacco?—A. No, sir; there may be a small patch here and there, where farmers raise enough for their own use, but none is raised there for sale.

By Mr. **WINDOM**:

Q. Have you any information that would indicate that these colored people were brought to Kansas for political motives?—A. When they first came there there seemed to be an idea on the part of some that the exodus would result in reducing the Congressional representation of the South.

Q. My question was—what I meant by my question was—whether they were brought to Kansas for the purpose of carrying the State of Kansas?—A. Well, no, sir; I think not.

By Mr. **BLAIR**:

Q. Do you think Kansas will go Republican this next fall?—A. I am inclined to think so.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Q. It begins to look doubtful, if they put many more of these colored people in there?—A. I am afraid the Republicans will carry Kansas this year.

Q. Do you think the Republicans are more in favor of this immigration than the Democrats in Kansas?—A. Neither Republicans nor Democrats favor it in my part of the State.

TESTIMONY OF H. C. SOLOMON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 6, 1880.

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m. Present: Messrs. Voorhees (chairman), Vance, Windom, and Blair.

H. C. **SOLOMON** sworn and examined.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Question. Give the reporter your name and residence.—Answer. My name is H. C. Solomon, and I live in the city of Atchison, Kans.

Q. What position do you occupy there, Mr. Solomon?—A. I am city attorney, sir, of the city of Atchison.

Q. Since when?—A. For the past three years. This is my second term.

Q. Is it an elective office?—A. It is.

Q. Elected by the people?—A. Yes, sir; elected by the people.

Q. What are your politics, Mr. Solomon?—A. I am a Democrat, sir.

Q. Now, Mr. Solomon, please state what you know about these folks coming into your city and county at Atchison.—A. Well, for the past two years—or perhaps a year and a half—they have been coming into the city of Atchison and the county in large numbers. About March—the middle of March, I think—of 1879, there was a boat-load came in, consisting of about three hundred people. I think they were from Mississippi and Louisiana. They consisted principally of old men, women, and children, and were in a state of the most abject poverty, with no means, ragged, filthy, and dirty. They were taken charge of by the city authorities. The colored people were called upon by myself and other officers of the State. We thought that perhaps it would be as well to have the colored people, who were in large numbers there, take charge of them. They at first refused to have anything to do with them, so the mayor and city council met in special meeting and appointed a committee of citizens to take charge of them. The colored people who resided in the town were finally induced to open their churches, and they were put in there temporarily, and provided for by the city. They were, some of them, diseased, having the measles, and it was feared that they had the cholera, and for that reason a large part of their old clothing was destroyed.

Q. What is the general feeling of your people in regard to the desirability of this immigration into their midst?—A. I am positive that it is the universal sentiment, not only in the city of Atchison and the county, but in the northern part of the State of Kansas, where they have come in in large numbers, that they are a detriment to the State, because they are paupers; they do not produce anything, and the large portion of those who are able to work will not work; and I say that the Republicans and Democrats in the city and county of Atchison are opposed to it; and all support that sentiment. I will say that, after this boat-load of colored people came to the town, there was a meeting held, by some of the most prominent citizens—I think the large proportion of them were Republicans—for the purpose of devising some means to prevent them from coming into the city; and the city council had a meeting, and passed an ordinance prohibiting the railroad companies, boat companies, steamboats, and all transportation companies, or any person whatever, from bringing into the city any paupers. The object was to make it an offense for railroad companies or transportation companies generally to bring any of these colored people in there. I have the original ordinance passed at the time, making it an offense (reading) for any steamboat, packet company, or conductor of any railroad train, or the managers or agents of any railroad, steamboat, or other means of public transportation, or their officers, agents, managers, servants, or employés, or persons having charge of any such railway or transportation companies, or steamboat, or packet companies, either directly or indirectly, to transport, send, or carry, or to be instrumental in giving aid or assistance to the transportation, sending, or carrying into the corporate limits of the city, any pauper or paupers, or any person who is, or who is likely to become, an object of public charity or public charge, making it an offense to do this.

Q. How large a place is Atchison?—A. It is a town of between fifteen thousand and sixteen thousand inhabitants.

Q. It is in Atchison County, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; Atchison County, Kansas.

Q. That is one of the old thickly-settled counties of Kansas, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; one of the oldest counties in the State, perhaps the oldest.

Q. Is the soil of that county fertile, and well adapted for agriculture?—A. Yes, sir; it is a fine agricultural country.

Q. What do you say as to the demand for this kind of labor in that part of the State?—A. There is no demand for such labor at all; and for this reason Kansas has, for many years, been receiving a large immigration of white people, and they have fully kept up with the demand for labor; so that there is no demand whatever for these colored people. That part of the State does not need agricultural laborers.

Q. What proportion of these people, that came there, should you say, were needing help; that is, were dependent upon charity?—A. I should say fully nine-tenths of them were.

Q. Mr. Solomon, was there a committee organized to extend charitable aid to these comers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did this committee get their resources from, by which they extended this aid to these colored people?—A. They obtained it from the public treasury. Under the laws of our State, the board of commissioners of the county and the cities—cities of the first and second class—bear the expenses of the support of paupers, and of getting rid of them; and there was a committee appointed, in connection with the overseer of the poor, that took charge of this matter; and that committee took measures to send them out to the interior of the State, and also to get them out of the State, if possible; and wherever they could find a man who was willing to go out into the country, say about fifty or a hundred miles, they would buy him a ticket and send him off.

Q. Now, that was done at the public expense, was it?—A. Yes, sir; at the county expense.

Q. You have spoken of an ordinance; did that ordinance embody the public sentiment of Atchison, or was it a party movement?—A. It was not a party movement; because it came about through the instrumentality of a meeting held by the people generally, irrespective of party.

Q. Did leading men of both parties participate in the meeting?—A. Yes, sir. The leading men of the city generally; it was a large meeting.

Q. Composed of Republicans as well as of Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; there were more Republicans there than Democrats.

Q. How is your city council composed, politically?—A. We have eight councilmen—two Republicans and six Democrats.

Q. Did the Republicans pass that ordinance?—A. They did; it was passed unanimously.

Q. Who is mayor of your city?—A. John C. Tomlinson.

Q. Mr. Solomon, what is the geographical position of Atchison? I am not as familiar as I should be with the map of Kansas.—A. Atchison is bounded on the east by the State of Missouri; it is on the Missouri River.

Q. Then it is in the northeastern corner?— A. Yes, sir.

Q. The Missouri River touches you?—A. Yes, sir; Atchison is on the river.

Q. I have never been in that part of the country; did those people come by water—by steamboat?—A. Not all of them, but the principal crowd came on a steamboat, up the Missouri River—a crowd of perhaps three hundred and fifty, men, women and children.

Q. How many people did you say had landed there, one way or another, by river or by rail?—A. About two thousand.

Q. What proportion of them are still in your county?—A. I suppose about twelve or fifteen hundred.

Q. How are they employed now?—A. They nearly all staid around the town, and they stand on the street corners, a large portion of them, sunning themselves, and waiting for some one to hire them to do some little job or other; but I know of my own experience, and from that of others, that it has been very difficult to get them to go out into the country, even in harvest time, at a dollar and a half a day (last harvest I heard many complaints of this kind), to cut wheat and corn; they would not go out of the town. Of course there were some exceptions; there were some able bodied and willing men—men who were willing to work; but I speak of the large portion of them. They have the reputation of being very lazy.

Q. Did you know about any of them desiring to go back?—A. I know from personal conversation with a number of them, that if they had the money they would go back.

Q. Have any of them gone back?—A. Personally, I know of no cases.

Q. But you have heard them express a desire to go back?—A. I have, many of them, but as a general thing they are poor; they have no money, and they cannot get back unless they receive some assistance.

Q. What do they say about danger to their life, and all that, when they talk of going back?—A. Well, sir, I have talked with a great many of them, and for curiosity have inquired; and they all seem to have heard of some cases where colored people were whipped and killed; but I have never yet met a man who received any of that punishment. I have never met a man—and I have asked some fifty the question—I have never met one yet that has been bulldozed or whipped.

Q. Do they seem afraid to go back if they could get the means to do so?—A. I never met with any one who said that. I have met with a great many who have said that they would like to go back if they could get the means.

Q. Now, Mr. Solomon, we all want to do the best that can be done for both the white race and the black race; they ought to be protected under the laws wherever they are. Now, from your observation, for the last two years, nearly, that this has been going on in your part of Kansas, and from what you have heard them say as to their condition down at home, and about their willingness to go back home, do you think that the condition of those people has been bettered by their coming there from the South? What would you say on that point?—A. Well, I do not think that their circumstances are bettered, for the reason that they do not seem to improve any. Now, there are some who have been there in Atchison City, and in the county, that I know personally, have been there since the first of last March, and they are poorer, if possible, to-day, and more needy, than when they landed there. They have not a cent in the world.

Q. Have they not been able to get work, or to pick up, in any respect?—A. Not a particle; they do not take to the class of work there.

Q. I was going to ask you about that; your people there farm with machinery a great deal?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And with the latest improvements of plows, and so on?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do these colored folks seem to understand how to handle that kind of farming implements?—A. From my observation they seem to know nothing about it. I have been out in the country a great deal. They can cut corn with a corn-knife and wheat with a scythe; but when it comes to handling farm implements, improved as these implements now are, they seem to be totally ignorant of the manner of using them. All the farmers I have ever talked with say that they are not able to do the work; that they do not understand it; and they all want white labor if they can get it.

Q. How is their health in that climate; you had a very soft winter this last season?—A. Yes, sir; but I never observed much about that. I know that when that boat-load came there a very large portion of them were sick with divers diseases and many of them, a great many of them, died.

Q. Have you any information as to whether you will get a good deal more of this immigration or is it about stopped, so far as Kansas is concerned?—A. Well, the only information I have is from observation; I am satisfied that the immigration is increasing and that it will be very great this year unless some stop is put to it; I am satisfied that all these colored people that I have talked with expect large numbers to come into the State from their old homes in the South this coming spring, as soon as the weather will permit; this is the understanding, that there will very large numbers come in the spring.

Q. Do you think, then, that the coming season will witness a still greater influx of these folks into Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; I am thoroughly satisfied of that fact.

Q. So far as you know, is there any public sentiment in either party inviting them into the State?—A. There is no public sentiment; what I term public sentiment is the universal opinion of the people. There is no public sentiment that wants them to come to Kansas.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You think, then, that these colored people would be better off where they were than in Kansas?—A. Well, I do not know what their condition was in the South; I am satisfied, however, that they are not bettering their condition in Kansas.

Q. Judging from what you saw of the wretchedness of their condition on their arrival, do you think it would be very easy to make their condition worse?—A. Well, so far as appearances are concerned, I suppose not.

Q. So that, in coming to Kansas, however bad it may be for the colored people there, there is not much danger that they could be worse off than they were when you saw them, as they came up from the South?—A. So far as their clothing and general wretched condition was concerned, no.

Q. You told us that when they came there they were in a state of abject poverty and wretchedness; you used language as strong as you could to describe that they were utterly wretched, poor, degraded people, without anything in the world?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think it possible for them to come to be in a worse condition in Kansas than they were when they landed there?—A. Probably not; not much worse.

Q. And you say that they are not improving a particle?—A. Not a particle, so far as I can see.

Q. Well, would you judge, from what you saw when they came, that it was an Eden where they came from?—A. I should think not; I do not think they brought much money with them.

Q. Atchison is a Democratic town, is it not?—A. It fluctuates; it is generally Democratic; sometimes Republican. The administration now is Democratic.

Q. Pretty largely Democratic, is it not?—A. No, sir; it is pretty even.

Q. Out of eight members of your city council, you said six were Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; the majority there--that is of the officers—are Democratic, but the vote is very small, that is, the majority.

Q. You said that, at the public meeting held there, more Republicans than Democrats were in attendance?—A. I should say that there were.

Q. What Republicans made speeches or said anything against the immigration?—A. There were no speeches made; it was a meeting held at the city clerk's office, a large room.

Q. It was a sort of conference then and not a mass meeting?—A. No; not a mass meeting exactly, but a conference among the business men and citizens.

Q. Such men as somebody had invited to drop into the meeting?—A. No, sir; the matter had been published in the papers.

Q. Do you mean to say that in a town or city of the size of Atchison you could have a public meeting, called by notice, and nobody made a speech?—A. There may have been some speeches made, but they were not of the nature of spread-eagle speeches.

Q. What Republicans did you hear talk at that meeting? Give their names.—A. I do not think I could give any names at this time; it has been more than a year ago. I know that there was a large number of people there.

Q. But you seem to remember, even though it was a year ago, that the majority in attendance were Republicans. Did you count them at that time?—A. No; but I know nearly every one; I have lived in Atchison many years.

Q. If you remember the preponderance of politics in those who spoke, why do you not remember who made speeches there?—A. There were no set speeches made, I think.

Q. But who talked?—A. A great many talked.

Q. Who passed the ordinance to prevent their coming there, and were opposed to their coming?—A. Mr. Kelsey, a very strong Republican, and business man in the furniture business.

Q. Where did he come from?—A. He has lived there a great many years; I do not know the place of his nativity. He took some part in it, made some remarks, but I am unable to remember the names distinctly of those who took part in the conversation.

Q. You say that these people will not work?—A. As a general thing it is difficult to get them to do any hard work; that is, to get them to go out into the country and go to work, and rent farms, like other poor people do, or to go on to farms. They seem to prefer to stay around the towns.

Q. How many, on the whole, remain in the towns; two thousand, do you think?—A. I said, I think, about twelve hundred staid in the town.

Q. What are they mostly doing—you say they are standing around?—A. Yes, sir; a large portion are hanging around the city.

Q. Are they still supported by charity?—A. Well, a great many of them have been taken charge of, as vagrants, and set to work on the rock-pile; a large portion of them are now doing that kind of work; they live around in a precarious manner that it is almost impossible to define.

By Mr. **Vance**:

Q. From what you see of the shiftless disposition of these men who stand about on the street corners, do you not suppose that their wretched appearance, that Mr. Windom has laid so much stress upon, was due to the fact that they had not worked industriously at home, in their places of residence at the South?—A. Well, my observation of these men afterward would indicate that. I am satisfied that they are naturally lazy. Their indigent circumstances and their wretched condition are due, I believe, to their laziness.

Q. And their wretched appearance and condition you think are due to that, more than to their oppression in the places from which they came?—A. Yes, sir; I think that.

By Mr. **Windom**:

Q. You do not believe in the Democratic oppression of the negro in the South?—A. I certainly am not in favor of it; but I do not believe that ninety-nine out of a hundred reported cases of that kind are true.

Q. Well, if you believed that one case out of a hundred was true, it would be your solemn duty to protest against it, would it not? Have you any faith whatever in the negro?—A. Yes, sir, I have great faith in him. I admire the race in some respects.

Q. You believe that he is better off now than when in slavery?—A. I never believed in slavery.

Mr. **Windom**. Well, you are a queer Democrat.

Witness. Well, I never believed in slavery.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD S. MILLS.

Washington, D. C., *April* 6, 1880.

Edward S. Mills sworn and examined:

By the **Chairman**:

Question. Where do you live, Mr. Mills?—Answer. In Atchison, Kans.

Q. What are you doing there, Mr. Mills?—A. I am dealing in grain, at present, sir.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I have lived there for fifteen years, sir.

Q. I may as well ask you now, as at any other time, what your politics are?—A. Republican.

Q. Rather prominent?—A. I am one of the Republican members of our council.

Q. O, yes; you are a member of the city council of Atchison?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, Mr. Mills, I want to know your view of this question; that is to say, whether these people that have come to your city and county appear to be bettering their condition there; whether they are prospering at all; whether there is a demand for their labor; and whether you think it best for them to come to your city or State?—A. There is certainly no demand for them, and I do not think they are prospering. As to bettering their condition, of course I do not know whether they are or not, as I do not know what their previous condition was; they certainly came there in a very wretched condition.

Q. Have they picked up, in any respect, since they came there?—A. Not as a class; some individual cases have.

Q. Where were they from, mainly ?—A. Those I have seen and conversed with and helped get out of our city were nearly, if not all, from Mississippi and Louisiana.

Q. You speak of helping to get some of them out of the city; where did you help them to get to ?—A. At the time, I was general passenger agent of the Central Branch Railroad. We shipped a great many out on that line of road, and gave them a free ticket if they had nothing to buy their ticket with—to get rid of them.

Q. The railroad company gave them free transportation out of the city ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And of course you did not know what became of them after that ?—A. Well, a good many of them have drifted back into the city again, sir; quite a number of them.

Q. Have those that remained behind improved any since their first coming ?—A. I do not think that they have; certainly not as a class, sir; some few individuals of them probably have.

Q. Do they seem adapted to the kind of labor that is required in that part of the country ?—A. Not generally; there are some few of them that are farming. I have in my mind now one or two cases where they are engaged in farming; but as a class they are loafing around the city, a good many of them; as Mr. Solomon has said, put in a good deal of time on our rock pile.

Q. Kansas has been quite a field for immigration for years past, for the white race, has it not ?—A. Yes, sir; it has had that reputation, I believe, for years.

Q. Well, has that supplied measurably, or fully, the demand for labor ?—A. I think it has, sir.

Q. What do you know, if anything, about a willingness on the part of some of these people, so far as you have talked with them, to go back, if they had the means to get back ?—A. I have not heard them express a desire to return.

Q. Have you talked with any of them on the subject ?—A. I have; yes, sir.

Q. Did they bring with them anything to work with ?—A. No, sir; the boat load that Mr. Solomon spoke of did not. Some have come in since then that seemed to be of a little better class.

Q. Did they seem to be arriving in your State by arrangement with agents, or anything of that sort ?—A. Well, that boat load came in by an arrangement of the city of Leavenworth; they would not let them land there, and so they sent them on up to us; we thought that was a pretty sharp trick on their part.

Q. You say they would not let them land at Leavenworth; who would not ?—A. Citizens, I suppose. I know that the captain of the boat was paid several hundred dollars to bring them on to Atchison.

Q. Who were engaged in that ?—A. I do not know. We knew nothing of their coming till the boat landed. She came up very quietly and got a good many ashore before we knew of it. Some parties went down to try to induce the captain to load them up and take them away again, but could not prevail upon him to do so.

Q. You would have sent them on very gladly, if you could have done so ?—A. Very gladly indeed, yes, sir; for we had to support them there for some time, in the city.

Q. Did not the city authorities of Leavenworth take some action to keep them from landing ?—A. They did not know of their coming, at all.

Q. Well, in our testimony here we have been admitting what the witnessses have heard, what they supposed, what they think, and what their cousins and aunts have told them; so, if you know, in any of these various ways, where that load was shipped from, and under whose auspices it started, and how it came to go on up there, let us know.—A. I don't know, sir.

Q. You never heard how that was?—A. No, sir.

Q. What part of Mississippi are these people from?—A. I could not tell you that, either.

Q. How far below you is the city of Leavenworth?—A. Twenty miles, sir, southeast.

Q. Is it a Democratic city, too?—A. No, sir; well, it is about like Atchison; sometimes we have a Republican administration, sometimes a Democratic.

Q. Was there any politics about the opposition to these people coming there?—A. No, sir; it seemed to be universal; it is the universal sentiment of our people that we don't want any more of them to come, that we have our share.

Q. The captain of that boat got a little the start of you in unloading, or you would have tried to persuade him to go on and not leave these people with you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you vote for the ordinance Mr. Solomon has spoken of here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It was an ordinance, as you supposed, to protect your people from an influx of pauper immigrants that would have to be supported by charity?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, I believe I never heard of any country being in favor of such an immigration as that into the midst of their population.—A. No, sir; I don't believe any country ever was in favor of it.

Mr. VANCE. Not for itself, at least; they are generally in favor of it for other places.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You apprehend a still further influx of this class of people into your State, do you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you think the public sentiment of your State, without regard to party feelings, is not in favor of it?—A. That is my idea; yes, sir.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What is the usual character and condition of the emigrants you have been accustomed to receive in Kansas?—A. Whites, do you refer to?

Q. Yes; all kinds.—A. We have all kinds; men sometimes who are worth a great deal of money, and some who come in are quite poor.

Q. You do not have a great many to come who are not able to support themselves for a short time, do you?—A. Very few but are able to do that.

Q. Nearly all the white emigrants who come bring some means with them, and are able to take land and break it, and subdue it, and make homes for themselves and children?—A. Yes, sir; and that class of emigration passes on to the west and southwest of us some two hundred miles.

Q. And the great stream of emigration to Kansas is made up of that class, bringing some capital and intelligence, and adding really, in the first instance, to the wealth of the State and its productive power, developing its resources, &c.?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, this negro immigration differs from that in this, that it is not self-supporting, and cannot be for the time being, but must depend upon charity, and therefore you object to it; is that your view of the question?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And in your State you have such inducements in the soil and other adaptations to agriculture that there is a great immigration of the farmer class, almost as much as you can absorb and assimilate?—A Yes, sir.

Q. And you would be glad, for that reason, to confine the immigration into your State to this white and better class of immigrants?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, these colored people, as I understand you, are in condition to be simply laborers, and nothing more—laborers by the day for wages?—A. There are but very few skilled mechanics among them.

Q. They are, therefore, fit for agricultural laborers and house and body servants only?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They are a class of people, then, that would most rapidly find employment in older and more thickly settled States, where capital has accumulated, and where there is a greater amount of capital to employ labor; is not that so?—A. Yes, sir; that would be my idea.

Q. Would it not, then, be your impression that it is much better for the negroes, if they cannot live in the South, and must seek an outlet somewhere, to go to the older States where there is more capital, and where there is a greater demand for this class of people—a State like Indiana, for instance?—A. Well, I should think they could be more readily absorbed in an older and wealthier community.

Q. I do not know when you arrived here, but if you were here a few days ago, you perhaps heard the testimony of a witness from Indiana, that in his opinion there was a call for forty or fifty thousand of this class of laborers in Indiana to day. He had letters, many of which he produced here, and he had verbal information to a large extent, calling for this class of labor from various parts of the State, from nearly every county. Did you hear his testimony on that?—A. No, sir; I have just come here.

Q. Well, such testimony; with your own observation of affairs in Kansas, would corroborate the opinion that if the negro must go north it would be better for him to go to the older States of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and the like?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, if these negroes that are coming into Kansas, and some five, ten, or fifteen thousand have already come, were like the white class of emigrants we have been describing, you would not object to their coming, would you?—A. No, sir; I would be glad to see them coming.

Q. You have no antipathy against them because of their color?—A. No, sir; none at all.

Q. And the feeling in Kansas in relation to them is precisely the same as it would be toward white people coming in the same condition and in similar circumstances?—A. Yes, sir; exactly.

Q. Now this committee, I think, by the resolution constituting it, is appointed to investigate the causes of the exodus. This testimony that you have given, so far, doesn't throw much light upon the causes why these people come there, does it?—A. No, sir.

Q. I would like to ask your attention, then, to the causes of the exodus as you have learned them, from what these people have said to you, or what you have heard, or from any other sources of information you may have?—A. Of course I have read some on the subject, and I have heard some of them talk about others being bulldozed, but I have never seen one that was.

Q. But all of them talk about it?—A. It seems to be a matter of common information and belief among them.

Q. And that is the impression among them now, you think?—A.

Well, they give that very generally as the reason for their leaving the South and coming north.

Q. And of course human beings always act from some motive, do they not?—A. Generally.

Q. And you never heard but that the negro preferred to remain in the South, so far as his associations and the climate and all that are concerned?—A. I do not know that I have heard that.

Q. Well, you never heard a negro say that he came up to the North because the climate was too hot for him in the South, did you?—A. No, sir.

Q. Or that he wanted to go into a cooler climate, did you?—A. No, sir.

Q. You never heard him complain that the soil was not productive in the South, did you?—A. I never heard one express an opinion on that subject.

Q. You never did?—A. No, sir.

Q. You never heard him give a reason why he could not get a living down there, except that he was abused and deprived of his rights, did you?—A. Only in the way of the general belief among them that I have referred to.

Q. Now these people have acted upon this general information which they believe, have they?—A. Well, I should judge that they have; yes, sir.

Q. They have left their homes and gone to a colder climate, haven't they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And from a place they are naturally adapted to and prefer?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now can it be possible that they don't believe the stories that they have heard of wrongs, and oppression, and outrage that they tell?—A. They evidently believe them.

Q. Then do you think it possible that a whole race is deceived in regard to what is going on among them in the place of their residence?—A. I hardly think it possible that they could be deceived as to the general condition, though they possibly might, and probably do, magnify their wrongs.

Q. Yes, they might, perhaps, some of them, get exaggerated ideas as to the extent to which the abuses of which they have heard have been carried; but you do not doubt, yourself, that there are many authenticated instances of outrages and abuse upon these people down there, do you?—A. O, I think there are, sir, many authenticated cases of the kind.

Q. I suppose that, so far as you can, in entire consistence with the truth, you would be glad to give to the public, through the notoriety of this investigation, the impression that these people had better not come to Kansas in such large numbers, would you not?—A. Yes, sir; we would be very glad to have that impression go abroad.

Q. For the reason that they are a poor, illiterate class of people, and you don't want any more of them?—A. Largely for that reason—that they are paupers and become immediate objects of charity.

Q. But if they had a little money, and could add to the wealth, and contribute to the productiveness and development of your State, you would be very glad to receive them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have some twenty-five to fifty thousand of them?—A. I do not know how many in the State; there were fifteen hundred of them in our city.

Q. And Kansas, you think, has her share of this emigration?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. In view of the fact that these people seem to believe that they are abused and maltreated by the Democratic party of the South, don't you think that if the Democratic party wants to protect the labor interests of Kansas they had better stop the abuse of these people in the South, and keep them at home?—A. I think they had better keep them at home.

Q. Do you believe they can do that, if these people are abused there?—A. No.

Q. Then the only way to stop their coming is for the Democratic party in the South to stop the abuse and change their tactics?—A. Yes; if they are responsible for it.

Q. And if they don't change their tactics, don't you believe you are going to be flooded by these refugees?—A. Yes, sir.

Redirect examination of the witness by the CHAIRMAN:

Q. I observed from your manner in answering Mr. Blair, a moment ago, a hesitancy that leads me to ask you whether or not, in your conversation with these people, and from the statements they have made as to what they have heard, it has been testimony of a kind that has satisfied your mind that all they were telling was true—that all had happened down South that they seemed to have heard of?—A. I have no means of knowing whether they were telling the truth or not; I have conversed with a good many of them; in fact, I have had a good many of them employed during the last six months, laboring; and I have talked with them, more or less, from time to time.

Q. You stated, I believe, that you had seen only one man—or did you say that you had ever found one—that had been in any way the subject of abuse and maltreatment?—A. I never have seen one.

Q. It has all been what others have said that they have reported to you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. All hearsay?—A. Yes, sir; all hearsay.

Recross-examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What do you mean by their being "abused"? Do you mean knocked down, or whipped, or outraged by personal violence?—A. Yes; I have never seen one who has said that he was whipped, or hung up by the thumbs, or otherwise abused personally.

Q. Or killed outright?—A. No.

Q. But didn't some of them complain of something else, for instance, of this, that after they had worked for years down there they came out as poor as they began, because they had been in some way defrauded of the just returns for their labor; and did they not complain that there was little or no chance for them to educate their children?—A. Never on the score of education, but I have heard some of them say that they could not collect what was coming to them.

Q. You have seen those that have complained of that sort of treatment in the South?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, don't you think that that is a grievance, for men as poor as they are, to be unable to collect the wages on which they must depend for a livelihood?—A. Yes.

Q. And do you not consider that a laborer is worthy of his hire; and where that hire is a man's only means of living, would you not think that to deprive him of it is an "abuse"? In other words, would not the withholding of wages earned and due be doing all that an employer could do to starve them out?—A. Well, the negro there would certainly have the same recourse and remedy in the South as in the North, as to collecting the debts owing to him.

Q. And are you quite sure that they have had, and have, that remedy? Don't they complain that the courts fail to do them justice in that particular?—A. I think not.

Q. What chance has a pauper in the courts, in a matter of that kind? —A. Not much.

Q. Well, these people are paupers?—A. Yes.

Q. Then they are robbed of their dues with impunity; if they are unable to go to the courts and if their wages are taken away or withheld from them, what remedy have they?—A. Well, it would be robbery with impunity in all such cases.

Q. Well, on the whole, setting aside the knocking down and dragging out style of abuse, do you not think that as a class these you have come in contact with have complained of injury done to them in withholding their just dues, and in preventing them from the free exercise of all their rights as free men and citizens?—A. I do not think I have heard of any complaints of that kind, sir.

Q. Why, I understood you to say that they complained to you that they could not get their pay.—A. Yes, sir; I said that I had heard of such complaints.

Q. Do you not consider that as a grievance on their part?—A. Certainly I do.

Q. And a very great grievance?—A. Certainly.

Q. Would you expect these people to remain happy and contented, or to remain at all, in a community where they were obliged to work for years and years, and were yet deprived of their just compensation? —A. Why, no.

Q. They may have come to Kansas in too large numbers, and it seems to me that it would be better for them to turn their attention to Indiana, for the reasons you have given; and this investigation is altogether wide of the mark in excusing Indiana when there is so great a demand for them there.

The CHAIRMAN. I would not advise a negro to go to New Hampshire!

Mr. BLAIR. Well, I would; and I will tell you another thing: that twenty thousand negroes could do well in New Hampshire. I have known a good many negroes up in New Hampshire, and I never saw one that had any trouble in getting along with the climate. I extend a personal invitation to them to come to New Hampshire; twenty thousand of them could get along there and have a chance to make a living, and they will not be defrauded of their honest and just claims for labor performed.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, boys (addressing the negroes present) I advise you not to go. I have been up there myself.

Mr. BLAIR. Well, we do not calculate to invite *everybody* into New Hampshire; and if you are all like Mr. Voorhees, of course we do not advise you to come, nor invite you.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Mr. Blair asked you, Mr. Mills, if these people, being paupers, could sue in the courts in the South. Can they sue in the courts in your State?—A. I am not a lawyer; I do not know whether paupers have any rights in the courts or not.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. The difficulty is in getting their suit in?—A. Yes, sir; I presume hat is the trouble.

By Mr. **VANCE**:

Q. Well, a pauper can file his petition as a pauper, to bring his suit?—A. I believe that is so.

Q. Now let me ask you if most of these men who told you that they had not been paid their wages were not the same men who were to be seen standing in the streets, and on the corners, and breaking rock on the rock pile?—A. No; the particular case I have reference to was a man who was at work for me.

Q. He was at work?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you hear Mr. Solomon tell of that—of the men who were standing idle about town, and that had to be sent to work on the rock pile; or did you see anything of that yourself?—A. I know we have a good deal of that—yes, sir.

Q. Well, how long would it take a man to make a fortune in that way in Kansas?—A. A good while, sir, for any one with such habits, to make a living anywhere.

Q. So that you would advise such not to come to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; if they had the same kind of habits at the South, I certainly would so advise them, every time.

TESTIMONY OF RICHARD B. MORRIS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 6, 1880.

RICHARD B. MORRIS sworn and examined.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Question. Please state your full name and residence.—Answer. Richard B. Morris, Atchison, Kansas.

Q. What do you do there, Mr. Morris?—A. I am a banker there, sir.

Q. A national bank?—A. No, sir; I am connected with the Atchison Savings Bank.

Q. Banking on your own account?—A. Yes, sir; it is an incorporated company.

Q. Your politics are Democratic, perhaps?—A. Yes, sir; in politics I am a Democrat.

Q. How long have you lived in Atchison, Mr. Morris?—A. I have lived there about fifteen years.

Q. What do you say as to the probability of these people bettering their condition that are coming into your State at that point?—A. As a general thing, I do not think they are bettering themselves much.

Q. Have they got employment there?—A. Some of them have got employment, sir.

Q. Is there any demand there for this kind of labor?—A. Well, I think the supply for that kind of labor exceeds the demand; at least, at the present time it does, certainly.

Q. What is the public sentiment there, so far as you know, without respect to party, as to these people coming there?—A. It is universally against the exodus, regardless of party.

Q. And the public sentiment there upholds this order of your council?—A. Yes, sir; it does.

Q. You have never heard a person in Atchison speak against that order?—A. Not that I remember.

Q. Have you given this matter much attention, Mr. Morris?—A. Not a great deal, sir.

Q. Have you talked much, or any, with these people?—A. I had a conversation with some of them—with only a few of those that came up on that boat.

Q. That boat-load seemed to you to be a hard lot, did it?—A. Yes, sir; taken altogether.

Q. Where were they from, Mr. Morris?—A. From Mississippi, mostly; some were from Louisiana; it was from Warren County, Mississippi, where most of the Mississippians came from.

Q. Do you know who had chartered that boat that brought up this load to your town?—A. I do not know; we did not know anything of it till it got to Leavenworth, and I heard that there a city commissioner said he would not let the boat land, and offered $250, I heard, to take the boat to Atchison. The boat came up, and did not even whistle, and dumped them off and pulled out. A lawyer brought suit, I understand, and some officers went down and tried to get the captain of the boat to take the load back, but he said that he had got his good money for landing them at Atchison, and he backed off and pulled out.

Q. And you have not seen that captain since?—A. O, yes; he has been up several times since.

Q. And brought more such boat loads?—A. O, no, sir; no more such cargoes.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLTON H. TANDY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 6, 1880.

CHARLTON H. TANDY (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. What is your full name, Mr. Tandy?—Answer. C. H., Charlton H., Tandy.

Q. Where do you reside, Mr. Tandy?—A. I reside in Saint Louis, Mo., sir.

Q. What connection, if any, have you had, Mr. Tandy, with this emigration of colored people from the Southern States into and through Saint Louis?—A. The first boat that landed at the wharf at Saint Louis landed in the latter part of February; I do not know the exact date in February when they landed.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. February of what year?—A. It was February of last year, sir; February, 1879.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Was your attention called to it then?—A. I think I was the first colored man that paid any attention to it.

Q. How was your attention called to it?—A. I heard that there was a boat-load of about two hundred and fifty persons that had landed at the levee from Louisiana, and I was taken somewhat by surprise, not knowing of any such thing as an exodus, or that the colored people intended to leave, and naturally my attention was attracted in that direction as soon as I heard of their being there. I went down to the levee, and it was in the afternoon then, I think, about between three and four o'clock. The snow was on the ground; it was very cold; I found two hundred and fifty of these people landed there, as it was reported to me; I did not actually count them; I asked parties in the company what were their numbers, and they said there were two hundred and fifty of them. A great many of them were very ill-clad; some of them had scarcely any shoes on their feet, and some of the children were barefooted and just as they came off the cotton-fields, in their cotton clothes, very ill-prepared to meet the weather we then had in the city of Saint Louis.

Q. What sort of weather was it?—A. It was cold. There was snow on the ground; the ground was covered with snow, and ice was in the streets, and it was very cold.

Q. What steps, if any, did you take with reference to these people?—A. I went to work to get them in houses, and in the wharf boats, for the night, that they might have protection from the inclement weather, and made the best arrangements I could for them, for the time being. And the next morning I set about seeing what I could do to ameliorate their condition. They were without money; a good many of them in a destitute condition and suffering for the want of proper clothing to keep them warm and comfortable. A gentleman who was formerly secretary of the Mullanphey board wrote me a letter after finding out that these negroes were there, stating that under Mr. Mullanphey's will, bona fide emigrants, regardless of color, were entitled to some help from that board. I took twenty-five of these men and went to the board. I went and saw the secretary and the president, Mr. Hill, and he told me he didn't think under the will of Mr. Mullanphey that these men could receive any benefit from that board, and I persisted in seeing the board myself; and Mr. Hill told me if I would come back at three o'clock that I would have a chance to see the board. I told these men that I couldn't do anything for them then, but that I would come to the levee again at three o'clock, and then go with them up to this board; and promptly at that time I went down to the levee, and went back to the board again. We sat there for about two hours. The board was just in session; and after the session was over, I expected to hear them broach the question of doing something for these people; and I found out they were about to adjourn the board; and I think Mr. Scruggs was a member of that board, and a Democrat, and I called Mr. Scruggs to the railing that divided the board and these men that I had with me, and I said to him, "Mr. Scruggs, I would like to say something to your board"; and he said, "I don't know, Mr. Tandy, whether you can or no; I will speak to the gentlemen and see if they will hear you." I said, "I only want five minutes to say something." Mr. Scruggs went back to ask the board not to adjourn till they had given me an opportunity to say something. I looked Mr. Scruggs right in the face, and with his eye right in mine he said, "Why do you look at me so?" and I said, "I am reading the contour of the expression of your face; and I propose, sir, to direct my remarks directly to you, because I think I can approach you and get some help for these men that are in a suffering condition." After I spoke to him, he said, "Sir, you have read my character correctly"; and he said, "Gentlemen, we must hear what he has to say." The ex-secretary of the board then stated that according to the will of Mr. Mullanphey these men were entitled, as *bona fide* emigrants, to some relief, and that the board had a right to succor them in the hour of their temptation; and they voted before that board adjourned, and I think the credit is due to Mr. Scruggs; I have no disposition to take from him what belongs to him. We got $100 for their immediate necessities, and altogether we got some $150 out of that board.

Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I desire to say that after a careful examination, without being biased on one side or the other, it naturally led me to investigate the causes of this general emigration from the South—why it was that these people so suddenly came upon us, without our having any warning, and with no preparations to receive them whatever; and what were the causes that led to it. And I said to General Noble, who is ex-United States district attorney, that these people were coming here in such numbers, and it seemed that the thing was not going to stop and it was going to increase all the time—that I would like to know what the causes were. And Mr. Yeatmann of the sanitary commission during the war—a man known all over the United States—said that he had talked with many influential men; and Mr. Yeatmann, I am authorized to say, was opposed to the exodus, but, in common with others, they wanted to find out the cause of these people coming. So I said to Mr. Yeatmann, "What must be done?" and he said, "I don't know, Tandy; but this thing ought to be investigated, that we may see why these people are coming. It is cold and chilly weather here; the snow is on the ground; the weather is very inclement, and these people are only half clad, and seeing they have come to us thinking that we will receive them hospitably, I would like to know the cause of it all." And that led me to investigate the causes of it. And I wish now to read to you gentlemen a memorial——

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. A memorial from whom?—A. From many of the best citizens we have in the city of Saint Louis.

Q. That don't quite answer my question; I did not question the character of the citizens of Saint Louis. I wanted to know simply from whom the memorial comes.—A. It is from white citizens, reputable men of the city of Saint Louis.

Q. Well, that is an answer. To whom is the memorial addressed?—A. To Congress, and you, gentlemen, to investigate the causes of this exodus, to learn all about the reasons for it.

Q. Have you had this memorial presented to Congress?—A. No, sir; it has not been presented to Congress.

Q. Is it very lengthy?—A. No, sir; it is very short, and I will read it, if you will permit me.

(Witness reading:)

MEMORIAL OF CITIZENS OF SAINT LOUIS.

The undersigned, your memorialists, respectfully represent that within the last two weeks there have come by steamboats up the Mississippi River from, chiefly, the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, and landed at Saint Louis, Mo., a great number of colored citizens of the United States, not less than twenty hundred, and composed of men and women, old and young, and with them many of their children.

This multitude is eager to proceed to Kansas, and without exception, so far as we have learned, refuse all overtures or inducements to return south, even if their passage back is paid for them.

The condition of the great majority is absolute poverty; they are clothed in thin and ragged garments for the most part, and while here have been supported to some extent by public, but mostly by private, charity.

The older ones are the former slaves of the South; all now entitled to life and liberty.

The weather from the first advent of these people in this northern city has been unusually cold, attended with ice and snow, so that their sufferings have been greatly increased, and if there was in their hearts a single kind remembrance of their sunny southern homes, they would naturally give it expression now.

We have taken occasion to examine into the causes they themselves assign for their extraordinary and unexpected transit, and beg leave to submit herewith the written statements of a number of individuals of the refugees, which were taken without any effort to have one thing said more than another, and to express the sense of the witness in his own language as nearly as possible.

The story is about the same in each instance: great privation and want from excessive rent exacted for land, connected with murder of colored neighbors and threats of personal violence to themselves. The tone of each statement is that of suffering and terror. Election days and Christmas, by the concurrent testimony, seem to have been appropriated to killing the smart men, while robbery and personal violence in one form and another seem to have run the year round.

In the small number of affidavits taken the following murders are mentioned:

Page (a smart man), killed at Waterproof, Miss., before Christmas, 1878.

Witness, F. Marshall.

Boy (smart and could read the papers), shot to pieces in Franklin Parish.

Witness, Geo. Rogers.

Son of Washington Davenport killed at Vicksburg, at Republican club; blacksmith killed by Henderson in 1872.

Witness, R. D. Daniels.

Harry Curtis killed for hearing Radical speeches in 1876.

Witness, John Massey.

Negroes shot in the fields in Tensas Parish, La., after compromise, 1878.

Killing in Franklin, Washington, and Tensas parishes. Not much in Madison.

Witness, Jet Gibbs.

Man by the name of Haffer and also the father and brother of Jacob Stevens were killed in Hinds County, Mississippi, about two years ago.

Witness, Jacob Stevens.

The threats of personal violence by shooting and hanging are detailed by each witness.

Those who mention the political parties unite in calling the negroes Republicans, and their oppressors Democrats.

Marshall states that when they went to the polls to vote, the white men would not let the colored men vote, and said, if you go to the box to put the ballot in we will shoot you.

Clarence Winn says, if we voted the Republican ticket the Democrats would get up in a mob and kill us off. At last Presidential election, after voting was done at Ravia, doors were broken open and ballots taken, and colored men in charge driven off.

James Brown says the agent of the place he rented of said, "Jim, we are going to carry this thing our own way; you —— niggers had things your own way long enough, and we white folks are going to have it our own way, or kill all you g—— d—— Republican niggers."

Lewis Wood says, "In Madison Parish, at the election last fall, we were allowed to vote as we pleased, because the whites were afraid to come there on account of *the yellow fever*. In the adjoining parishes the colored people were not allowed to vote the Republican ticket."

J. D. Daniels speaks of the Democrats throwing ballot-boxes in the river in 1874, and says negroes could not hold their club meetings; the negroes were Republicans.

John Massey says Democrats would give them tickets and say if they did not vote it they would kill us; times so bad colored man dare not speak above his breath.

Daniel Parker says, Ed. Darby was a preacher, and was told if he told the people how to vote, he would be shot.

T. J. Watts says, "No Republican ticket nominated in June, 1878, because Democrats would not allow it."

Jet Gibbs says, "Colored men were killed to prevent their voting the Republican ticket."

Jacob Stevens says, "The condition of the colored people in the South is awful bad; they are treated awful bad by the whites. My father and brother were killed by the whites about two years ago, because they were Radicals. On election day if a black man got a Republican ticket to vote they would say he was spotted, and that meant they were going to kill him; they would not allow the colored people to vote as they wanted. After the men had killed my brother they went to the well to get a drink of water, and the water was muddy and they said to my mother, 'This water smells as if it had strychnine, and if it has you will smell hell for it.' The poor white people in the South are in just as bad condition as negroes, except being killed. Could not carry me back South again unless they would chain me."

We submit that the great migration of negroes from the South is itself a fact that overbears all contradiction, and proves conclusively that great causes must exist at the South to account for it.

Here they are in multitudes, not men alone, but women and children, old, middle-aged and young, with common consent leaving their old homes in a natural climate, and facing storms and unknown dangers to go to Northern Kansas. Why? Among them all there is little said of hope in the future; it is all of fear in the past. They are not drawn by the attractions of Kansas; they are driven by the terrors of Mississippi and Louisiana. Whatever becomes of them, they are unanimous in their unalterable determination not to return.

There are others coming. Those who have come and gone on to Kansas must suffer even unto death, we fear; at all events more than than any body of people entitled to liberty and law, the possession of property, the right to vote and the pursuit of happiness, should be compelled to suffer under a free government from terror inspired by robbery, threats, assaults, and murders.

We protest against the dire necessities that have impelled this exodus, and against the violation of common right, natural and constitutional, proven to be of most frequent occurrence in places named; and we ask such action at the hands of our representatives and our government as shall investigate the full extent of the causes leading to this unnatural state of affairs, and protect the people from its continuance, and not only protect liberty and life, but enforce law and order.

It is intolerable to believe that with the increased representation of the Southern States in Congress, those shall not be allowed freely to cast their ballots upon whose right to vote that representation has been enlarged. We believe no government can prosper that will allow such a state of injustice to the body of its people to exist, any more than society can endure where robbery and murder go unchallenged.

The occasion is, we think, a fit one for us to protest against a state of affairs thus exhibited in those parts of the Union from which these negroes come, which is not only most barbarous toward the negro, but is destructive to the constitutional rights of all citizens of our common country.

The WITNESS. Now this memorial is signed by the following-named citizens of Saint Louis: Hon. L. S. Metcalfe, ex-member of Congress; Hon. Gustavus St. Gem, surveyor of customs, at Saint Louis, Mo.; Hon. John F. Long, ex-surveyor of customs; Hon. Samuel Hays, postmaster at Saint Louis; Hon. Enos Clarke, judge in bankruptcy; Hon. Nathan Cole, ex-member of Congress and ex-mayor of Saint Louis; Hon. Henry P. Wyman, deputy collector at Saint Louis; Hon. William H. Bliss, United States district attorney; Hon. C. B. Drummond, assistant district attorney; Hon. H. W. Leffingwell, United States marshal; Hon. M. A. Rosenblatt, collector of State, city, and school revenues; Hon. David P. Dyer, ex-member of Congress; Hon. David Wagner, judge of supreme court of the State of Missouri (after which "Wagner's Statutes" are named); Hon. J. B. Henderson, ex-United States Senator; George H. Shields, a prominent man in the city.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Missouri, is he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. These are all Republicans that you have named?—A. O, no, sir; there are many Democrats here that have signed this memorial—prominent men of both parties, sir. Rev. T. M. Post, one of the most prominent ministers in the city and State; Samuel Knox, a prominent lawyer in Saint Louis; B. R. Bonner; Jacob S. Merrell, a very wealthy man in the city, worth, it is said, about two millions of dollars; M. Dwight Collier, another very wealthy gentleman there, whom nearly everybody in Saint Louis knows, and who is said to be worth about six millions of dollars; W. F. Cozzens—you know him, Mr. Chairman; I had the pleasure of hearing you on the case with him and Judge McKimm there; Daniel O'Connor, J. H. Clark, William S. Pope, Henry Hitchcock, Isaac H. Sturgeon, collector of internal revenue for the first district of Missouri; Allen Shepard, J. M. Semple, Edward T. Sturgeon, Robert J. Romboner, John M. Krumm, C. W. Vord, J. H. Lightner, president of city council of Saint Louis; Thomas C. Fletcher, ex-governor of Missouri; A. G. Edwards, assistant United States treasurer; L. S. Metcalfe, jr., John W. Noble, ex-United States district attorney; W. S. Woods, Rufus Campion—he is the United States pension agent there, and a Democrat, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Not much of a Democrat, I judge, if he is United States pension agent.

Mr. BLAIR. I rather think not.

The WITNESS. Hon. John F. Dillon, judge of the United States circuit court; everybody knows him.

The CHAIRMAN. We all know who he is, only he is not district judge now; he has resigned.

Mr. WINDOM. He was when he signed the memorial.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are almost all office holders, Mr. Tandy, in the list you have got there.

The WITNESS. O, no, sir; here is the editor of a German paper in Saint Louis, E. Feiltvieller, and Henry Fenerbach, and Hon. G. A. Finkelnburg, ex-member of Congress, and Wm. McKee, president of the Globe Printing Company, and Hon. Louis Gottschalk, a German, ex-member of Congress; J. B. Brehfolshem, Truman A. Post, James B. Geggie, deputy United States marshal; Chester H. Krum, David Powers, president board of assessors; A. Vallee, C. W. Irwin, recorder of deeds; William Patrick, Edward Morrison, Henry G. Isaacs, superintendent of the new custom-house and post-office; Joseph Crawshaw, member of the city council; and Frank Backof, member of the city council; Mayor Henry Overholtz, a Democratic mayor of the city of Saint Louis.

The **CHAIRMAN.** O, no; he isn't. Go on.

The **WITNESS.** Well, he was nominated for mayor. I was there when he was nominated. A. J. Smith, George Kissel, William E. Raynor, Isaac M. Mason, Frank J. Conway, D. T. Jewett, J. L. Griswold, J. R. Carter, of the Pullman Palace-Car Company; Charles Pryor, N. M. Harris, D. M. Houser, one of the proprietors of the Globe-Democrat of Saint Louis.

Mr. **VANCE.** A Republican paper.

The **CHAIRMAN.** Yes, Grant's paper.

John C. Orrick, Fred. W. Schaurte, Frank Burnett, Chas. H. Wyman, John R. Shepley, a conservative, and one of the most wealthy and prominent men in the city; Charles E. Yeatman, N. C. Hudson, Nelson Young, Jno. C. H. D. Bloch, James E. Withrow, E. L. Adreon, comptroller of the city of Saint Louis; A. R. Easton, Dr. I. H. McLean, Lewis B. Beach, circuit attorney; Emory S. Foster, Eugene Weiget, Wills H. Blodgett, Charles Parsons, J. H. Blair, W. L. Hunt, John S. Cavindio, George E. McCosh, M. D.; W. Patrick, E. H. Long, C. N. Harris, Rev. John Turner, Rev. Moses Dickson, John William Taylor, William P. Dye.

And then follows a list of prominent colored men, Parker, and Prentiss, and Carter, and Fields, and Wilson, editor of the Saint Louis Tribune, and other names that I will not detain you in reading now, but they can go with the memorial. You can see from the names I have read the character of the memorialists.

By Mr. **BLAIR**:

Q. How many names in all are signed to this memorial?—A. I should judge there are about seventy to eighty names there, and all signed by each one for himself; there is the original memorial and there are the men's own signatures.

(The remaining names signed to the memorial follow:) John H. Johnson, C. E. Parker, Rev. Simon P. Anderson, pastor of the Eighth street Baptist Church; J. H. Jones, grand master of the United Brothers of Friendship; Chas. W. Prentice, Sandy Mix, D. Prince, Charlton H. Tandy, J. W. Wheeler, W. H. Stanton, J. Milton Turner, J. W. Wilson, J. A. Sampson, M. T. Teackle, George Tanner, David D. Goin, James W. Grant, Charles H. Wheeler, Anthony Brown, H. C. Lannier, R. Watson, James W. Johnson, Col. Frank Robeson, James S. Cole, Beverly Jackson, Anthony Lawson, A. Johnson.

By Mr. **WINDOM**:

Q. You say that the statement of the signers of that memorial is based upon affidavits taken at the time?—A. Yes, sir; I have here the affidavits themselves as taken by these persons, and if the chairman desires I would like to put these affidavits in. I came here basing my opinion on a very careful investigation, as I have just said, and without being prejudiced one way or the other, to find out the cause that produced the effect; and I hold in my hand the affidavits of these men, sworn and subscribed to, with the seal of the State of Missouri upon each one of them, and you gentlemen of the committee can examine them for yourselves, or I will read them.

The **CHAIRMAN.** So far as the affidavits are concerned, whatever Mr. Windom or Mr. Blair want to have in shall go in; I have no objection to that; but as they cover the same points, I do object to the reading of them all on account of the time it will consume.

Mr. BLAIR Suppose, Mr. Tandy, that you select one or two of these affidavits and read them to give us an idea of what they are, and then we will let them all go in.

The WITNESS. Here is one that I will read as a sample of the whole of them.

(Witness reading :)

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

Be it remembered that on this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State aforesaid, came Edward Parlor, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is Edward Parlor; my age is sixty-three years. I have been living in Warren County, Mississippi, for the past few years. Made a very poor living. All that I made the white folks took from me. The colored people could not vote there as they pleased; could not vote the Republican ticket. Last year in cotton-ginning time on Berge's place a man by the name of Phil. Taylor got in a dispute about his cotton at the gin-house and a man by the name of Groom shot him dead right at the gin-house door. I have heard of colored people being shot there. At Grand Gulf I was informed that a white club there was stopping the colored people from going to Kansas, and that there was 35 white men in the club. They went to the house of a colored man at Grand Gulf whom they heard was going to Kansas, and were going to kill him, but he made his escape. The man's wife was there at the house in a delicate state of health, and they asked her if she was going to Kansas, and she said she was, and they took her and hung her, and while she was hanging she had a baby right under the gallows. Two of the men who belonged to the club when they saw this turned to the others and said, "This is too bad," and went and reported the men who did it. I would not go back to the South again. Before I would do it I would walk up and down the streets here and pick up the crusts. I have this year walked up and down the yard at my house hungry and with nothing in the house, and prayed the Lord to send me something to eat. I have my wife with me. I don't think I have money enough to get to Kansas. I want to go to Kansas because I want to go to a free country where I can be free. I want to farm it there. I don't know where in Kansas I shall go.

his
EDWARD + PARLOR.
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of March, A. D., at Saint Louis, Mo.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

The WITNESS. I desire, Mr. Chairman, to state that I have gone into this matter with the desire to investigate it without bias and prejudice, simply to get at the truth, and I make this remark directly to you, because I have noticed your spirit of fair dealing with the witnesses.

The CHAIRMAN. I have tried to deal fairly with them.

The WITNESS. And I pay you that compliment, sir. I have taken a great deal of pains to get at the truth in this matter, and I do not think it can be said of me successfully that I have in any way entered the thing with a spirit of prejudice. I have desired only the truth, and have desired that my race should live on amicable terms with the white people, and I have always tried to help the white man and the colored man to come to an understanding, and I think the Democrats of my city and State will bear me out in this. General Cockrell, in the United States Senate, and General Hatch in the House, will bear me out in my statements that I make to you, and I don't make them for any other reason than I believe without gainsaying that the outrages that have been perpetrated upon the colored people of the South have been inhuman and are a blur upon the escutcheon of this country. I do not pretend to say here, sir, that there are not honorable men in the Democratic party in the North and in the South. There are honorable men in it, honorable exceptions, and I want it distinctly understood that I make this assertion here, and I undertook to investigate this thing in order to find out where the cause was, and if the cause lies at the door of that party that you will lay it there. Therefore I propose to offer these affidavits and to make these statements and give you my impressions and belief.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. You wish to put all these affidavits in?—A. Yes, sir; for they are all sworn and subscribed to. I was with every man when he made his affidavit, and Mr. Smith here will testify to that, for he was with me when they did it.

By Mr. **Windom**:

Q. I will ask you whether all the parties making these affidavits were with you when they were sworn to, and whether they understood the contents of them and knew them to be substantially their own statements?—A. O, yes, sir; they are given in their own language, without having them say one thing or another, without insisting on their speaking on one side or another, but to give just the facts as they knew them and could swear to them, and these are the affidavits they made:

AFFIDAVITS OF REFUGEES.

State of Missouri,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State above mentioned, came Charles Rogers, and, being duly sworn, made the following statement:

My name is George Rogers; my age is thirty years; I have been living for the last few years in Madison Parish, La.; moved there in 1875. I was farming there; I rented the land and paid 90 pounds of lint cotton to the acre; that was equal to about $10 an acre; I rented from 15 to 20 acres; I would usually raise a bale of cotton to the acre, 450 pounds in a bale; I didn't make anything at all. The white people would take all I raised. I have a wife and three children with me; I scarcely made enough to feed them; if I did, the white folks would get it. I left the South because I was afraid of the white people; afraid of being shot or killed or badly wounded; I have seen white people going around at night in Franklin Parish in disguise killing the colored people and robbing them; a lady in Franklin who had a son about eighteen years old, whom I saw, had her son murdered; I went past her house the next morning and saw the son; he was shot all to pieces and was dead; he was a smart boy and read the papers, and the white people there won't allow that; she said there was about 25 or 30 people come in there that night, and when they first came in, as this was the only man kind in there, they made after him first, and she hallared when they made after him and told them he was the only son she had, and do not kill him; they paid no attention to her, but went and shot him right down; the men were disguised in kluklux form. When they first shot him he fell and was not killed, and they went off a little ways and his mother commenced to talk to him and he said, "Don't talk so much; they will hear you and come back and kill me." They heard the talking and came back, and found the door locked and burst it in, and this time they shot him and shot him all to pieces and made sure of it.

I intend to go to Kansas, to Topeka; I have not the means to get there; I only had money enough to get to Saint Louis. I want to go to Kansas because I heard it was a good country and I could get my own living; I had hardly the showing of a dog in the South; about 50 came in the crowd I came; we came by boat. I intend to go to Kansas when I can get money enough to get there or get help to get there. While I was in Madison Parish I lived two years on Major Lucas' place, president of the board of police, and I made good crops on his place both years, but he would take the cotton to his gin to gin it and would never return it. I never made the price of a bale of cotton on his place; I had to have the cotton ginned at his gin; couldn't have it done at any other place. When you rent land in the South you have to have it ginned at the gin of the owners of the land; that is the rule all through the South, and in this way they take all the cotton from the colored people. I never got a bale of cotton ginned for less than $6.

his
GEORGE + ROGERS.
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879.

J. H. DUNDAS,
[SEAL.] *Notary Public, Saint Louis, Mo.*

My name is Jet Gibbs; I have lived at Madison Parish, La., below Vicksburg; lived there fifteen years; my occupation was making cotton and corn to get something to eat. I rented land from land-owners—white gentlemen. I paid $10 an acre last year and the year before; I paid more than $10 an acre. When I picked out a bale of cotton and brought it to his gin he charged me $4 for ginning one bale of it. A good year we would turn out a bale or a bale and a quarter to an acre, and in real good seasons, when not too much rain, turn out a bale and a half to an acre. If we had to pay $10 per year and got poor crops we had hard work to live. Last year I had only four bales on 16 acres; everybody's crop failed; I didn't make one-third of a crop. My object in coming from the South was, we had been renting the land from the land-owners; some years we could make a good crop and could clear something; and then again we could make nothing and they would take it all—I mean, that when we realized enough from the cotton we paid the rent in money, but when there was not cotton enough the land-owners took all the cotton and left us nothing. Last year the land-owner took all the cotton I raised and left me nothing and I still owed him $23.38, and he told me he would wait for that until the coming fall. I had a wagon and team, and some hogs, chickens, and a couple of milch-cows; I had corn that I raised and took it to the mill and had it ground, and that made my flour, and sometimes, when I wanted meat, I would take my team and go to Delta and cut wood and sell it, and that is the only way I could get it. We tried to have the rent of the land reduced to $5 or $6 an acre, but they would consent only to a reduction of $2—that is, $8 per acre; and we said it wasn't low enough, and they said they would put us out on the levee, and we said we would go.

The place where I lived in Louisiana there wasn't much killing there, but in Franklin Parish, Ouachita Parish, Tensas Parish, all in Louisiana, there was a heap of killing done there—white men killing of colored men to prevent their voting the Republican ticket. I know of the killing, because so many colored men came from those places to Madison Parish, where I lived, who said they left because they were afraid of their lives. There was a man come from Ouachita Parish right directly after Christmas, or before Christmas, '78, named Tom McClennon; I had to board him at my house during the biggest snow we had this winter. He was afraid to go back home, and had run off and left his wife and three children, and crop of cotton and corn, because of being afraid of being killed.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 19th day of March, 1876, before me, the undersigned, appeared Jet Gibbs, and, being duly sworn, gave the statement hereinabove contained.

his
JET + GIBBS.
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to this 19th day of March, 1879, at Saint Louis.
[SEAL.] J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State above named, came Clarence Winn, and, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is Clarence Winn. I have lived for the past few years right around Delta, about 3 miles back on Crane's place, in Madison Parish, La. I rented from 10 to 12 to 20 acres of land; paid $10 an acre rent a year. For the last three or four years I have rented no more than 8 acres; raised cotton and corn mostly. I didn't scarcely make a living at all; the price of cotton being so low and the rent so high. I had to pay $4 a bale for ginning the cotton. We paid the person we rented the land of $4 a bale for ginning the cotton. We had been paying $5 per bale for ginning, but they had recently reduced it one dollar. To the acre of ground there was from $15.50 to $16 expense. We were getting not more than $25 to $31 to $32 a bale for the cotton. A good crop year would yield a bale to the acre; but lately it got so we couldn't raise a bale to the acre.

The reason I left the South was I could make nothing. If I had staid there I would have starved, and I was afraid of my life. I have never seen any shooting, but have seen men who had come right from there. The shooting was mostly done in Franklin and Morehouse Parish, Louisiana, adjoining the Parish of Madison. I have talked with these men who had run away from these parishes. One of the men's names was Erin Jackson. We could never vote as we wanted. If we voted the Republican ticket the Democrats would get up a mob and kill us off. At the last Presidential election, after the voting was done at Ravia, a little station about 35 or 40 miles from Delta, in Morehouse Parish, 25 or 30 men burst in the doors and took the ballots and would have killed the colored men—H. W. Jackson, Nathan Brooks, and H. P. Palmer—who had charge of the ballot-boxes, if they could have caught them; but they ran off; they got the pistols away from them.

My aim is to go to Kansas if I can get away and get there. I have got a little money, I guess enough to pay my way. I want to go to Topeka. I have a wife and two children along with me. I heard people in the South say we could make a good living in Kansas. The land-owners didn't want us to leave the South, and did all they could to prevent us. They would take the bedding and anything they could get a hold of, and say they held them for rent. I was never able to buy anything to eat, for didn't have any money.

his
CLARENCE + WINN.
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss :

On this 19th day of March, 1879, before me, a notary public, appeared Curtis Pollard, who, being first duly sworn, made the following statement of facts:

My name is Curtis Pollard. My age, sixty-nine years. I have lived in Madison Parish, Louisiana, for fifteen years. My occupation was farming, and during the fifteen years I served six years in the senate and legislature. I rented land at $10 an acre. I raised cotton and corn and vegetables. For four years I made a very good living. The last few years, the big rains and overflows, didn't make anything; not enough to make rent. The land-owners made no reduction; made us pay the rent if it took everything we had.

My object in leaving the South was on account of threats of my life; I was accused of teaching the people to immigrate to Kansas. Several of the Democratic citizens, John Bradfield, a seed broker, living in the town of Delta, told me if that could be proven to be the fact, on March 11, 1879, that my neck would be broke! He told me that right on the streets before a large crowd. Dr. Hamilton made his threats right in presence of the captain of the boat when I was getting my ticket to go aboard. Dr. Gibbs, in Delta, advised me to leave there, for I would certainly sure be killed. About the middle of February, 1879, two men came to my house, one of them cut very bad, from Richland Parish; they were cut to pieces, pretty bad; they said the bulldozers had got a hold of them for wanting to go to Kansas, and had pretty nearly killed them, and I asked them how many men was there, and they said twelve; I asked them if they knew any of the white men in the company, and they said they did; he said their names were one Joe Thomson and

John France, and they finally succeeded in getting away from them and come on down to Delta; one of them had a wife and four children and the other a wife and two children.

The talk about going to Kansas where I lived, I supposed, was caused by my getting hold of a couple of maps and showing them to the people. I intend to go to Kansas, to Topeka; I intend to go there on a farm.

The condition of the colored people down South for the past few years has been very bad, the ill-treatment by the white men; no matter how good a crop you made, you can't make anything.

CURTIS POLLARD.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 19th day of March, 1878.
[SEAL.] J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

On the 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State aforesaid, came Levi Childs, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is Levi Childs; my age is thirty-three years; I have been living at Madison Parish, Louisiana, for the past six years; I was a huntsman; for the last two or three years made a very rough living; the white people down in that part of the country allowed the colored people no showing at all; what you brought them they paid you no money for at all, nothing but trade, and charged big prices for the things they gave in trade.

I left the South because couldn't make a living there, and because I was afraid of being shot. I saw a man they were after in the next house to where I lived; they had been in a fuss with him the day before they came, that night; I saw them when they came to his house; it was about five months before Christmas, 1878; there was about seventy-five men; they surrounded the house; they were armed, I suppose, with muskets, from what I could see—it was dark. I heard the noise before they got there, and with some other men went into the man's house (his name was George Page), and took him away down to the swamp and hid him in a brush pile; after we got him away we went to the house and went to the door, and they asked us if he was there, and we told them no, and they told us to tell him they would give him 12 hours to leave the parish, and 24 hours to leave the State. He had been farming there and they wanted to attach his yoke of oxen for debts, they said, and he wasn't willing to give them up, and they told him if he wasn't willing to give them up they would kill him; he said he didn't owe them anything. I haven't seen him since. He left there right away, and I suppose he got away. They were making up companies and killing men in different places, and I thought if I didn't leave they would kill me too. I intend to go to Kansas; I have no means to get there with; I have no family along with me; I have a wife and two children down South; I brought my parents along with me; I would not go back to the South again.

his
LEVI + CHILDS.
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879.
[SEAL.] J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State above mentioned, came James Brown, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is James Brown; my age is about thirty years; have been living in Madison Parish, Louisiana, since 1873; have been farming on shares the first year, and balance of time I leased forty acres and paid ninety pounds lint cotton per acre; I paid $9 per bale for ginning and tying to the man I rented from; I made a poor living, and had to pay from $25 to $30 per barrel for pork; we raised our own corn, but if we run short of corn we had to pay from seventy-five cents to a dollar per bushel; they would give us from thirty-five to forty cents a bushel for corn and charge us seventy-five cents to a dollar for it when buying; from six to seven to eight and a half cents per pound was paid us for cotton; so, in all we made a very poor living; never could make any money; could just live and that was all.

I left the South because I didn't have the privilege of voting as I desired to; because we would go to the polls and they would tell us if we voted the Republican ticket we never would come back on their place no more. Mr. Bradley, the agent on the place I rented, told me in June or July, 1878, he said, "Brown, by God, if you go to the polls I want you to cast the right ticket"; and I asked him what ticket he wanted me to vote, and, says he, "Jim, we are going to carry this thing our way, you God damn niggers have had this thing your own way long enough, and we white folks are going to have it our own way or kill out all you God dam Republican niggers," and told me I was one of the leading men. We were always scared to speak for our rights; we would speak for it, and if they didn't give it we didn't dare try and get it; if we went to law with them they would beat us in spite of all we could do. We got papers down South stating the government had furnished land for us in Kansas, and was giving us free transportation from Saint Louis and charging us $4 a head from Vicksburg to Saint Lousi, and that some railroads in Kansas would furnish us land and allow us four payments, and the government would allow us five payments; that is, allow us four and five years to pay for it. I would never go South again; I never intend to go there again; I had enough money to get here with, but have no money to get to Kansas with; I have a wife and three orphan children; I can't say what portion of Kansas I will go to. I have my mother-in-law with me, and she has five or six children with her; she has no husband.

his
JAMES + BROWN
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879.
J. H. DUNDAS,
[SEAL.] *Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.*

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, a notary public within and for the city and State above mentioned, came J. D. Daniel, who, being duly sworn, made the following statement of facts:

My name is J. D. Daniel; my age is forty-five years; I am from Warren County, Mississippi; I was a blacksmith, and sometimes farmed it; I made two crops down there; couldn't make a living—just got along the hardest way; didn't have clothes to wear; I have a wife and five children along with me. I left the South because I couldn't make a living there, and couldn't vote as I wanted to; because the planters on whose lands we were made us vote as they wanted, or we would have to leave their places; we couldn't hold our club meetings on account of the white people coming in on us, and they had come in on us several times; when in Vicksburg, they came in on our club and killed Washington Davenport's son; it was in the night, and they shot him and then burned him; I was out in the street at the time; his mother took us in the next morning and showed us where they had killed him and burned him up and carried him out; Andrews and Green were the men who did it, who live in Vicksburg; the mother of the young man said they did it; they were not disguised at the time; they were the only men who went into the house, but there were more on the outside; it was dark at the time, and I could only just see these men passing; we all got scared and broke and run; I was constantly afraid of my life; I was threatened a week ago Friday night, a week from last Friday night; Mr. George Simerell told me if I was going to Kansas, he would move me out of his room, and I took him at his word and went; he went to Newtown, and some of my friends came and told me I had better hurry or I wouldn't get of. Mr. Bob Henderson killed a colored blacksmith there in 1872; never known what for; killed him in a store. The colored men can't make anything there, for the landowners have their own stores and gin houses on their own plantations, in order to catch all the cotton on each place, and the tillers of the soil can't get their cotton ginned at any other place or buy their supplies at any other place; paying from 80 pounds of lint to 90 pounds per acre; selling the barrels of pork from $15 to $30 per barrel; have known them to sell it as high as $40 per barrel, and have bought it at that price; corn meal $6.50 per barrel on time; flour $13 and $14 per barrel, and everything else in that proportion; so they keep the colored men in a low condition all the time.

In 1874, in the third district of Warren County, Mississippi, the colored people held a meeting to instruct each other how to vote, two days before the voting, and we all voted the Republican ticket, as we had been generally doing, and the other party robbed the ballot-box, going to Vicksburg, and threw it in the river. It was found in the river between Newtown and Davis' Bend, and then we were not allowed from that time to now to use our own judgment in voting. I want to go to Kansas because I think we can do better there. I have some papers from Kansas that tells us that we can do better. I would not go back to the South again. I have not the means to get to Kansas. I will have to work here until I get the money or my friends help me. I have been stopping with friends on Cherry street since coming here.

J. D. DANIEL.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of March. A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.] J. H. DUNDAS.

Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State above mentioned, came Daniel Parker, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is Daniel Parker; my age is about twenty-nine years; I have been living for the last few years on Widow Crane's place, about 3 miles from Delta, La.; made a very bad living; paying $10 an acre rent; the colored people in the South received no favors at all from the white people; the reason I left the South was we had organized a club to get a reduction in rent, and I had been made president of the club, on Widow Crane's place; I was accused of teaching the people to leave the South, and heard that threats had been made against my life; I was afraid they would make way with me at night; a young man who had lived right next me moved in Tensas Parish, told me that the bulldozers along in August or September, 1878, came into that parish and killed and slaughtered men there just for fun; his name was Ed. Dabny; I said, "Ed, do you go round there now and tell the people how to vote?" and he said no, he had taken to preaching now—if he told the people how to vote there would be a man short there." I asked him if there wasn't enough colored men there to keep the white people from bulldozing them, and he said no, they had no protection at all. After the riot in Tensas Parish he said the Democrats compromised the matter with the colored people and the colored men went to work again, and while they were in the fields the white men, to the number of 200, mounted on horses, went around and broke into their houses and took their guns and came into the fields and shot and hung some of the men, and they were all scared to stay there, because they have got no protection. I want to go to Topeka, Kans.; my wife and two children are down in Madison Parish; I had to leave without them; if I had tried to start with them there would have been a fuss; there was a large crowd of people on the bank, and after they found out the colored people were going to leave they took all the bedclothes and things they could from them; the land-owners in the South did everything they could to prevent us from leaving; if they see you leaving they will make you give an account of yourself, where you are going and when you are coming back.

DANIEL PARKER.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, at Saint Louis, Mo.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of St Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of St. Louis, ss:

On this 20th day of March, 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State above mentioned, came Lewis Woods, who, being duly sworn, made the following statement of facts:

My name is Lewis Woods; my age, about forty-two years old; I have been living in Madison Parish, La., for the past eight years; I have been farming the best part of the time; I paid $10 an acre for 10 acres, and the last year I only rented 8 acres; I was constable there for two years; I made a very bad living there, because I was charged so high for rent and provisions that at the end of the year the land-owners had it all; the colored men received very bad treatment from the whites; it was becoming so the colored people dare not express an opinion against the whites. About two weeks before I started, they asked me if I was going away, and I told them I was; I was talking to Dr. Gibbs, who I owed $4 for medicine and wasn't able to pay, and he said, "If you don't mind you will be put to trouble before you get away from here." I told him I couldn't help it; and I was told a week ago last Sunday night by some of my friends that I had better go to Vicksburg; I went over to Vicksburg on Sunday and staid there all night, and I went to Delta on Monday morning, and the sheriff was there with a warrant for my arrest; he arrested me and I went before the squire, and they failed to prove their charge; I was released and moved my family aboard the boat as quick as I could and staid aboard the boat.

About four weeks ago, two colored men, Lee and Foreman Crosby, were told to leave the place, and they went away; they said they were persuading the blacks to move away from there.

In Madison Parish, at the election last fall, we were all allowed to vote as we pleased, because the whites were afraid to come there on account of the yellow fever; in the adjoining parishes the colored people were not allowed to vote the Republican ticket.

I left the South because I didn't feel myself safe and couldn't make a living; I would by no means go back to the South; I want to go to Kansas; I haven't got the means to go there; I have a wife and four little children with me. We had to carry the cotton to the gin of the man who owned the land we rented, and he would take it all from us. I have seen people from Franklin Parish who said that it was a very common thing to see a colored man killed and hung to a tree; that they had seen it themselves.

LEWIS WOODS.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]
J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 22d day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, came Emile Auspitz, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is Emile Auspitz; my age is thirty-two years. For the past few years I have been living in the State of Texas and Louisiana. I was clerking and peddling through the country, so I had a good opportunity of seeing the treatment received by the colored people down South. The condition of the colored people there is very low; if they go into a store they get cheated, and if they deal with the planters they get cheated. On election days the Democrats are at the polls with arms and prevent the colored men from voting. During the past year through the different parishes in Louisiana colored people have been killed by the white people; I have seen it with my own eyes. During the last Presidential election at Columbus, Tex., one stock dealer killed two colored men, and was never arrested; killed them for not voting the ticket he gave them; they were in his employ. I saw these men killed myself. I was standing next to the white man.

Last fall in Saint James Parish, Louisiana, I saw white men standing at the polls with cocked revolvers, and they wouldn't let the niggers come there. I have seen shooting there at Saint James Parish during that same election; white men shooting niggers. When a colored man works a plantation on shares, and raises, say, eight bales of cotton, the planter sells it, and not the negro, and he will cheat him in saying the weight of the bales were less than they really were; and when he goes to get his money from the store of the planter he buys his provisions and other articles, and is cheated in the weight, &c.

My opinion is that the colored people are doing right in leaving the South, and that the South will be ruined when they do go, because the white men can't do the work the niggers do in the field. There are thousands of acres in Louisiana lying idle without any crops, because the owners won't rent the land at reasonable rates. The planters charge too much rent to the niggers, and before giving it to them cheaper they will let the land lay idle. I left from New Orleans about three weeks ago. I intend to return to the South again in the winter.

EMILE AUSPITZ.

Subscribed and sworn to this 22d day of March, 1879.

[SEAL.] J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 20th day of March, 1879, before me came Frederick Marshall, who, being duly sworn, made the following statement of facts:

My name is Frederick Marshall; my age is fifty-three years. I have been living the past few years at Natchez, Miss.; been living there about six years, making cotton; rented about 10 acres of land of a widow woman; paid two bales of cotton to ten acres, 450 pounds in the bale; this would be equal to about $10 per acre. We made a tolerable good living for a while, until the bushwackers came in and commenced shooting.

Just before Christmas, 1878, three or four men came to my house to kill me, and I run out of the way; just before daylight they came there and wanted matches; after they came in the house I ran out doors and staid out the rest of the night; they went away; didn't know the men; they said they would kill me, and had a rope round my neck, and said they were going to kill all the smart men, and I told them I didn't know anything.

I know a man by the name of Page who was killed at Water Proof, La. I was there at the time he was shot, and saw him shot; they shot a boy off the house, some relation of Page; that was in the morning; they said Page was one of the smart men; there were some fifteen or twenty white men in the crowd who did the killing; I was afraid of my life all the time, and that is the reason I left the South. When you get to the polls to vote the white men won't let the colored men vote, and say if we go to the box to put the ballot in they will shoot us. I had to go some place where I could work without being afraid of my life, and heard Kansas was a good place; I have a wife along with me; no children; I want to go wherever they send me; some place to work.

I have a little money; not enough to get there. I wouldn't go back to the South again.

his
FREDERICK + MARSHALL.
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.] J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State aforesaid, came T. J. Watts, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is T. J. Watts; my age is twenty-nine years; I have lived in Vicksburg, Miss., during the past two years; kept a saloon, 243 Washington street; the condition of the colored people down there, as far as I know, was very bad. I was the first man who called a meeting of the colored people, over my saloon, in June, 1878, and I organized a club called the "Auxiliary Club," and I was elected president, and it came out in the Herald to brighten up their needle guns; they knew not for what reason the niggers were organizing; and from the tone of the paper I wrote a letter the next day to C. E. Wright, editor of the Vicksburg Herald, and took it down there personally, to let him know I didn't intend to organize a Republican party because I was afraid. A few days after W. H. Andrews, a merchant down there, called a meeting to strike the colored people and not allow them to vote in the coming election. There was no Republican ticket nominated for the city election last June, because the Democrats would allow no ticket to be nominated; they would not even allow a caucus to be held, and the colored people were afraid to attempt it. I heard of the riot over in Tensas Parish in the fall of 1878, at the abatement of the yellow fever. I heard that there was a meeting of the colored people over there to get a reduction in the rent, and the white people heard of the meeting and tried to get away with those who attended the meeting, and some of the colored men were killed. A colored lady named Laura Lewis, who taught school about 7 miles from Bovina, told me that she had to fly for her life, and left her bonnet and shawl in the school room, and her dress was torn and wet with dew by coming through the cotton fields; all occasioned by her expressing her opinion of the grievances of the colored people. A person in the South dare not express an opinion against the Democrats.

My object is to go to Kansas, to Topeka. My purpose in leaving the South now was occasioned by an advertisement I saw in the Vicksburg Herald, to the effect notifying all parties that furnished information to encourage immigration to Kansas if they were not spotted they would be, and when they were found out they would find that that climate would be made too hot for them. The date was between the third and ninth of this month. I read it myself in the Herald. I have the means to go to Kansas.

T. J. WATTS.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.] J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 24th day of March, 1879, before me came Jacob Stevens, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is Jacob Stevens. I reckon I am about twenty-two years old. Last year I lived in Hinds County, Mississippi. I have been working there raising cotton and corn. I rented, together with my oldest brother and sister, about forty acres. We paid about $10 an acre in cotton. We just lived and breathed along. Could barely live and that was all. The condition of the colored people in the South is awful bad. They are treated awful bad by the white people. I left the South because I couldn't make a living and was treated so badly by the whites, and the white people got so they would kill the colored people up. I think about two years ago, in September, on Sidney Whitehead's place, in Orange County, Mississippi, my brother Ike and my father were shot in my presence. The white people had been over to a Mr. Hoffer's house and killed him on the same place; I reckon about good daylight. They killed him because he held in with the black people. He was a white man, and I and my brother were over to Mr. Hoffer's house that day, and as we came home, going across a little cotton patch, and as we got near to the house, some of the women who were with us said "There comes the white folks;" and as they said that my brother walked on ahead of me and I followed on after him pretty pertly, and we got within about ten steps of the door, I suppose, when they said "Halt, you God damn sons of bitches;" and we didn't exactly halt, and stepped a few steps further, and the white folks commenced shooting, and they shot my brother in the neck and burnt his shirt collar, he was so close to the gun; and after they shot him he fell and raised and went a step further, and they shot him right through the side and killed him; he said, "O, Lord;" that was all he said. The white folks came up and turned him over with their feet after he was dead. My father was in the house and they made him open the door and come out; they led him out to about the middle of the yard, and told him to stop there and told him to tell them all he knowed (I reckon they meant the club), and he told them he didn't know nothing about it; and the captain or man who had him said, "I don't believe he knows anything about it," and said, "Bring the old Radical son of a bitch out here in the road," and got him out there and stood him on the bank, right side of the fence, and the captain said, "If he don't know anything about it, he is the damndest old son of a bitch in this country." At this time my mother was crying and begging them, so they told her to go away, and took my father on up the road, I think about 125 yards, and took him into the woods on the right-hand side of the road, and I heard the guns, and the people went up there and found him lying right side of the stump; he was dead. He was shot all through the head and side with bullets and buckshot. He was shot to pieces. There were some seventy-five white men in the crowd. They had no disguises. I think it was about the middle of the day. They shot my father because he was a Radical. There was nothing ever done about the shooting. I knew John Whitehead and Ross Whitehead, who were in the crowd. On election days if a black man got a Republican ticket to vote they would say he was spotted, and that meant they were going to kill you. They wouldn't allow the colored people to vote as they wanted. About a year ago my brother-in-law was shot in Orange County, Mississippi. He got talking with a man who owed him four bits, and he told the man he owed him 50 cents, and he said he didn't and went on, and about 3 miles from home my brother was shot by him. He came right up along side of my brother, on horseback, and didn't say anything at all, but shot him right in the side and broke two ribs, but didn't kill him. There was nothing ever said to him for the shooting. After the men had killed my brother, they went to the well and got a drink of water and the water was muddy, and they said this water smells as if it had strychnine, and if it has you will smell hell for it; they said that to my mother.

The poor white people in the South are in just as bad a condition as the negroes, except the whites won't kill them.

Reason I leave the South is because I can't make a living there, and can't get my rights. What I mean by that is, if I owe a man a dollar I am to pay, and if a man owes me a dollar he is to pay me; and if I owe a man a dollar, he is not to take everything I have for it; and if he owes me, he isn't to kill me for it.

I am going to Kansas. I understand Kansas is a country part timber and part prairie, and that you will have a hard time for the first year, and that there are government and railroad lands there; that it don't take much to keep me. I can manage to work and earn something, and have earned something already since I left Mississippi. I think I am too good a man to stay down there and be killed, and don't intend to do it.

Couldn't carry me back South again unless they would chain me and carry me back. My people are there, and I would like to see them, but I can't go back. I don't think my people will ever get out of the South because the people are getting so bad.

The white people at first said they didn't care how many negroes left the South, but when they saw so many leaving they are doing everything in their power to prevent it. I left the South about seven weeks ago.

his
JACOB + STEVENS.
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 24th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

On this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city of Saint Louis, State of Missouri, came John Massey, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is John Massey. I have lived for the last ten years west of Edwards depot, Hines County, Mississippi. I farmed it; for the last three years I leased 25 acres of land; for the last year I paid two bales of cotton for it. I didn't make anything but make out a living. The general treatment received by the colored people from the whites is bad. I left the South because I couldn't make a living there, and because we had no rights. On election days we were compelled to vote the Democratic ticket; they would come to us and give us a ticket, and told us if we didn't vote it they would kill us. Times were getting so bad that a colored man dare not speak above his breath for fear of being killed; it was impossible for us to vote the Republican ticket.

I know Harry Curtis, who lived about three miles from Auburn, was taken out and killed some three years ago because he went to hear Radical speeches.

I intend to go to Kansas. I have no money to get there with; I have a wife and five children with me. I wouldn't go back to the South again.

JOHN MASSEY.

Subscribed and sworn to this 20th day of March, A. D. 1879.

J. H. DUNDAS,
[SEAL.] *Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.*

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

Be it remembered that on this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State aforesaid, came Thomas Carroll, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is Thomas Carroll; my age fifty-nine years. I have been living for the past few years in Washington County, Mississippi. Didn't make no living down there; was farming; the white folks treated me so bad that I left there and came up here. The white people down South are all Democrats.

About two weeks ago two colored men were sitting on the bank of the Mississippi River, not far from Greenville, in Mississippi, waiting for the boat to come to take them up the river, to go to Kansas; a good gang of white people came along and commenced to talk to them about their going away; the leading man among the whites was one Charlie Smith; and they killed one of the colored men and the other ran off; they killed him because he wanted to go to Kansas.

After the colored people make a crop the whites hold meetings and say "We won't let Mr. Nigger have anything," so as to keep them tied down.

The whites would not let the colored people vote the Republican ticket; would not let us come to the polls, and would use arms to prevent us coming there. About six months ago the senator from Washington County died and we tried to get a colored man in place of him, and the whites would not allow us to vote unless we voted the Democratic ticket; they bulldozed the colored men at that election to a great extent. I am going to Kansas to live on a farm. I am not going back to the South, because I can't get my rights there. In 1878 I raised 48 bales of cotton and only got $30 for it because the whites cheated me out of it. They would not allow us to express our rights even when we knew them. Two colored men in Greenville, Miss., were waiting to take the Helena along with some of us, and some white men came up with a constable and said to them "You owe us," and they said they didn't, but they took them along back with them; and when the Helena came up the white folks persuaded the captain of the boat so they would not allow us on the boat and went off without us, when a Cincinnati packet came along and took us to Cairo; I have a wife and nine children along with me. I have not money to get to Kansas.

his
THOMAS + CARROLL.
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.] J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

Be it remembered that on this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State aforesaid, came George Weeks, who, being duly sworn, gave me the following statement of facts:

My name is George Weeks; my age is about thirty-nine. I have been living at Warren County, Mississippi, for the past few years; farming it there. I didn't make a good living there. I could not make a living there. I had to run away on account of the Kansas question. I had been up to Vicksburg for about a week, and on the 12th day of March, this present month, I went back to my plantation and met the man whom I rented from, by the name of Davis, and he said to me, "George, are you going to remain on my place this year?" and I told him I didn't know whether I was or not, and he said "Well, that means going," and then he said "George, I have heard some God dam bad things about you," and I said "Well, Mr. Davis, what are they?" and he said "Some God dam bad things that made me mad;" and he said "We boys," that is the white men, "are going to hold a meeting this evening, but I ain't got time to tell you now, but will tell you to-morrow what you did." And I said "Where shall I see you to morrow?" and he said "Come up to the house between ten and eleven o'clock;" and from his rash speaking I wouldn't meet him. And I took the boat on the 13th instant and went off to Vicksburg, and Mr. Davis and two other men were standing on the river bank when the boat landed at Brunswick Point, with Navy revolvers, to prevent my getting on the boat, but I went on up the shore and came down to the boat below them, so they didn't see me; they expected I would pass by them to get on the boat. And Mr. Davis and these two men spent all day on the 14th and 15th hunting for me. I went up to Vicksburg without my wife, and had to get a colored man, a constable by the name of Andrew Jackson, to bring wife to Saint Louis for me. I want to go to Kansas. When the Presidential election was they would not allow me to vote, because I would not vote the Democratic ticket. I would not go back to the South. I have no use for the South. I have the money to get to Kansas.

his
GEORGE + WEEKS.
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.] J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

Be it remembered that on this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State aforesaid, came John Cummings, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is John Cummings; my age is about thirty-one years; I have been living in Warren County, Mississippi, for the past eight years, farming; I made a very poor living; I received bad treatment there from the whites; everything is so high, and could not vote; they would not let me vote; the men at the polls told me they would shoot me if I voted the Republican ticket; they said if I did not vote the right ticket I would vote none at all. The white people had pistols with them at the polls. I saw four men killed at a Republican speech at Vicksburg; we had been in the house hearing speeches and four men came in the back door and said, "Get out of here all all you dam sons of bitches," and fired right into the crowd and killed four of the colored men; don't know who they were; that was in December, 1877. I was afraid to vote the Republican ticket. All the negroes South are Republicans, or most of them. I have heard of other colored men being killed for political reasons. About forty killed out on the Jackson road, and about four out on the Valley road; these four I know of myself; one of them was a minister; after they were killed they would not be allowed to be removed, but they were left there and the buzzards ate them up. This was about the same time, in 1877.

I want to go to Kansas on a farm. The white people stopped all the colored people they could from leaving the South. They use force to prevent them getting away. There are four or five hundred up on Little Deer Creek who cannot get out; they won't let them come on the boats; they won't let them leave without a pass; the boat will not take them unless they have a pass; they will be killed if they try to get out without a pass. I have a family with me. I won't go back to the South again, because there is no living for me there and I can't get my rights there.

JOHN CUMMINGS.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. A. DUNDAS,
Notary Public within and for the City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

Be it remembered that on this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public, within and for the city and State aforesaid, came Thomas Wallace, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is Thomas Wallace. My age is about twenty-eight years. I have been living in Warren County, Mississippi, for the past few years, farming it there. We could not make a living there by our labor, because they charge us so much for land and for other things. We could not vote the Republican ticket; they would intimidate us; we could not vote. I know of some colored people being shot; I didn't see them killed, but I saw the blood where they had been killed at Vicksburg. The white folks or Democrats in Vicksburg issued circulars for the colored people to come to town, and they came, and they stopped us on the road there, and commenced shooting at us, but didn't shoot any of the men who were with us; they had the sixteen shooters and hadn't learned how to use them; we didn't reach Vicksburg, that is the men who were along with me. A man in Warren County, Mississippi, by the name of Phil Taylor, was shot and killed by the whites for having some words with a white man about his cotton. I am going to Kansas. The white people are trying to stop the colored people from leaving. The whites say they will wade in blood up to their waists before they will let any more niggers go away. I would not go back to the South. I have a wife and three children with me. I have the money to get to Kansas.

TOM WALLACE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879.
[SEAL.] J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

Be it remembered that on this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public in and for the city and State aforesaid, appeared Henry Jackson, who, being by me duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is Henry Jackson. My age is about seventy-five years. I have been living for the past years at Carroll Parish, Louisiana; been farming there; never made any kind of living there; received very poor treatment from the white folks from there. I left the South because I could not make a living. Year before last I made ten bales of cotton, and never got a cent for it. The man whom I rented from said he would ship it and when he was paid for it, he would pay me; but he never paid me anything for it. I sued for it, but could not get anything. They wanted me to pawn my horse, and begin over again, but I told them I would not do it; and they asked me what I was going to do, and I told them I was going to sell my horse and going away. The colored people were shot and killed there for being Republicans because they would not vote as the white folks wanted them to. The best of the negroes down there are Republicans. I know there was some colored people shot along about last Christmas down at Water Proof, La., for political reasons; I think some five or six. I want to go up to Kansas; I want to go there to farm it. The white people don't want the colored people to leave the South, and do every thing to stop them. They came down to the boat and rowed with the captain of the boat for taking us. If it had not been for the captain of the boat, they would have shot some of us; the captain hollered out, "None of that! come aboard; come aboard!" They had pistols with them. I saw the pistols. I would not go back to the South again, because I could not live; cannot live there and give $2 for meal, and $30 for a barrel of pork, and $10 an acre for land, and $5 for ginning cotton, and then be cheated out of everything after I have made it. My wife is along me. I reckon I have enough money to get to Kansas.

his
HENRY + JACKSON.
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879.
[SEAL.] J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public within and for the City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

Be it remembered that on this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879, before me, the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State aforesaid, came Edward Leonard, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is Edward Leonard; my age is twenty four years. I have been living in Warren County, Mississippi, for the past few years, farming. I made a pretty good living there if I had got; but I didn't get it; the white people take all of it away. I had 20 acres of land. I paid 1,200 pounds of lint cotton for the whole 20 acres. The treatment received from the whites down there is bad; if the colored people talked back to the whites they would shoot them down. I left the South because I could not make a living; if I got half a barrel of meat and some flour they would take all my cotton for it and still leave me in debt. They would not let me vote there unless I voted as they wanted me to; they would kill me if I voted the Republican ticket. They said to me, "By God, if you don't walk close and do what you are told to do, you will come up missing." Bill Cushing, a white man, made this threat to me in 1874. On the 7th of December they put out a report for all the colored people to come in town on Monday, in Vicksburg, and the men all went in a , and about ten o'clock in the morning the whites came with their 16 shooters and just shot and killed every negro they saw. I saw them shoot a number of colored people myself. I think they killed about a dozen or so; they killed them because they were Republicans. Nothing was ever done to them for the killing; never arrested. In 1876, on the 5th of July, the colored people were going to speak at the court-house in Vicksburg, and when they had got together the white people came and raised a row there, and the colored people ran out of the court-house and the whites commenced shooting at them and killed two; I saw them myself; and the whites went out on the street and would shoot at every colored man they saw. A colored man was afraid to stay at his house after night came, for being afraid they would come and kill him; this is all on account of being Republicans. It is impossible for a negro to vote the Republican ticket down there. I am going to Kansas. The white people didn't want us to come away; tried to stop us; they took away everything they could from 'em. I had a horse and some hogs, and they took my horse away; I didn't owe them anything; they claimed I owed. A man came and took my horse away by force; he was not an officer of the law. They tried to stop me getting on the boat; five or six of the whites came and told the captain of the boat not to take any away from that place, and the captain told them they were free people, and if they had the money he would take them right along. I would not go back to the South again; they would kill me there if I went back. I have a wife and two children with me. I have not money with me to get to Kansas.

his
EDWARD + LEONARD,
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]

J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
City of Saint Louis, ss:

Be it remembered that on this 29th day of March, before the undersigned, a notary public within and for the city and State aforesaid, came William Jones, who, being duly sworn, gave the following statement of facts:

My name is William Jones; my age is about thirty-four years. I have been living in Warren County, Miss., for the past few years; been farming; been living there like a dog; received so bad treatment from the whites. I left the South because I had no privilege of voting, nothing to eat, and what little I did make the white folks would take from me. I rented six acres. I paid 100 pounds of lint-cotton to the acre. I raised five bales of cotton on the six acres. When election time came on we went to the court-house to vote. This was in the spring of 1878, and the colored people were going to make speeches, and the white people, Democrats, came and commenced shooting, I think some 20 or 30, with pistols. They did not kill any of them, but wounded two colored men; their names one of them was Ben Adam, and the other name I can't call. And when we got out of the court-house the white people were out in the streets with their needle guns, and were shooting at all the colored people they saw. I saw all this with my own eyes; I was in the court-house myself. A colored man down there can't vote the Republican ticket. The negroes in the South are about all Republicans. I am to go to Kansas if I can get there. I have my wife with me. I never will go back to the South again; I would die first. They didn't want us to leave the South. They went to the captain of the boat and offered him money not to take us. I have my wife and two children with me. I have not the money to get to Kansas.

his
WILLIAM + JONES.
mark.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of March, A. D. 1879.

[SEAL.]
J. H. DUNDAS,
Notary Public, City of Saint Louis, Mo.

The **WITNESS.** Now, I was careful to say to the gentleman who examined these men to ask them whether or not circulars were sent South to know whether railroad agents and men, both white and colored, for mercenary motives had not attempted to induce them to leave the South, and they said, "No, sir; nothing of the kind; it was not any circulars." I took pains to investigate whether these circulars had come, and in all those that I have talked with, and I think I can safely say I talked with a thousand of them, I made it a point to ask them about this.

I am president of the refugee board of the city of Saint Louis, and I defy a man to bring a cent against me that ever I took from one of these refugees; and I have raised and issued ten thousand dollars for them, and didn't take a cent. The white men of Saint Louis gave me money to pay my expenses, and to try to help these people. And I may say that the white people, irrespective of party, when we had quartered there five or six hundred at a time in the churches and halls and in every available place, assisted in taking care of them.

And I went among these people and asked them what the causes were of their leaving; and I have here some itemized bills that were given by storekeepers.

Mr. **BLAIR.** Well, we can put them in, as that bears on the labor question we have been inquiring into.

The WITNESS. For instance, they charged in Mississippi for a gallon of molasses that we could buy for 25 cents in Saint Louis $1.50 and $2. Corn meal that we buy for 50 cents a bushel they charged $2 a bushel for in the South. And I am not taking this from hearsay, I am taking it from their own writing as showing that the statement I have made can be corroborated by witnesses in their own handwriting.

Mr. BLAIR. Read us some of these items showing the differences in prices. I want to hear them, and our friends from Kansas can hear of some of the causes that brought these people there.

(Witness handing an abstract to Mr. Blair. Mr. Blair reading):

CAUSES OF THE EXODUS.—OUTRAGEOUS EXTORTION BY MERCHANTS.—PROVISIONS CHARGED AT DOUBLE THEIR VALUE.

[By telegraph to the Tribune.]

WASHINGTON, *April* 8.

Mr. Tandy, of Saint Louis, who brought to Washington yesterday the memorial in regard to the exodus of negroes from the South, has also some interesting documentary evidence of the unfair treatment of which the colored refugees complain, and which they declare makes it impossible for them to live longer in their old homes. Among the papers referred to are original contracts and accounts current brought from Madison Parish, Louisiana, not far from Vicksburg, and other stations. These contracts show that the negroes are charged ten dollars a year rent for land which would hardly sell at that price if put on the market. In the accounts current the prices of provisions are outrageously extortionate, and there is hardly a single article for which the negroes are not required to pay at least twice its actual value. The price of meal is put down at $2 a bushel, although it has rarely been worth more than $1 even in the summer. Molasses is charged at $1.50 a gallon, for which 75 cents would be a large price, and tobacco at 50 cents a plug (one-third of a pound), which is worth about 60 cents a pound at retail in the country in the Southern States. To filling out a contract the charge was $2.50. A notary would do the same in New York or New England at a price ranging from 25 cents to $1. The payment for these advances was in every case secured by a mortgage on, or a bill of sale of, the crop of cotton to be raised by the negro, and the proceeds of the cotton are entered on the credit side of the account. In almost every instance there was a small balance against the colored planter, although if only fair prices had been charged for the provisions a considerable balance would have appeared on the other side of the account.

The WITNESS. Here are two contracts also, in form, filled in and signed by the parties to them, showing the way labor contracts are made. I should like to put them in also.

Mr. BLAIR. As they bear directly upon this labor question we will put them in (examining them).

They follow:

This agreement, made and entered into this thirty-first day of January, 1877, between D. O'Brien, party of the first part, and Louis Woods, party of the second part, witnesseth: That the said part of the first part for and in consideration of one hundred dollars, to be paid to the said D. O'Brien as hereinafter expressed, hereby leases to said Louis Woods for the year A. D. 187 , a certain tract of land, the boundaries of which are well understood by the parties hereto, and the area of which the said parties hereby agree to be ten acres, being a portion of the O'Brien plantation in Madison Parish, La.

The said Louis Woods is to cultivate said land in a proper manner, under the general superintendence of the said D. O'Brien or his agent or manager, and is to surrender to said lessor peaceable possession of said leased premises at the expiration of this lease without notice to quit. All ditches, turn-rows, bridges, fences, etc., on said land shall be kept in proper condition by said Louis Woods or at his expense. Said plantation, and no goods of any kind shall be kept for sale on said land, unless by consent of said lessor.

If said lessor shall furnish to said lessee money, or necessary supplies, or stock, or material, or either or all of them, during this lease to enable him to make a crop, the amount of said advances, not to exceed seventy-five dollars, the said lessee agrees to pay for the supplies and advances so furnished out of the first cotton picked and saved on said land from the crop of said year, and to deliver said cotton of the first picking to said lessor where he may designate, to be by him bought or shipped at his option, the proceeds to be applied to payment of said supply bill, which is to be fully paid on or before the first day of October, 1877. After payment of said supply bill, the said lessee is to pay to said lessor, where he may designate, the rent cotton hereinbefore stipulated, said rent to be fully paid on or before the first day of October, 1877. All cotton raised on said land is to be ginned where he may designate, —— dollars per bale for ginning same. To secure payment of said rent and supply bill, the said lessee grants unto said lessor a special privilege and right of pledge on all the products raised on said land, and on all his stock, farming implements, and personal property, and hereby waives in favor of said lessor the benefit of any and all homestead laws and exemption laws now in force or which may be in force in Louisiana, and agrees that all his property shall be seized and sold to pay said rent and supply bill in default of payment thereof as herein agreed. Any violation of this contract shall render the lease void.

D. O'BRIEN.
LEWIS WOODS.

Witness:
S. KAHN.
JOHN WALKER.

Memorandum of an agreement made this first day of January, A. D. 1874, witnesseth:

That Wm. Riley, of Davis Bend, county of Warren, State of Mississippi, has this day leased of Montgomery & Sons, of the said county and State, 11 $\frac{34}{100}$ (eleven and $\frac{34}{100}$) acres of land, situated on Hurricane plantation, exclusively for agricultural purposes, designated as part plot No. 17, and bounded as follows: East by Dock Jenkins, north by plot No. 16, south by Briarfield, west by K. Johnson, for the term of one year, ending December 31st, 1874, at the rate of $8.00 per acre and one-half of the cotton-seed produced on said land. One-half of the rent to be paid on signing this lease, or interest on the same at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum. The balance to be paid on or before the 15th day of October, 1874, for the true payment of which the lessor shall have a prior lein upon all the productions of said land.

The said William Riley agrees to clean, plow, plant, and otherwise cultivate the said parcel of land in a husbandlike manner, and to bind himself to obey all general rules of the plantation, and abide by any local laws that may be made by a majority of this community, not in conflict with the laws of this State.

The said Wm. Riley further covenants that he will not assign, let or under-let the whole or any part of said land, or harbor any idle or vagrant persons thereon.

The conditions of this lease are such, that if the said lessee shall fail to fulfill its requirements it shall be null and void. Otherwise to remain in full force.

11 $\frac{34}{100}$ acres land @ $8, $90.72.

his
WM. + RILEY. [L. S.]
mark.
MONTGOMERY & SONS. [L. S.]

Signed in duplicate and delivered in the presence of—
B. L. HICKMAN.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Now Mr. Tandy, please state generally, and then give any specific instances, as to any treatment these people allege that they received where they came from, in addition to the affidavits you have submitted, and the reasons which they gave you in their conversations with you for their leaving.—A. Well, I will give you some of their own words: I spoke to some twelve or fifteen there on the levee, and they said that about two hundred of them had come down to the river bank and were waiting for a boat, and while they were there, several boats passed up the river and would not land to take them on. I asked them why the boats would not land to take them on, and they said that the planters or men in the South, whoever they may be—the lower strata, I suppose, of men—for I cannot conceive that the better class of white men there, Democrats or Republicans, would attempt anything of the kind; but from what I could gather, there is a class of men there that maraud through the country and have no visible means of living except by plundering through the country—a bad class of white men—and they came down to the river bank and began simultaneously to fire upon them, and drove them to the woods; and, as they ran back, they said some five or six of them were killed; and they dispersed through the woods; and to give their own language, "Their dead bodies," they said, "laid in the woods till the buzzards made a prey of them." Naturally they laid there unkenneled, and the buzzards came there and ate their bodies. Now, I can't say as to the truth of all their stories, in every particular, but as a general rule I know—I do believe—that there is more truth in their stories than fiction, although some men say there is not. I believe the cause of this exodus is the bad treatment that these people have received; and after I have talked with them and examined each man carefully, I have found that there is not one single instance in which I have talked with them, but they all gave the same story, substantially. Ignorant as many of them are, not having had the advantages of school facilities, and all those kind of things, they give a universal opinion. Hence I ascribe the cause of their leaving to this:

First. They are denied their civil rights as free men and citizens.

Second. They are denied their personal and religious privileges; and,

Third. They are deprived of their political rights.

And I will instance: In the city of New Orleans—and if any one has read and noticed the papers there they will see that it is so—their churches were closed at ten o'clock, and the newspapers published a notice that if any of their ministers kept their churches open after ten o'clock their ministers would be arrested, and some of them were, &c. They ascribe as their first reason that their civil rights are not granted them; and, secondly, that their religious rights are disregarded—their right of worshipping God under their own vine and fig tree with none to molest or make them afraid; and, third, that their political rights are tampered with, and that they are forced to vote against their opinions and convictions.

Q. What did they say as to the means used to prevent the expression of their honest convictions?—A. They said that bulldozing was used to prevent them. One man that I talked with personally kept a store there, and he said he was worth in actual cash ten thousand dollars; and he told me he had gone to the city of Saint Louis, and that he could order there five to six thousand dollars in groceries or dry goods to stock his store; and he said they went around to the wards, the different wards, you know; he said they went around to every colored man's house, and if these colored men did not sign a paper to vote as they wanted him to, he was spotted—that meant that they meant to get away with him; and all those that signed it they gave certificates to; that is to say, that John, George, or Bob, whoever he is, belongs to the white men's party, and their names are enrolled on the list of the Democrats. He said he signed that and voted the Democratic ticket a long while; but after a while he said he made up his mind that he was not going to vote the Democratic ticket any more under such circumstances. And two other men he had as associates, were barbers, I think, and he said after he had come to that resolve, not to vote the Democratic ticket any more, he was spotted, and they were spotted; and they went to the house of the two other men that were his associates, and they killed them. And while they were killing them, he said he pulled the beard off of his face and crept into the yard of a widow lady and laid down under the jimpson weeds until the cover of night came, and under the cover of darkness he stole away and slipped off to the woods and made his way on foot until he could get to some point where he could get a boat, and then he said he worked his way to Saint Louis and had only the clothes on his back. He said he had owned property there and now owned it. I asked him to give me his name, but he refused, for he said if he was to give me his name the result would be that they would murder his family. I said to him, "If you will make this statement—I have been" I told him, "examining into some of the causes of your people leaving the South, and if you will make this statement that you have made to me, I can get a notary public public to take your evidence down, and it can thus be authenticated and published to the world." But he said, "No, sir; if I gave this evidence in that way over my own name, my family would be murdered that are left behind, and I dare not do it."

And others I have talked with gave similar statements to me, about why they left there. And without any design or any idea to exaggerate or add to what these men gave to me, I simply give it truthfully to you. I have no disposition to enlarge upon it at all, in any way, but only to give what they stated to me.

They go on to say that in the running of their plantations advantage was taken of them in many ways. If they remonstrated, they were considered insolent, in which these affidavits bear out my testimony, and then for some cause or other in little while they are missing. If they vote the Republican ticket—I will give you one man's language to me—

he says: "If I vote the Republican ticket, the result is, I will wake up the next morning, and find myself in the graveyard." I said to him "This can't certainly be true; you must exaggerate this thing; I don't think this thing can be so fearful as you put it." He confirmed it. He held up his arm and vowed before the living God that it was the whole truth and nothing else but the truth.

In these affidavits I have submitted, you will find men that have served in the legislature seven or eight years are refugees. One told me he got on the deck of a steamboat, and they came to the boat to take him off, but the captain saved his life, and said to the men who came for him, "Gentlemen, you cannot come to my boat and take any man off without killing me first—Pollard, I think that captain's name is. And others among the refugees have been sheriffs or constables, and they have fled from their homes.

Q. Did you talk with any of the women there as to whether they had any complaints to make as to ill treatement?—A. Yes, sir; I talked with a number of them.

Q. What did they say as to their treatment?—A. Well, I thought it was not advisable to speak with the women alone about it, and I wanted to get some of the women's affidavits, and their husbands said, "No, they thought it was sufficient to have their own." I wanted to get them mixed —men and women—but they said, "No." They told me that there was a great many colored women in the South who were desirous of being virtuous and living a pure life, for they regarded their virtue just as much as the Anglo-Saxon did, and they wanted to rear their children up—their girls—to live a virtuous and industrious life; and they said that the white men sought the girls, and it seemed like they had taken a liking to the negro women down South—the white men, more particularly. And it is plain to every one's eyes that if you go South, you can see them there ring-streaked like the cattle in olden times, by the thousand. Those that have been used to having the white house on the southern plantations and the negro quarters, if they saw a likely, intelligent, and buxom colored girl, these men would have them, and it has become innate to pursue that course in having negro women, and they said to me that while they were desirous of being virtuous and all that kind of thing, that yet they were overawed with fear with these men. I make this statement of just what those women stated to me.

Q. Well, have they made that complaint as one of the causes, among other things, that have led them to leave?—A. Yes, sir; and another thing they said to me. I asked them about their schools and the facilities for educating their children, and they said that in certain localities, such as the towns and cities, they would manage to give them schooling for two or three months in the year, but out in the country, and around on their plantations the people were growing up in ignorance and stupidity with no school facilities whatever.

I asked them touching all these questions, and only as points are put to me could I answer you with regard to them all. I will say that a great many of these women rose up and said that if their husbands did not leave, they would. They seemed more determined, and spoke more freely than the men; the men seemed more reticent to tell the whole story than the women did; the women came right out, and stated that these outrages were being perpetrated.

Q. Did you have a talk with the women about any abuse or cruelty that was practiced upon them?—A. Yes, sir; and I think they said that they were not so bad after killing the women as killing the men; there didn't any case of that kind occur.

Q. Did any of them tell you of any violence used towards them in coming away from there?—A. One woman, who was passing through the city of Saint Louis, in the presence of three witnesses, stated that some of these men took her child right out of her arms and dashed its brains out on a tree, and she showed the blood on her apron to prove that they killed her child right in her presence.

Q. What did she say they did that for?—A. She said it was because they were leaving.

Q. What had they said to her, did she say?—A. They came up, she said, and asked her where she was going, and they told them they were going to Kansas or some other point.

Q. What sort of people were they, did she say, that did this?—A. White men, she said.

Q. How many of these people that you talked with in Saint Louis expressed a desire to go back?—A. I have not talked with a single one, I don't think with a single one, with the exception of only one man who said that he wanted to go back South. He came to the office to see if he could not get some money to go back, and I instructed the secretary and had an order made out for him, and gave him $5.

Q. And he went back?—A. He went back, I suppose, to get his wife, and whether he ever returned or no I don't know. I never heard about him after that.

Q. He was the only one, then, that ever expressed to you a desire to go back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you talked with any of them about whether they desired to go back?—A. Oh, yes, sir; I have talked with them about it, and I wanted to be impartial, and to see whether there were not designing men, white men and colored men, who wanted to take advantage of a case of this kind in some way or other, but they did not express a desire to go back at all.

Q. When in this suffering condition, exposed to cold, with ice and snow on the ground, and in the midst of all their uncomfortable surroundings, you did not hear them express any desire to go back?—A. No, sir; I can only tell you what I saw to give you their feeling on that. In E Street Baptist Church, Saint Louis, and Saint Paul's, and Wesley Chapel, and the lower Baptist Church, I would go in these places where they were, and see little children lying on the floor with nothing but a quilt under them, and their parents looking on them with affection and a complacent smile, and it touched my heart, as it would any man that had any feeling in his heart, and unless he was brass or iron inside, and it would have touched any one to see these little children lying on the floor and looking up into the eyes of their parents, with the idea that now at last they were breathing God's free air, and they did not feel any oppression on them whatever.

Q. So that they had no desire to go back, so far as you saw?—A. None whatever.

Q. How many of them passed through your city, Mr. Tandy?—A. Our books show how many. The corresponding secretary shows on his books over twenty thousand names.

Q. What is your judgment as to the future of this movement?—A. My judgment is that this exodus, with the feeling that exists in the Southern States, caused by the wrongs done to the colored men, will never stop, unless the Southern white men—the white men in the Southern States—will in some way put a stop to the cruelty that these colored people are undergoing there.

Q. Well, do you think that the exodus is going to increase or decrease in the future?—A. I think it will increase and continue, unless some steps are taken by the white men to put a stop to it.

Q. Well, if these Northern States object to an inundation of this "pauper labor," as they call it, into them, the only way to settle this question is for the white people in the South to put a stop to the bulldozing of the colored people—is that your understanding of it?—A. I don't understand the way they put it—they are always talking about these people being "paupers."

Q. I am putting it as they put it?—A. Well, a great many that I have seen have had actual cash with them, and some of them had horses and mules and wagons, and a few of them had two and three thousand dollars on their persons; I don't think that is much like being a pauper; it shows industry and thrift on their part.

Q. Well, I use the language as they put it; they made great complaint in Kansas and elsewhere that they are being inundated with a class of "paupers," that these people who come there are paupers, and I want your judgment on the question whether there is any way to stop this inundation but by stopping their ill-treatment at the South?—A. I will tell you what I think; I have talked with prominent Democrats, honest men, and men that want to do right by the negro—and I have a great many friends among this class of Democrats, I can tell you that—and these men say, in common with me, that it is all wrong; that if these Southern men want the negro to vote the Democratic ticket they ought to do what the Republicans do, enlarge his liberty and give him all his rights, and encourage him in his way up; for, as the expression is, "one man can lead a horse to water, but a thousand can't make him drink." That is the way they have talked about it. They say "give him all his civil, and religious, and political rights and liberties, and treat him, kindly, and there will be no trouble."

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 7, 1880.

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m. Present, Senator Voorhees, chairman, and Senators Vance and Windom.

TANDY'S examination continued.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. I will ask you this general question, Do you know of anything further in connection with this matter tending to throw light upon the movement of the colored people from the South to the North; if so, state it as briefly as you can, and give a distinct understanding of it?—Answer. In connection with what I said yesterday, another cause of complaint the colored people have—another reason they gave for removing North—is that for the least petty offense that is committed by them, in the South, they were tried and convicted and sent to the penitentiary sometimes for seven or eight years. That is slavery in another form. And after they are sent there—to the penitentiary—they are hired out on the plantations, to railroad companies, or to do any other kind of work that laborers do. In short, a system of peonage has been established.

Q. What did they say about that?—A. I quizzed them pretty closely as touching these matters. I have not the letter with me, but I have received a letter from a gentleman who holds a position—well, I will only give the substance of it; I do not know whether it is true or not; but he says that in some cases they have been convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary for stealing an ear of corn.

Q. What did they say, if anything, as to the administration of justice as between the colored people and the white people down there?—A. So far as the law is concerned, if the law was meted out as it stands on the statute-book there would be little to complain of, with the exception of laws that they are attempting to enact now—I believe they already have such a law in North Carolina, and are attempting to inaugurate it in Mississippi and Louisiana, that any person instigating or assisting any one, whether white or black, to leave the State, shall be fined so many dollars, or sent to jail for so many days.

Q. The complaint is not so much of discrimination in the law itself as in the execution of the laws?—A. Yes, sir; no matter what laws are on the statute-books, the law of prejudice always remains; prejudice against the colored man. If they were judged according to an impartial judgment, and if that judgment were rendered according to the law on the statute-book, they would make no complaints, so far as the law goes. But they think that in the execution of the law——

Q. I asked about the execution of the law?—A. They say that the law of prejudice is the only law that they are tried by.

Q. They claim to be discriminated against in the execution of the law?—A. Yes, sir; they claim to be discriminated against on account of their former condition of slavery, and the disadvantages under which they have labored ever since.

Q. If they gave any other reasons for leaving the South, state briefly what they were?—A. I read a letter from a school-teacher, I think from Fort Gibson. She stated that a colored man named Page, a man worth considerable money, was the owner of one or two plantations down there; he had been taught, from his earliest incipiency, that he was a man; that God had created him the same as other men, though differing in color. Some killing had been done down there, and old man Page had taught his boys to respect themselves, and to respect the laws. This letter states that some white man was killed; and without any evidence that one of the Page boys killed him, they were coming to kill him; and he ran away; one of the Page boys, who was accused, without any evidence whatever of having killed this white man, ran away. After a little the thing subsided, and he returned. He wrote a letter to the sheriff that if he would give his promise to arrest him in the daytime he would give himself up for a fair trial, but that he would not submit to arrest in the night. The sheriff gave his promise to the young man that he should not be arrested in the night, and the Page boy returned home. Then they went to his house—to old man Page's house—in the night, without warrant, I think, from what the school teacher says; she does not give her name, because she says she is afraid of her life.

The CHAIRMAN. O, well, then we will omit that.

The WITNESS. I think you will have witnesses to prove it. I do not wish to state anything more than I have seen with my own eyes.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Where were you born?—A. In the blue-grass region, sir; in Lexington, Ky.

Q. When did you leave there?—A. In 1857.

Q. Have you ever been down in Mississippi and those Southern States?—A. Yes, sir; I have been all through there.

Q. When?—A. Before and during the war.

Q. The last remark you made to Mr. Windom was that you do not want to state anything but what you have seen with your own eyes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you seen *anything* of what you have been testifying to, yesterday and to-day, with your own eyes?—A. I have said just what other people have told me.

Q. I asked whether anything that you have been testifying to here was what you had seen with your own eyes?—A. I answer that by stating that the evidence I am giving here is from compiled testimony that I heard with my own ears.

Q. Just so; it is all hearsay testimony. So you have not testified to what you have seen with your own eyes at all. You said that there were laws in the Southern States—among others North Carolina—providing for the fine and imprisonment in jail of anybody that should advise or assist colored people to leave the State. Do you mean to say that you know anything whatever on that subject?—A. I think it is true.

Q. Is that a thing that you have actually seen with your own eyes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What have you seen with your own eyes in regard to that?—A. I have read in a paper that a colored man convicted of assisting somebody to leave—I think it was in North Carolina; I will not be positive; at any rate there was a man convicted and fined $200, and sent to prison for two or three —— (some confusion in the committee room rendered the conclusion of the sentence inaudible).

Q. For two or three years, did you say?—A. No, sir; for two or three months, or something like that, I think; I will not be certain how long.

Q. If you knew positively that there was no such law in North Carolina—if you knew that no such conviction could possibly take place there, any more than it could in this room—would that make any change in your opinion on the subject? If you knew from Governor Vance and from the books in the libraries here that neither North Carolina nor any other Southern State has any such law, would that make any difference in your testimony?—A. I say that in the Constitution of the country it is declared that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Mr. VANCE. Don't you know that that is not in the Constitution?

WITNESS. I want to answer Mr. Voorhees as nearly as possible. I was reading this morning where they took a cadet, simply because he was a negro boy, and bound him and cut his ears and marked him like a hog. The law of prejudice did that, when there was no law of the country to give anybody a right to do it.

Q. Where was that?—A. It was where they train them cadets.

Q. Who has control of that institution now?—A. I do not know.

Q. Do you not know that that institution is not in the South, but away up North—at West Point—in the State of New York? Do you not know that that is an institution under the control and management of the Government of the United States? Do you not know that every man connected with its management is a Republican?—A. I do not know.

Q. Do you not know that there is not a Democrat connected with its management?—A. I do not know.

Q. Well, sir, that is the fact. And I say now that no greater outrage was ever committed on the face of the earth, and the infamous scoundrels that did it ought to be hanged; but it has been their custom there to treat white boys in that way, as well as negroes; and I would as soon send a son of mine into a nest of bears or boars as to send him there. It is a disgrace to the contry, and has been ever since i has been in existence, in that respect. Now, I ask you again, if you knew that there was no such law as that which you spoke of, in North Carolina or any other State, would it make you change your testimony? If you knew that to be a fact, would you be willing to correct it?—A. I would be willing to correct it so far as to agree that there was no such law. But I am convinced of one fact, that there is a law of prejudice in this country against the negro. Of that I am positive.

Q. And to that extent, wherever it is, it ought not to prevail. But you are testifying as if the Southern people were the ones that were mainly hostile to the negro, and you instance a case at West Point, New York, where are probably not a half dozen southern young men being educated for the Army. It is under Republican control—under the control of Mr. Hayes, the Republican President; do you not think it would be more reasonable to charge that the Republicans were prejudiced against the negroes?—A. I do not care who did it, it is a villainous act, a barbarous act, a beastly act, unbecoming anybody but a set of savages.

Q. I agree with you in that fully, and I sincerely hope that the Republican President, and the Republican Secretary of War, and the Republican superintendent of that institution at West Point, will have the decency to thoroughly investigate it and discover the guilty parties and punish them to the utmost severity of the law. But perhaps we have spent as much time on that subject as is practicable. Now, Mr. Tandy, I believe you are president of the relief board at Saint Louis?—A. I am.

Q. How long have you been chairman of that board?—A. About seven or eight months; may be not quite that long.

Q. Is that a board that receives donations of money, goods, clothing, &c.?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you have the disbursement of them?—A. No, sir; the disbursing agent does that. I am the president; I preside at every meeting and see that the rules are carried out.

Q. How much of the means do you handle?—A. None.

Q. What is the salary?—A. Not a cent.

Q. Do you mean to say that you give your time and labor to this work and receive nothing in the way of salary, and no compensation in any other way?—A. Not a single, solitary copper cent, sir.

Q. Do you bear your own expenses when you travel?—A. No, sir.

Q. Who does bear them, the board?—A. No, sir; not a colored man has given a copper cent.

Q. Do the white folks bear your expenses?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you understand that the white people of Saint Louis are in favor of moving the colored people of the South?—A. No, sir; I do not understand that; I do not understaad that they are in favor of removing the colored people at all; but when they came there at the time they did, in mid-winter, with the cold ice and snow on the ground; when they came there ragged and penniless and helpless, the people of Saint Louis have a heart in them, they have sympathy for colored people when they see them in that condition; they do not care whether they are white or black; they recognized them as creatures in need and they went to work to help them.

Q. Who was chairman before you?—A. There were two chairmen before me, Moses Dixon and the Rev. John Turner.

Q. Is the Rev. John Turner any relation to J. Milton Turner?—A. Not that I know of.

Q. Something has been said about the Rev. J. Milton Turner's being connected with this matter; what is his standing with your people?—A. Mr. Turner has stood as a representative man there, sir; he is a fine orator; he is capable of going on to the stump and measuring arms with any speaker.

Q. Of any color?—A. Yes, sir. When he was in the House of Representatives he met Mr. Schurz and held his own with him, and a man that can do that must be pretty smart.

Q. How does he compare in standing and character with Mr. Wheeler, the treasurer of your board?—A. In point of ability there is a very large difference.

Q. In whose favor?—A. In Mr. Turner's favor.

Q. You say "in point of ability"; do you mean by that to make some reservation as to his character otherwise?—A. No, sir; I am speaking as you asked me.

Q Speaking of the Rev. John Turner, the former chairman, do you know how much money was received when he was chairman of the board?—A. I do not.

Q. How much did he report to you, as his successor?—A. He reported an empty treasury.

Q. Did you know of money being appropriated by that board for the benefit of Mr. Turner's church?—A. I have heard it reported that a hundred dollars were appropriated for the benefit of his church, for services in his absence.

Q. How long have you known the Rev. Moses Dixon?—A. Twenty years or more.

Q. Of what denomination is he?—A. Methodist.

Q. What connection has he with your board now?—A. None.

Q. Was he connected with the board before you were?—A. He was the first president of the board.

Q. Was any complaint ever made against him in regard to his not accounting for funds?—A. I understand that there was.

Q. About how much was he charged with appropriating?—A. In order to explain this matter fully, I wish to say that in all the meetings in the city of Saint Louis in connection with this matter I was chairman. In that capacity I appointed a committee of fifteen to look after those people coming into Saint Louis, and to make all necessary provision for them. After a while I left Saint Louis and went East, to try to raise money, so that all the burden would not fall on the people of Saint Louis. Then they organized this board in my absence; they formed the Refugee Relief Board, and Moses Dixon was elected president.

Q. What are the duties of the traveling agent of your board?—A. We have no traveling agent.

Q. For what purpose was the Southern agent of your board appointed?—A. To look after the people as they came up; to take charge of them, and see that they were not robbed by the sharks on the levee there.

Q. Does his duty require him to travel through the Southern States?—A. No, sir. Nobody connected with our board does anything of that sort; it is the policy of our board not to encourage anybody to leave the South; only to take steps, as far as possible, to ameliorate the condition of those that arrive there.

Q. Have you ever seen a communication in the Globe-Democrat charging Mr. Dixon with having appropriated some of the funds of the society to his own purpose?—A. I think I read that in that paper.

Q. Was that matter ever satisfactorily explained?—A. I understood that somebody—a preacher at some point—wrote to the board that he had sent Dixon ninety-odd dollars, and had never heard from it; and that Dixon had never accounted to the board for it.

Q. Do you keep an office at Saint Louis?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you employ a clerk?—A. Yes, sir; a clerk and a corresponding secretary.

Q. How much are they paid?—A. I think a dollar a day, if I am not mistaken.

Q. How much do you pay for your office?—A. Twenty-five dollars a month.

Q. You pay for all these things out of the funds you raise?—A. Yes, sir; we have to have a place to do business.

Q. You have not been in the South since the war closed?—A. No, sir.

Q. Somebody has handed me a paper called The National Tribune, printed at St. Louis, and dated March 28, 1880. Are you connected with that paper in any way?—A. No, sir.

Q. I see by this that somebody, strange as it may seem, is not pleased with you, Mr. Tandy. An editorial in this paper says:

> Mr. Daniel Prince, the Southern agent of the once refugee board, is not sparing any language in denouncing C. H. Tandy as the president of the ex-refugee finance committee. He says the letter written to the Globe-Democrat's column, termed "Saint Louis in Splinters," is a willful lie, and he will remind the messenger of his fault on his arrival home.

Q. Mr. Tandy, who is Daniel Prince?—A. He is one of our agents sir.

Q. Did you know that he was pitching into you in that way?—A. Not until I saw it in that paper.

Q. Did you not know that he was finding fault with your management of things?—A. Nobody could find fault with me except about being honest.

Q. Do people often find fault with you on that account?—A. People will get jealous.

Q. Daniel Prince is one of your agents, you say?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he a colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Does he live in Saint Louis?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he a good man?—A. Yes, sir; so far as I know; I do not know anything wrong of him.

Q. Is this a respectable paper?—A. It has been considered a respectable paper.

Q. It is a colored paper, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Here is another statement in this paper that I should like to read to you:

> We understand from responsible authorities that the furniture owned by the refugee committee has been seized by Mr. Charles Starkes for the rent of his room at 813 Christy avenue, and that Charles Prentice, Daniel Prince, and Robert Kimbrough are the only persons whom the city authorities respect and regard as persons connected with the board.

Who is Charles Prentiss?—A. He is one of the board.

Q. Is he a colored man?—A. He is.

Q. And Robert Kimbrough; is he a colored man, too?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who is he?—A. He is corresponding secretary for our board. I want to say here that the statement is false; the furniture of the board has not been seized. The fact of the matter is that Prince and Prentiss rented a place down on the levee. We thought it was not necessary to occupy two places, and we stored our furniture at Starkes's place.

Q. So you think it possible that a falsehood may be published in a respectable paper?—A. I do not wish to say anything against the man that edits that paper. I did not come here to malign or say anything against anybody—only to testify in regard to this exodus business. I will tell you how this whole thing originated. When these men—these colored people—came there, persons representing themselves to be agents would go to them and tell them lies, and get away from them what little they had, under one pretext and another, and so made a great deal of trouble. Daniel Prince and Charles Prentiss were appointed as the proper men to receive them when they came. They complained that other men, white men and colored men, interfered with them on the levee. So I told them to come up to the office and I would go up with them and see Mayor Overstall, and get him to give them something to protect them against these unauthorized men who were interfering with them. Prince came at the time designated, and I went to see Mr. Overstall with him, and asked him to give these men a paper of some kind which would show that they were the legally authorized agents to receive these people when they came. That is all they had to do with the matter. And I suppose that in my absence they have published that; but it is not true, and I denounce it as an infamous lie.

Q. This paper does not publish the truth?—A. No, sir.

Q. So you will agree with me in reference to another item. But I want to read to you something else from this paper:

WHIPPING WOMEN IN VIRGINIA.—An exchange says that a colored woman who was detected stealing fifty cents was recently taken before the sitting magistrate at Richmond, who, after lecturing her on the wickedness of stealing, ordered that she be taken to the penitentiary and seventy-eight lashes administered; in addition, she was committed to hard labor for two years. The action of the judge has aroused indignation meetings throughout the city. It is thought that the vengeance of the people will be administered to the judge, who is preparing to leave the country for parts unknown.

Do you think that is true?—A. A good many things are published in the papers that are not true.

Q. You do not quite swallow that?—A. No, sir; I do not know as I quite swallow that.

The CHAIRMAN. Nor I either; and I am glad to find at last that there is something too monstrously unreasonable for even you to swallow. Now, Mr. Tandy, I do not know of anything more that I want to ask you; and unless some of these other gentlemen have something more to ask you, you can be dismissed.

The WITNESS. I desire to say something more first. I think I can stand up here and say that I am broad and liberal; I did not come here, and have not attempted since I came here, to say anything against any one. I think every man who knows me will say that is the truth. I will let persons judge for themselves; I do not think they can bring anything against me; I can get men whose standing is the highest in the community where they live to contradict anything that can be brought against me.

The CHAIRMAN. Do not misunderstand me, Mr. Tandy; I am not attacking you; I am only letting you know what they were saying against you in Saint Louis, and giving you an opportunity to defend yourself.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You spoke of $100 being given to Mr. Turner's church; why was that done?—A. Because they gave him leave of absence to go out and solicit funds for our board.

Q. He was working for your society?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. For the purpose of raising means to carry on its operations?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And this was to bear the expense of supplying his place while he was gone?—A. I do not know; I suppose it was to remunerate the church for his services to us in this business while he was absent.

Q. Do you think of anything more that you would like to say in reference to this exodus?—A. I would like to express myself before this committee as touching these matters. I think the Democratic party made a fatal mistake in not treating the negro just as the Republicans have done. I reckon them in the same lot that I do the five wise virgins and the five foolish virgins in scripture——

The **Chairman**. Mr. Tandy, we will take the religious part of this matter some other time; our time is too precious to be kept by anything not directly in the line of evidence.

The **Witness**. I have but little more to say, and it will not take long to say it. When they went out to meet the bridegroom, the wise virgins had oil in their lamps, but the foolish ones had none. So, when it comes to voting, if the Democrats had treated the negro as a man, as they ought to have treated him, then they might be worthy of some consideration and respection. And I hold that all the papers that colored men can write in this country will not stop the exodus till the Democrats of the South come to treat the negro properly, so that he can have the same rights by staying there that he can get by going anywhere else. That is the only way to stop the exodus.

The **Chairman**. They do not treat them much worse down in North Carolina than they do up at West Point. No doubt there is injustice, more or less, everywhere, but we all aim to improve as fast as we can.

TESTIMONY OF ANDREW CURRIE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 7, 1880.

Andrew Currie sworn and examined.

By the **Chairman**:

Question. Give the stenographer your name in full and your place of residence.—Answer. My name is Andrew Currie, and my residence is at Shreveport, La.

Q. What official position do you hold at Shreveport, if any?—A. I am mayor of that city, and have been since April of 1878.

Q. How long is the term of the mayoralty in your city?—A. It has heretofore been two years, but under the new constitution it has been extended to four. My term holds until 1884, unless a new election is ordered. I have just been re-elected.

Q. What is the population of Shreveport?—A. It is variously estimated at from seven to ten thousand. I think the real population is about nine thousand five hundred.

Q. I wish you would state now what the condition of your country is down there between the black and the white people as to peace and social order—whether a friendly feeling exists between them or otherwise.—A. Well, sir, with the exception of a few isolated cases, that have been brought about by extraneous circumstances outside of politics, and it may be to some extent in politics, the relations between the blacks and the whites is of the most friendly character. I believe there is no country on the globe, where the blacks preponderate, where such friendly relations exist.

Q. How is your labor system working at this time?—A. There is no trouble or difficulty that I am aware of. I am told by the planters that their contracts are renewed; they have plenty of labor—well, perhaps not "plenty"; some have left; in fact, there is a demand for labor; but the black people generally are renewing their contracts and settling down to their year's work again. The exodus from my section does not amount to one per cent. of the colored population.

Q. Are you acquainted with Colonel Foster?—A. I am.

Q. How does his plantation system compare with that of the large plantations in your part of the country generally?—A. The system of labor is about the same as on the other plantations in that part of the State, but I am told that Colonel Foster is far more rigorous than any other man in that section of the country.

Q. Do you mean by that that he abuses them in any way, or simply that he requires them to live up to their contracts, and lives up to his own absolutely?—A. He is a man that is considered of the very highest integrity, and stands up to all his contracts. At the same time he is a man of great firmness and decision of character, and requires his employees to stand up to their contracts.

Q. Do you know of any denial of political rights to anybody in the parish of Caddo?—A. Denial of political rights?

Q. Yes, sir; of the right to vote or the right to be elected to an office?—A. The only denial that I know of, since the military restriction acts, is that denied under the test oath. The blacks and whites alike enjoy the privilege of voting, and do vote alike. If there is any restriction, it is owing to the changes constantly taking place in the names of the colored people down there.

Q. Changes in their names?—A. Yes, sir; they often register under one name and come to the polls under another; they will register under a lengthy name, and when they come to vote will give a briefer name, or nickname, and the devil could not drive it out of their heads that they did not register under that name. So they are very often turned away from the polls on account of mistakes of their own; they lose their votes in that way, a great many of them, unless the commissioners are very indulgent, and let them vote without regard to law.

Q. The same law would be applied and the same thing would happen to white men, too, under the same circumstances, would it not?—A. Certainly, sir; I have heard white men complain about mistakes in registration, and have known them to lose their votes by it.

Q. Do you know of any system under which that exclusion is applied to one political party more than to another, on the part of the officers of election?—A. I could not imagine any sir.

Q. It is never applied to men who want to vote the Republican ticket, and not to men who want to vote the Democratic ticket?—A. No, sir; I know of no such system. I was a commissioner of election the last time myself, and I know there was no such idea as having a system of any kind to exclude anybody from voting.

Q. But where a man registers under one name and proposes to vote under another, whether he be white or black, Republican or Democrat, the commissioners of election could not receive his vote?—A. Of course not.

Q. Did you ever know of any movement to drive colored men away from the polls to keep them from voting?—A. No, sir; on the contrary, I know of movements on the part of Democrats, and I joined in such a movement myself, to prevail on them to vote. I believe that was in the election of 1868; at least, it was the first registration after Sheridan's command of our district. At that time there were thirty-six hundred registered voters in my parish, of whom seven hundred were white and the balance blacks. When election day came, about twenty-eight hundred votes were polled in the parish; but in the city of Shreveport there was a steady effort made to claim that the election went by default; that the colored men were intimidated. When the whites discovered that this was the plan, they made every effort to induce the colored people to come to the polls and vote. I know that half a dozen of them rented from me; I went to the place where they lived and offered them my personal protection. I pledged my life that they would not be harmed nor interfered with in any way; but it was of no use; it was a systematic and understood thing among them that they were not to go to the polls, but to claim intimidation and violence. To show that the election was peaceable, I will read an extract from a local paper there—a certificate from the supervisors of registration there in Shreveport:

> We, the undersigned, supervisors of registration, do certify that the election held for President and Vice-President and Congressmen for the fourth Congressional district, on Tuesday, the third of November, in the city of Shreveport, La., passed of quietly and peaceably; to our personal knowledge no obstructions were offered to voters, Democratic or Republican, white or black.
>
> W. P. HUNNICUTT,
> F. O. SETH,
> T. F. MONROE,
> *Chairman of Board of Supervisors.*
>
> SHREVEPORT, LA., *November* 4, 1868.

The men whose names are signed to that certificate are all Republicans; at least, I know that Hunnicutt and Monroe were Republicans; and Seth, I am not certain what he was.

Q. State how the election passed off there in Caddo Parish in 1876?—A. That was the Presidential election, I believe?

Q. Yes.—A. I do not remember any violence at that election, except in one portion of the parish. On the Red River there are several large plantations rented out to the colored people. When the cotton is sold, they come to Shreveport and pay their rent. According to the State law, the rent is the first lien on the crop down there. These colored men that I am speaking of lived on a place with no white men on the place to control them. They organized political clubs and armed themselves. In fact, they picked out men from the various plantations and swore them in, and formed a picked club of fifty men. They went to the polling-place the night before election and took possession of some quarters in the rear of the place of election. They had their arms in there. I endeavored to get this matter before the Teller committee when it was in session at New Orleans; but the boat that I was going down there on was sunk, in accordance with the wishes of the negroes there, and so I got to New Orleans too late to produce it before that committee; but the affidavits were published in the New Orleans Observer. It seems that in the course of the afternoon some white men, noticing the peculiar maneuvers there in those quarters back of the place of election, went back to examine the cause of this gathering, and just as they entered the gate they were fired upon from the door by these colored men with their guns; that was what caused the riot that occurred at that precinct. It was brought about in that way. That is a matter of history, I suppose. The Teller committee examined into it thoroughly, with the exception of the affidavits that I had to present to them, made by colored people who were the participants, and some of them members of this picked colored club. Come to think, however, that was not in 1876; it must have been—I cannot remember dates very well—I think it was in 1878. I do not remember any instance of trouble or disturbance of any kind in connection with the election of 1876.

Q. What jurisdiction have you as a court, as mayor?—A. I am police magistrate.

Q. Do you know of any discrimination against the colored people in the courts—either your own or anybody else's?—A. In my court, it being one simply having jurisdiction over minor police cases, it is impossible to have any distinction. So far as distinction is concerned, some persons may have different views. I try not to be partial at all. So far as the other courts are concerned, I can only say that they have been in the hands of Republicans. If there are any complaints, the colored people have only their own party friends to complain of. As a matter of fact, instead of the colored people being discriminated against—negroes—I do know that they are shielded very much by the white people. For instance, a negro is charged with stealing something; it may be a wagon-load of corn, at night. He is brought before the police court, and tried, and convicted. Maybe it is for stealing a cow, or a mule; affidavits are made against him; he is arraigned, and brought before the court. The judge almost invariably binds him over in some very small amount; whereupon some planter, anxious for labor, will come in and go on his bond, take him out, and pay the thing in full, and use his best efforts to protect him from further prosecution. This is, I might say, the universal system.

Q. If the colored man were put in jail, the planter would be deprived of a hand?—A. Yes, sir; labor is scarce down there, so every man is anxious to keep his labor.

Q. The planters have no interest in putting their laboring population in jail or in the penitentiary?—A. No, sir; of course not; they can have no interest in that direction.

Q. You say the judiciary is in the hands of the Republicans in Caddo Parish?—A. Yes, sir; and in most of the parishes of Louisiana. It has been so ever since the election of 1874, or 1876, I forget which; it was given to them then.

Q. You mean the year in which the returning board made some little operations down there?—A. Yes, sir; the year in which it terminated its career in the State; then Hayes came in, and gave the government of the State to Nicholls.

Q. How about the schools down there; are there any schools for the colored people?—A. In the city of Shreveport there are three colored schools and three public schools—every one of them public schools. But the means for keeping up the schools are very limited. Up to 1876 the State was in the hands of the Republicans; and if there are any complaints to be made in reference to school matters, they must fall upon them rather than upon the Democrats, for the reason that the annual expenses amounted to a little over four millions of dollars, and the appropriation for the school fund was stolen, the most of it; there was hardly a treasurer in the State that was not charged with being in default.

Q. That was during the ascendancy of the Republican party in Louisiana?—A. Yes, sir; up to 1876. Since then the State has been in the hands of the Democrats; and every cent has been spent that could be collected and appropriated for that purpose.

Q. You think that a considerable amount of this school money was stolen from the treasury when the government of the State was in the hands of our Republican friends?—A. Yes, sir; I venture to think so; I almost positively know it. I have got here an extract showing the manner in which the school money was appropriated under the Republican administration (witness reading an extract from a New Orleans paper, as follows):

Having itemized expenditures of the State from Radical bills, we now pick up and take a look at one (more particularly than the others) of the individuals for whose benefit these enormous and useless sums are taken from the people; that is the Hon. Parson Conway, clothed in heavenly garb to cheat Satan of that which rightfully belongs to him, and the people of that which they have spent days and months of toil and sweat to accumulate. For sitting in his office, with his feet elevated to a level with his head during the day, and paying his respects to a few of the inmates of houses of ill-fame during the night (for whom his respects are only appropriate), he obtains a salary of $5,000, besides $2,000 for contingent expenses, $1,000 for traveling expenses, $800 for the rent of his office; total, $8,800. His secretary gets $3,000 per annum. He (Conway) has the appointing, and the people have to do the paying, by taxation, of five division superintendents, who each receive a salary of $2,500. Another at New Orleans gets a salary of $4,000. He has to be assisted by a pet secretary and messenger, who draws $2.500. Thus we find the public robbed of $30,800, for which the State is not benefited $100 worth. In Democratic days, when Louisiana could well afford to have spent the total amount mentioned, the educational system was supported for $2,500, and was far more beneficial and effective.

The luxuries in which the parish judges of this State indulge cost the taxpayers $119,000.

The clerical force in the auditor's office costs $22,300.

The contingent fund of the supreme court amounts to $2,000.

The State printer (Republican Printing Company) gets $125,000, and country and smaller journals get as much more.

I have here a more elaborate statement of the cost of public printing for the year above referred to:

Printing and advertising, State printer	$122,000 00
Printing and advertising in official journals throughout the State	128,759 56
Printing and advertising under act No. 69, extra session of 1870	63,931 31
Outstanding warrants for printing and advertising in 1867	16,093 06
Outstanding warrants for printing and advertising in 1869	3,828 13
Outstanding warrants for printing and advertising in 1870	72,045 61
Outstanding warrants for printing and advertising in 1871	65,058 38
Certificates of indebtedness to the New Orleans Republican Printing Company	84,434 23
Certificates of indebtedness to Republican country journals	63,831 56
	619,981 84

Of this amount, $253.649.84 has been paid the country press, and the balance, $360,332.34 went to the New Orleans Republican Printing Company.

I have the journal of the constitutional convention with me; I will compare the expenses of printing with the expenses for the public schools. That shows that expenses for printing amounted to $1,867,067.05. I do not find the item of public schools recapitulated at all; it is under the head of "miscellaneous," which amounts to $14,501,000. I presume it is in that, because it is not itemized at all. During the nine years previous to 1876, the expenses of the Republican administration were $40,743,000, as made out from the Auditor's books.

Q. Forty millions in nine years is a little over four millions a year?—A. Yes, sir; magnificent school-houses were built in every district, almost, in the State. It is a notorious fact, patent both to the colored people and whites, that the Republicans misappropriated the school funds; that it was used for election purposes.

Q. You think that the colored people, as well as the white people, are getting more benefit from the school money now than when these enormous expenditures were made?—A. Equally as much so; and more, when the new constitution is put in operation. The new constitution contains most liberal appropriations for school purposes. As soon as the revenue bill passed by the present session of the legislature, and the license bill go into operation, the schools will be put in operation again; the schools will then be kept in operation ten months in the year. The last session of school did not last more than five months, last year; the collection was not sufficient. It is a period of transition in school matters in our State; we are passing from the old constitution to the new.

Q. When does the new constitution take effect?—A. It went into effect on the 1st of January. The legislature in session now is operating under the new constitution.

Q. What about the church privileges of the colored people? Are they interfered with in any way?—A. No, sir, not in the least; on the contrary, they have more churches than anything else.

Q. They are naturally a religious people, are they not?—A. Yes, sir; they are very religious, irrespective of morals. There are good people among them—most excellent people, honest, industrious, peaceable and well-behaved in every way; and these exercise a sort of guardianship over the rest. But the majority of them are simple, ignorant, easily aroused by any idle old woman's tale, to a fanatical degree. The white people of my part of the country have a peculiar guardianship over the colored people there. They feel as though they were their protegés; in fact, they take care of them, guard them from the machinations of politicians, especially the class that have been governing our State.

Q. Do you know one Dr. Henry Adams, a "faith doctor," down there?—A. I know one Henry Adams, but I did not know of his being a doctor of any kind; he has got into that capacity (if it is the same man) since he came to Washington.

Q. He does not belong to the medical fraternity down there, then?—A. No, sir; he is more of a farmer than anything else. He has been living in and about Shreveport; he has a family, I believe, living near that place.

Q. How is he regarded, as a peaceable fellow, or otherwise?—A. I never heard of the man in connection with anything at all, except the Liberian movement.

Q. If he stated that he had been in New Orleans for nearly a year past, and that he did not go back for fear of his life, would you think it was true?—A. I should know that it was false. I had a conversation with him yesterday; I told him that he knew he was misrepresenting things; I told him I would pledge my life for the safety of his.

Q. Did he tell you that he was afraid to go back there?—A. Yes; he did. I told him I was astonished. I told him that a big, stout, broad-shouldered man like him was capable of getting a living down there as well as anywhere else, indeed, far better.

Q. If he were in danger of mob violence, I suppose that you as mayor of the city would know it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you state that there is nothing of that kind whatever?—A. I state it from the most positive and intimate knowledge. I have participated in everything that has been done in my parish for the benefit of the colored people, in order to keep the peace, to suppress disturbance—call it what you may, bulldozing if you choose, though that is greatly exaggerated. In connection with this matter I will state this: there is no system or effort to disturb the public peace, or to kill the colored people; on the contrary, it is our effort to keep them from going too far in their passions and creating riots. In fact, we are inclined to be moderate in everything down there, and overlook many things which might very easily be made an excuse for severity.

Q. Is it not true that in those colored settlements, where the population is five negroes to one white man, a person going through there with exciting, sensational stories can create an excitement and a sort of stampede with the more ignorant class of colored people?—A. Yes, sir; it is a great deal like touching off a powder magazine.

Q. They are a simple and credulous people, susceptible of being imposed upon by bad white men?—A. Yes, sir; that is their character and disposition from the nature of things, having lived in a state of slavery and being liberated, and believing that there might be danger of a return to slavery—not knowing the utter impossibility of this, not knowing the political principles of either party much, except that they had a deified idea that the Republican party was the only and direct cause of their liberation, not knowing that the great leaders of that party uniformly and unanimously said that they had no such purpose in view; of course they are easily excited by unscrupulous men.

Q. Where were you born?—A. In Ireland.

Q. How old were you when you came to this country?—A. Six or seven years.

Q. Have you spent all the rest of your life in the South?—A. No, sir; I lived in New York until I was sixteen or seventeen years old.

Q. Then you went to Louisiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now I wish you, being a representative man from the South, to state whether you regard the negro as being in any danger of being deprived of any of his political rights, or any of his property rights, or any of his school or church privileges, in your part of the State?—A. There is no danger, sir, of any such events taking place; on the contrary, it is the desire of the people of that country to extend to them all these privileges, to the greatest extent within their power to extend.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. When did you go to Louisiana?—A. I went there first in 1859; afterward, after the war, in 1866, I went there again.

Q. Where were you during the war?—A. I was enjoying the hospitality of prison part of the time; and for about two years I was in active service.

Q. On which side?—A. On the side of the Confederacy.

Q. You left the State of New York, when the war came on, to go down and join the Confederacy?—A. I did not; when I went South I did not dream of war.

Q. When did you say you left New York?--A. In 1859.

Q. When did the war begin?—A. In 1861.

Q. When did you go into the Confederate army?—A. In April, 1861.

Q. You must have joined it about as quick as you could get into it; to what regiment did you belong?—A. I belonged to the First Louisiana Regiment.

Q. What company?—A. Company A.

Q. Did you vote for secession?—A. I was not a voter, sir.

Q. You took the first opportunity to get into the rebel army?—A. I was among the first.

Q. Did you allow anybody to get into the rebel army any earlier than you did?—A. I presume I did.

Q. How many succeeded, probably, in getting ahead of you?—A. To answer that question would necessitate a knowledge of other men's acts and movements—hundreds of thousands of men, scattered over a large extent of territory—which, of course, it is impossible for me to possess.

Q. You belonged to Company A, of the First Louisiana Regiment?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How far down did you stand on the list of Company A?—A. I suppose I was about the eightieth man.

Q. You did not come in as number one of the company?—A. No, sir; the company was organized before I joined it.

Q. You were brought up in New York?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you go down south for?—A. For business.

Q. What business?—A. Some business by which I could make a better living than in New York.

Q. What did you do when you first went to Shreveport?—A. I kept a bar in a saloon.

Q. You were bar-tender in a whisky shop?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long were you a bar-tender in a whisky shop?—A. About a year.

Q. Then what did you do?—A. I went to school.

Q. What did you do in New York before you went down South?—A. Various things.

Q. Were you tending bar in a whisky shop while you were in New York?—A. No, sir; I was a boy in the family of Thomas B. Grosvenor, a relative of Mr. Seward's; I was a sort of protegé of Mr. Grosvenor's.

Q. From there you went to Shreveport, and your first business there was to keep a whisky shop?—A. Yes, sir. I will state, however, that my intention was not to go and launch in that business; it was my plan to go into a grocery store if I could find an opportunity.

Q. Do you keep a whisky shop in connection with the mayorship, or did the war break up that business?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. You say you went to school after going out of the whisky shop?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did you go to school?—A. At a boarding-school about two miles from town.

Q. How old were you when you enlisted in the rebel army?—A. About seventeen years.

Q. You went down there when you were about fifteen years old; is that so?—A. As near as I can remember, I think I was about sixteen.

Q. When did you say you went down there?—A. In the latter part of 1859.

Q. And you enlisted in Company A of the first regiment that went into the rebellion?—A. Not of the first regiment—of the First Louisiana Regiment.

Q. Where were you during the rebellion?—A. I was in the army of northern Virginia for a while; then I got discharged under the conscript act; afterward I joined another company, and at Arkansas Post was captured and taken to Camp Butler, Illinois.

Q. You went back into the army after you were discharged?—A. I was exchanged, and went back into the army.

Q. At what time did you go back into the army?—A. About three months after I was captured at Arkansas Post.

Q. At what time of year was that?—A. In the spring.

Q. Of what year?—A. Of 1863.

Q. Did you serve till the end of the war?—A. I did.

Q. You fought it out as well and as long as you could?—A. I lost nine months, when I was a non-combatant, in prison.

Q. Well, that was not intentional on your part; you entered the first company of the first regiment that was raised in Louisiana; you fought against your country and against the old flag that you had come here to seek protection under, and tried to destroy them for four years?—A. That is a matter of opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Windom, your questions are of course intended to be offensive.

Mr. WINDOM. No; they are not intended to be offensive.

The CHAIRMAN. It was not the cause of this exodus nor the effect of it; it has no bearing upon it that I can discover, and I am not willing to consume the time of this committee and of the persons whom we have waiting before us with examining the military career, history, or record of this witness.

Mr. WINDOM. The majority of this committee is Democratic; and if they say I shall not find out what I choose about the military record of this man I shall submit.

Mr. VANCE. I suppose you are asking these questions with the purpose of discrediting this witness.

Mr. WINDOM. That is my purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. After the witness has told you that he went into the army as early as he could, and staid in as long as he could, it seems to me that anything further is a useless waste of the time of the committee.

Mr. WINDOM. He has testified to the serenity of everything down there; he has testified to his love for the negro; now I want him to testify that for four years he fought to enslave the negro.

The CHAIRMAN. We might reply that your party said that you were not intending to free the negro; that Mr. Lincoln said that he would preserve the Union with slavery as readily as without slavery.

(Considerable discussion between the members of the committee followed, with which, it was suggested, it was not best to cumber the report of the evidence taken.)

Mr. WINDOM. I propose to prove that this witness, who claims to be the special friend and guardian of the negro, fought for four years to keep those men in slavery. If I am not allowed to ask that I shall give up.

THE CHAIRMAN. You have already asked that.

Mr. WINDOM. But you have not allowed him to answer it. (After a pause continuing.) Very well; then I am to understand that I am not permitted to ask you whether you fought for four years to keep these colored men in slavery. Are you in favor of slavery?—A. I was raised in an atmosphere peculiarly opposed to slavery.

Q. What did you fight for then?—A. Like many boys of my age, I was simply carried away by the enthusiasm of the hour.

Q. And stuck to it?—A. I stuck to it like a man.

Q. After you got out of the army what did you do?—A. I went to Indianapolis, Ind., where I worked as clerk for J. B. La Plant.

Q. And then what?—A. Then I returned South—to Shreveport.

Q. What did you go there for?—A. I went there under promise of a position in the post-office, as clerk. It was filled, however, before I got there. When I arrived there I obtained the position of deputy sheriff, in the sheriff's office.

Q. How long did you hold that?—A. About three weeks.

Q. What did you do after that?—A. I was elected constable.

Q. On what ticket?—A. On the Democratic ticket; there was no other ticket.

Q. In what year was that?—A. That was in 1866.

Q. You were brought here under a resolution of the Senate, to tell us what was the cause of the exodus of colored people from the South.

You have told us that the relations between the whites and the colored people are of the most friendly character; that there is no denial of political rights to any person, except such as are denied under the test oath to white men; that you yourself have tried to persuade negroes to go to the polls, and could not succeed in doing so; that the colored people have elegant advantages of schools.—A. I have not used the word "elegant"; and I have told you that the school moneys of the State had been misappropriated by the Republican party when it was in power, so that the school advantages are not what they should be, and what they will be hereafter.

Q. The school advantages for the colored people, you say, are as good as those for the whites?—A. So far as the public schools are concerned.

Q. You have described everything peaceable, and quiet, and serene, except when the colored people themselves get up a riot?—A. Yes, sir; I state that, most positively.

Q. Then the only reason you have to give for these people going away is that the Republicans stole the school-fund, some years ago. Is there any other reason?—A. I did not give that as a reason.

Q. You did not?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then we will leave that out. Everything down there is peaceable and quiet and serene; that there is no bulldozing, no violence; that the relations between the whites and the colored people are of the most friendly character; that there is no denial of political rights to any colored person; that you regard the colored people as protegés, and treat them with conspicuous kindness and consideration; and that on account of these things they are fleeing by thousands from their homes to go forth among strangers in the more rigorous climate of the North?—A. I think you forget, Senator, that I stated that the negroes are a very simple, credulous people, liable to believe anything that is told, no matter how false and malignant, if the one who tells them so is a Republican. For instance, I recently heard a remark made by a Republican, that if Louisiana failed to go Republican at the next election, the bats and owls would roost in the stores and warehouses.

Q. What has that to do with the exodus?—A. I presume that is one reason why the negroes are leaving.

Q. Have they no other cause for leaving Louisiana?—A. No, sir; the cause exists only in their own imagination.

Q. It is all imagination, is it? Nothing except imagination? You have been there through reconstruction—have there been no murders there for political reasons?—A. If you want to frame an answer to suit yourself, of course you can do so; I am ready to surrender the witness seat to you, any time. I have given you an impartial statement.

Q. Yes, I have seen how impartial it is.—A. There are other causes. You know that even the leaders of your own party, Seward and Chase, were driven out of it because they would not support the infamously unjust scheme of reorganizing the State of Louisiana under the military reconstruction bills; you know that it passed simply on the petition of men who represented the opinion of not one one-hundredth of the men of the South; and these villainous governments that we had so many years, and that were abolished—they were the cause of this exodus.

Q. The misdeeds of the Republican party prior to 1866 are what is driving these people out of the State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the reason that they did not go while those villainous governments were in existence, but waited until these beneficent Democratic governments?—A. They were held there by a sort of magnetic force held over them by the Republican leaders. Besides, they stole the funds of the State, and run it in debt, and imposed such onerous taxation that the colored people are driven out by taxation.

Q. But it has been testified here that the colored people pay but a very small part of the taxes, and so could have but little interest in the robbery going on.—A. They are possibly going under instructions from Republican sources.

Q. Do you know of any instructions being given them from Republican sources?—A. None except what was indicated by this remark; I could not be expected to know; I am not in the secret councils of the Republican party.

Q. Now, are you not inclined to take back your statement that those villainous Republican governments were the cause of this exodus, but that the colored people waited until the Democratic State government had been in operation some years before they concluded to leave?—A. Only one person has left my neighborhood.

Q. Well, we are talking about this one person; what made him go?—A. I think these idle tales that I spoke about.

Q. But you told us only a little while ago that these people ran away on account of those villainous Republican governments?—A. I did not say they were the reason they ran away; I said the governments were villainous; and they were, and you know it.

Q. I do not know it; I know that they were not half so villainous as those that you support, organized and supported by bulldozing, intimidation, and murder.—A. That is your story. If you do not believe those Republican governments were villainous, I will give you some Republican authority for it (drawing a document from his pocket).

Mr. **Windom.** If you want to give it as a reason for this exodus I will listen; if it is not, I will not.

Mr. **Vance.** I think, Mr. Windom, that you do not treat the witness quite right. I understood him to say that the troubles referred to in Louisiana were caused by those Republican governments—not that those governments caused these colored people to run away now.

By Mr. **Windom**:

Q. I want you to tell me this—just what was the cause of the leaving of this one person who you say has left your section?—A. I think it is owing to their credulity, and I believe it originates from Republican sources.

Q. How from Republican sources?—A. I think it was sufficiently indicated by this remark.

Q. By what remark?—A. The remark of which I have already spoken, that if the State of Louisiana failed to go Republican this fall, the bats and owls would roost in the stores and warehouses.

Q. Who said that?—A. It was attributed to Judge Bowman, a Republican judge.

Q. What did you understand him to mean by that remark?—A. I understood him to mean that if the Democratic party remained in power in Louisiana the negroes would all run away.

Q. Is it not the general belief that if the Democratic party continues in power the negroes *will* all leave the State?—A. That is bulldozing from the Republican side.

Q. You think that is the only cause of their running away?—A. The colored people are getting some sense into them, and are not being misled by idle tales as much as they used to be.

Q. You think that is the cause of their going?—A. That is one cause.

Q. Well, now give us any other causes that you can think of.—A. I cannot give any cause from my own personal knowledge, not being a Republican, and not in the confidence of those who got up this exodus.

Q. Then the only causes that you know anything about are the negro's simple and credulous nature, and his fear lest the owls and bats will roost in the warehouses in Louisiana?—A. You can put it in that way if you choose.

Q. That is your way of putting it. Have you given us any other reason? If so, I would like to have you refer me to it.—A. I think you will find out, in the course of this investigation, that there are other causes, better known by others.

Q. But there are no others that you can put your finger on but these two. You say that you have participated in all the efforts that have been made to keep the peace in your part of the country, bulldozing included?—A. I have as much as anybody. And now I will tell you just the extent of my bulldozing.

Q. That is precisely what we want to hear.—A. I will say this, that I never in my life harmed a black man, nor hurt a hair of his head; nor have I ever witnessed it done; and I believe I am an average bulldozer.

Q. That is what I am told, and that is the reason I am asking about these things. I want to inquire of one who knows.—A. I know I never harmed a hair in the head of any colored man.

Q. Did you not whip a negro on the streets of Shreveport?—A. No, sir.

Q. And have him arrested by your police?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you swear to that?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. Did you go on a bulldozing expedition into Bossier Parish in 1868?—A. I went over there with a cavalry company, an organization got up to go there and protect the white people of that parish and maintain the peace. We were accompanied by United States troops, who went there for the same purpose.

Q. How many negroes were killed in that effort to protect the white people of that parish and maintain the peace?—A. Before we got up there, I believe three were killed.

Q. How many were killed afterwards?—A. I cannot tell you.

Q. How many did you hear were killed?—A. I think I heard five others were killed.

Q. How many white people were killed?—A. I understood that one was killed and one wounded.

Q. You say that only five negroes were killed that year in Bossier Parish?—A. I do not believe there were that many killed.

Q. How long did that affair last?—A. About three days.

Q. What was the result of the election that year in Bossier Parish, after this little quieting and pacifying operation of yours—persuading your proteges over there to keep the peace?—A. Well, sir, a great many colored people took the stump for the Democratic ticket that fall.

Q. How many?—A. I could not tell exactly how many.

Q. You can tell whether there were ten, or twenty, or a hundred, or a thousand?—A. I think there were seventy-five or a hundred.

Q. What made them take the stump?—A. They thought that the riot was incited by Republicans; in fact, a brigade of negroes was organized up there; it is true they were very poorly armed and officered; extravagant promises had been made them by unscrupulous and irresponsible parties, and the imagination had been fired by visions of forty acres of land and a mule, or something of that sort; and their declaration was, "We are going to have it anyhow."

Q. And after a lot of colored people had been killed by the Democrats, it so inspired the colored people who remained alive with love for the Democratic party that a hundred or so of them jumped on to the stump and spent the rest of the campaign in making speeches for the Democratic ticket?—A. You may put it in that way.

Q. Didn't you say so?—A. There are more or less colored men on the stump for the Democratic ticket down there every election.

Q. Did you not say that the result of your going over into that parish and killing those colored men was that seventy-five or a hundred colored men mounted the stump and went to making speeches in favor of the Democratic ticket?—A. I said that, *following* that, a large number of colored men——

Q. Took the stump for the Democratic party?—A. I think there was more than that; there were other causes than that.

Q. What cause inspired them with such love for the Democrats, who had shot down their brothers and friends, as to induce a large number of them to support the Democratic party?—A. I think they did it because they had found to their full satisfaction that it was foolish for them to trust the promises of the Republican party.

Q. You do not think the shotgun business had anything to do with it?—A. Of course, sir—in the imagination of any Republican.

Q. But was not the shotgun a sober and fatal fact to those colored men that were killed, and an efficient means of conversion to those who remained alive?—A. I do not know anything about the use of a shotgun. I never handle a shotgun——

Q. What instrument of conversion do you use—a Spencer rifle?—A. We do not use arms much down there.

Q. Do you go about unarmed down there?—A. I sometimes carry a weapon.

Q. What sort of a weapon did you carry that time?—A. When?

Q. When you went over into Bossier Parish to keep the peace?—A. I may have had a shotgun. I am sure I don't know how I was armed.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Was that the time when the United States troops were along?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Were you mustered in under the United States authority?—A. We went down on an appeal from the people of the parish.

Q. How many went down with you, in that way?—A. I should say about two hundred, maybe more; we were under command of Jack Wharton, United States marshal; you had better ask him about it; he knows more in regard to it than I do, and can tell you all about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Windom, you voted to confirm him, didn't you?

Mr. WINDOM. Jack has repented, and——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Currie, did you ever hear Jack Wharton say that he had repented?

The WITNESS. No, sir.

Mr. VANCE. I understood you to say, Mr. Currie, that you went over into Bossier Parish on an appeal of the people?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; on an appeal of the people of that parish, stating that the negroes were going to rise.

Mr. WINDOM. Is it not a general thing, a little while before election, for an appeal to come from the people of a parish, saying that the negroes are going to rise?

The WITNESS. I stated that we went exclusively for that purpose; and if you had been there you would have been with us, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know about that.

Mr. WINDOM. From what I know in regard to the case, I believe I should have been on the other side.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 8, 1880.

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m. Present, Senator Voorhees, chairman; and Senators Windom and Blair.

ANDREW CURRIE'S examination was continued.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. You said yesterday, did you not, that the only denial of political rights you had ever known was their denial to the white people under the test oath?—Answer. Well, yes, sir; the only denial I know of was under the test oath.

Q. Do you wish us to understand from that, that everybody, white and black, has voted freely and without intimidation everywhere?—A. Everywhere.

Q. In that country?—A. I was speaking of Caddo.

Q. Has there ever been any interference with the rights of the colored people to vote in Caddo Parish and vicinity?—A. I never saw any.

Q. Did you ever hear of any?—A. Yes, sir—in Republican speeches.

Q. Did you ever hear of them otherwise than by Republican speeches?—A. Yes, sir; I have seen affidavits printed.

Q. You did not believe them, did you?—A. Some of them were very marvelous indeed.

Q. Did you believe any of them yourself?—A. Yes, sir; I believed there was a shadow of truth in them—something like cause and effect.

Q. You think there is a shadow of truth in the statement that the negroes are sometimes driven from the polls?—A. No, sir.

Q. Or prevented from voting—intimidated?—A. I do not understand the drift of that question.

Q. Do you think there is a shadow of truth in the statement that the negroes are not permitted to vote as freely as anybody?—A. A shadow of truth, yes. It is possible that you might admit that to be true in your own State; I think all over the United States.

Q. Is it no more true in Caddo Parish than anywhere else?—A. It could not be less anywhere else than there, hardly.

Q. You said you had known of political clubs composed of negroes arming themselves, did you not?—A. I have read affidavits to that effect—affidavits made by members of the club.

Q. Have you ever heard of white clubs arming themselves?—A. Not an organized club for any political operations.

Q. Did you ever hear of any organized white societies—the White League, the White Camelias, the Ku-klux, &c.?—A. I suppose everybody has heard of them.

Q. Have you read of them?—A. Yes, sir; certainly I have.

Q. Do you know anything about them?—A. Very little; as I understand it, they were merely ephemeral organizations.

Q. They were pretty active while they lasted, were they not?—A. They were never called into service except for the preservation of peace and order.

Q. Were you ever a member of any secret political society?—A. I do not know what you term a secret political society.

Q. Were you ever a member of the society known as the Ku-klux?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were you ever a member of any other secret society, such as the White Camelias?—A. I do not think that was a society.

Q. You never heard of it?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. Was it not an organization of any kind?—A. It was not what might be called an "organization" of any kind.

Q. What was it?—A. It was merely an understanding between a number of persons that, in case of necessity, they would bind themselves together for the preservation of order.

Q. To do what?—A. To preserve order.

Q. Were you a member of that society?—A. I was.

Q. Where did they meet? Did they have any regular meeting place?—A. Hardly; they had a place for a while where we met and consulted, like we would in a committee-room, but we had no regular place of meeting; it was, as I said, a merely ephemeral organization.

Q. How long did it last?—A. I think about ten days.

Q. When was that?—A. During the trouble that we anticipated in Bossier Parish, and which culminated there. It dissolved immediately afterward.

Q. Was it in existence in Bossier Parish during the troubles in 1868?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was it an oath-bound society?—A. I took no oath.

Q. Did anybody else?—A. Not that I know of.

Q. You say it was to preserve order; was it to resist negro insurrection in Bossier Parish?—A. It was got up for the peace generally, and was principally incited by that.

Q. Were you ever a member of any other secret political society?—A. I never was a member of anything that you can properly term really a secret society.

Q. Was the White Camelias the right name of that society?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did it not extend pretty generally throughout the Southern States?—A. I do not know.

Q. Do you know of its existence anywhere except in Caddo Parish?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you assist in keeping order anywhere except in Bossier Parish, in 1868, during those uprisings there?—A. No, sir; there was no occasion for it.

Q. That was the only place where they ever got up an insurrection, and the only time, was it?—A. That is the only time within my recollection.

Q. Was there ever any negro insurrection that threatened you much in Caddo Parish?—A. No, sir; the rise in 1868 was not really an insurrection.

Q. I think you told us yesterday—but I have forgotten, and I wish you would tell us again—about how many white people were killed in this negro insurrection in Bossier Parish in 1868?—A. Two young men were killed; their names were Brownlee and Ogden.

Q. Is that all you know of that were killed?—A. They were the first ones killed.

Q. How many were killed afterward!—A. I do not believe that any more white men were killed.

Q. How many negroes? I think you said five.—A. I heard that five negroes were killed; there might have been more. I did not see a single dead negro.

Q. How far is that from Shreveport, where this insurrection or raid was, in Bossier Parish?—A. It extends up the river about twenty-five miles.

Q. Bossier Parish is right opposite Shreveport, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; it is right opposite Shreveport.

Q. How many did you say were killed? You ought to know something about it; you were there keeping the peace.—A. As I said, I heard that there were three killed.

Q. You mean three negroes?—A. Yes, sir. We were accompanied by United States troops, as I said; and we heard that there were five negroes killed.

Q. You never heard of any more than three negroes being killed there?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. How many did you hear were killed?—A. Taking Republican authority for it, and it might have been twenty millions.

Q. Do you think there were twenty millions of negroes killed there? —A. No, sir; but if anybody wanted to believe it, I would let them.

Q. Suppose you come as near as you can to the truth, between five and twenty millions?—A. I am telling you the truth, but you do not seem able to appreciate the truth.

Q. I do not, from some quarters, because I hear it so rarely; but I am trying to get it from you, now, if possible.—A. I said there were about five negroes killed there, in my judgment.

Q. How long were you down there keeping the peace in Bossier Parish?—A. About forty-eight hours.

Q. And then you went back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where to?—A. To Shreveport.

Q. Mr. Currie, I have here an official report of the number of persons killed in Bossier Parish, which covers over a dozen pages, giving the names of persons who were killed in Bossier Parish, almost exclusively, and numbering some two hundred and thirty persons who were killed. —A. No such number as that were killed.

Q. I simply say that we have here the official document, and many Democrats sustain it by their statements. There are 868 lines devoted to Bossier Parish, containing a list of two hundred and thirty-odd colored persons—I think they are all colored persons—killed in that parish, and you say that you never heard of but five.—A. I will tell you how I regard these official reports from Louisiana; I regard them as of no value whatever; because I know something of the turpitude, the depths of iniquity, to which the Republicans of Louisiana are capable of resorting in order to manufacture such testimony.

Q. Do you pretend to say that this is all untrue?—A. I do not pretend to say anything about it.

Q. Two hundred and thirty persons were killed, and yet you never heard of but five.—A. It is utterly impossible, and false.

Q. What is false?—A. That statement that two hundred and thirty persons were killed, at that time, is utterly false.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Mr. Windom, what is that document? I wish to make a memorandum, so that I can refer to it hereafter, if I wish.

Mr. **WINDOM**. It is "Executive Document No. 30, House of Representatives, Forty-fourth Congress, second session," being a message from the President of the United States in reference to the use of the Army in several Southern States that are named.

Q. Mr. Currie, have you ever heard of any negroes being killed in

Caddo Parish, where you live?—A. Negroes and whites have been killed there, at one time and another, repeatedly.

Q. Within the last ten years how many have been killed for political reasons in that parish?—A. Not being a statistician, employed by the government to get up statistics of that sort, I cannot tell you.

Q. You can give your opinion as to the number that have been killed in your own parish within the past ten years?—A. If there have been any killed it is something I know nothing about.

Q. This official report goes on to enumerate the number of persons killed since 1868 in Caddo and Bossier Parishes, and a great many other parishes. From page 416 to page 546 of this report, including one hundred and thirty pages of closely printed matter, in small type, contains the names of persons murdered and whipped in Louisiana; among them are thirteen pages of names of persons in Bossier Parish, and twenty-three pages of names of persons in Caddo Parish. Not only the names of the persons killed are given, but the dates, places, circumstances, and in many cases the names of the persons who killed them. Now, did you ever hear of anybody being killed in Caddo; and, if so, how many?—A. I could only approximate—I could not answer with any degree of accuracy.

Q. But you think it is peaceable, and the relations between the races good all the time, do you?—A. As I told you yesterday, I think they were as peaceable as they could be, in any country on the face of the globe where the colored people preponderate, and have such villainous influences operating among them.

Q. What influences?—A. White influences.

Q. I thought the influences of you white people upon them were mild and gentle. Then how comes it that so many of the colored people have been killed? Who do you think did it?—A. I think the answer to that might suggest itself to your minds.

Q. Were they Republicans?—A. I think they were killed in imagination, the greater part of them.

Q. But here are the names of the persons killed, the dates, the men who killed them, the plantations on which they were killed?—A. O, that is not beyond the ingenuity of man, at all.

Q. Well, then, tell us how many have actually been killed in Caddo? —A. I cannot recollect.

Q. But you pretend to say that this is not correct?—A. I pretend to say nothing about it, sir.

Q. You mentioned yesterday that boat on which you were sunk in accordance with the wishes of the colored people?—A. You misunderstood me in regard to that. I said that I started from Caddo Parish in company with seven or eight colored men, to go before the Teller committee, to give evidence with reference to the election in Caddo, and the riot; and the very freely expressed wish by some colored people on the river bank—some of the malignants, I may say—was that the boat would sink before we got there.

Q. And did it sink?—A. Yes, sir; in accordance with their wish, it did sink.

Q. Was that in accordance with your feelings towards them? Was that wish on their part a proper return for your love and regard for them?—A. I do not understand you.

Q. You have said that you have always regarded and treated the colored people as your proteges; and yet these proteges of yours wanted the boat which you were on to sink?—A. You cannot always govern humanity in its appreciation of things. I do not suppose you would appreciate the fact that so many colored men vote the Democratic ticket down there as they do.

Q. O, I think I can appreciate that very well. By the way, you told us yesterday that immediately after this massacre in Bossier Parish, forty or fifty colored men took the stump for the Democratic ticket in your parish, did you not?—A. I did.

Q. Now give us their names.—A. Fifty names?

Q. As many as you can think of.—A. It is a little too far back for me to be able to remember the names.

Q. Can you not remember the names of any?—A. Yes, sir; one was Ambrose Eagle. I remember him because he was rather a wit.

Q. Do you remember any more?—A. If I had an opportunity to refer back to the files of the paper I could give you a great many names.

Q. But you cannot give the names of any more now?—A. Not expecting any such inquiry to be made, I cannot remember.

Q. How do you happen to remember that forty or fifty persons took the stump for the Democratic ticket, if you cannot remember their names?—A. I think there were more than that; it seems to me they were speaking all over the parish.

Q. They made a general rush, did they, to take the stump for the Democratic ticket?—A. Did you say immediately after that massacre?

Q. You said that it was that year, did you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. After the massacre the negroes made a general rush for the Democratic party, did they?—A. If you want to put it in that way you can.

Q. Did anybody make any speeches on the other side?—A. I did not hear of any.

Q. How many Republicans in Bossier Parish voted the Republican ticket that year?—A. I do not live in Bossier Parish.

Q. How many voted the Republican ticket in Caddo Parish?—A. One.

Q. That was a pretty clean sweep that you made that year, through the aid of the White Camelias, &c., with this protege business of yours—converting every Republican in the parish except one.—A. Only one.

Q. Was not that a Democratic move?—A. It was not a Democratic move; it was a mistake on the part of the Republicans to instigate that riot.

Q. How did the Republicans instigate that riot?—A. That is one of the mysteries of your party; I do not know.

Q. How did the negroes state that the Republicans did it?—A. By making them extravagant promises of forty acres of land and a mule, and so on; and they said they were going to get it.

Q. And therefore they commenced killing Democrats?—A. No, sir; I think that was an accident.

Q. What had the killing of negroes to do with forty acres and a mule?—A. It is impossible for me to state.

Q. You say that when the colored men are brought before your courts, charged with petty crimes, the white planters go on their bonds, and protect them; is that a common thing?—A. It is quite a common thing; very common.

Q. Do you not regard them as your protégés, so that it is your duty to defend their rights, see that they vote on the right side, &c.?—A. We do regard them as our protégés, so far as keeping them from the machinations of Republicans is concerned.

Q. You thought of that when you joined the White Camelias, and went over into Bossier Parish and tried to keep the peace?—A. I think that was the motive; yes, sir.

Q. I have no doubt of it.—A. If you had been down there I think you would have done the same; that is, if you had felt any charity toward the colored people.

Mr. WINDOM. If I had been down there when your people were murdering them by the hundreds, I assure you I should have been against you.

The WITNESS. I do not believe that story.

Mr. WINDOM. I do.

The WITNESS. No intelligent person down there believes it, sir.

Q. You have talked with all the intelligent people that are down there, I suppose. Are you aware of the fact that these statements are sworn to by very intelligent people down there?—A. O, I presume they are sworn to.

Q. Are you aware that General Phil. Sheridan reported that thirty-five hundred colored Republicans had been killed in the South, from 1865 to 1875, for political reasons?—A. We thought at the time he made that report that he had been very sadly imposed upon.

Q. But you deem him an intelligent man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You said no intelligent man believed that story?—A. You certainly distort my meaning.

Q. Did you not say that no intelligent man believed that story?—A. I meant no intelligent citizen down there.

Q. O, no intelligent man down there believes it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Don't you think the Republicans down their believe it?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you do not think Sheridan believes it?—A. If you want to make that statement you can make it; I have not made any such statement.

Q. Don't you think so?—A. I presume he believed it, or he would not have signed the report.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Who was in command of the United States troops at that time when you went, with others, to Bossier Parish?—A. I do not remember his name.

Q. How many soldiers were sent over there?—A. One company of troops.

Q. And all that you did was to go along with a party that accompanied the government troops, to preserve peace?—A. We went a little in advance, before they went.

Q. You knew they were going?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you acted in concert?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. A government officer had command?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you induced to go by the information of a couple of white men being tied up and killed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That was the inception of what is called the riot?—A. Yes, sir; so far as our knowledge extends.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What do you know about two white people being tied up and killed?—A. Their brothers told me they were killed.

Q. Did they tell you that they were tied up?—A. No; I knew they were not tied up, from the statement of their brothers.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Then I made a mistake; but it does not make much difference about their being tied up, if they were killed?—A. There was a drunken white man, from Arkansas, going through the parish of Bossier. A considerable section of Arkansas trades at Shreveport. This white man wanted some corn, and got into an altercation with some colored people in regard to it. Along the river there, there are very large plantations, and a hundred blacks to one white man. Wherever that is the case, in Louisana or any other Southern State, the negroes are apt to run riot, and not be well governed. They will go a great deal further than they would if they were governed by competent persons. They took these white men and tied them to a corn-crib, where this altercation had taken place about the corn. These two young men, Brownlee and Ogden, came along and released the white men, and that was the cause of the difficulty.

Q. Where did you get that?—A. From the brothers of Brownlee and Ogden.

Q. Did you ever read the sworn testimony in that case?—A. I do not know that I ever did.

Q. Do you not know that it arose by a man from Arkansas going through the parish and asking for a Radical, saying that he was going to shoot a Radical negro before he went away; that he asked every colored man he met whether he was a Radical; that he met one colored man who refused to answer; whereupon he shot him, and wounded him; that the white man who had done the shooting was captured by negroes, but released at the request of some of the white citizens of the parish, who promised to take him before a justice of the peace for trial; that on being released, this white man got together a crowd of thirty or forty other white citizens, and came back and went to shooting negroes; that the negroes arrested two of the men who had been active in the shooting, and were taking them to Shreveport for trial, when they were again assaulted by white men, and a fight occurred, in which the negroes shot these two white men, Brownlee and Ogden, whom they were taking to Shreveport as prisoners; do you not know that this was the origin of that riot?—A. It is my firm belief that that is entirely contrary to the truth.

Q. Even if sworn to, you would swear that it was not true?—A. I am swearing to what I was told by the brothers of the two men that were killed. I believe that the statement to which you have referred is at entire variance with the truth.

Q. Did you go down to Coushatta with a crowd of men in 1874?—A. A. No, sir.

Q. Did you go down to Caledonia to participate in the riot of 1878?—No, sir.

Q. Did you not go down there at all?—A. No, sir; I was busy at home then.

Q. Did you have anything to do with preventing Republican speakers from speaking at Spring Ridge in 1878?—A. No, sir; there was some disturbance there, I believe, but it was from some of the old bulldozers that had turned Republicans.

H. H. STANTON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 8, 1880.

H. H. STANTON sworn and examined:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. At Topeka, Kans.

Q. What is your occupation there?—A. I keep a hotel and a railroad eating house for the Kansas Pacific Railroad.

Q. Have you necessarily observed the arrival of the most of these colored people that come to Topeka by railroad?—A. I have, sir, a great many of them.

Q. They are unloaded there to change, are they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Of what class of people do these colored folks generally seem to be? Do they seem to be a desirable acquisition to an industrious community?—A. The class that comes there consists of about one man, three or four children, and a wife; that is about the proportion. Generally an old man from forty to sixty years of age, a wife of from twenty to thirty-five, and four or five children. Very few young men come. They are all mostly destitute—those that I see. They all have bad health, mostly.

Q. What about this relief board; what do they do, and how do they do it?—A. They might relieve a great many more than they do.

Q. Has there been much suffering there this winter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How would it have been if this has been a hard winter instead of a soft winter?—A. A great many of them would have frozen to death.

Q. Are there many of them there now about the city?—A. Plenty of them.

Q. Without employment?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When you say "plenty," do you mean a large number?—A. I judge there were, in Topeka, when I came away—I am only approximating—from three to five thousand.

Q. What proportion of them can find employment in that city of from twelve to fifteen thousand people?—A. A great many of them do not get employment.

Q. Are they living on charity?—A. I really do not know how they do live. I see them sitting around on the fences or standing on the corners of the street talking politics, and how they get a living is a wonder to me.

Q. Do any portion of your people want them to come there?—A. I do not think there are two men in the first ward that want them; one of them is a Methodist minister; he is employed in that Freedman's Relief Society in some way. The other, I believe, is a minister, too; come to think, I believe he has left there; I do not believe there is more than one man in the ward that wants them to come to the city.

Q. Have you talked with these folks much?—A. I have.

Q. Did they tell you that they were badly treated?—A. Yes, sir; they came with one tale when they came out there; and when they get ready to go back, they all have one tale to tell. The story they tell when they come there is one which they seemingly have learned; but the one they tell when they go back is a very different one.

Q. What is the one they tell when they come there?—A. They say they have been cheated, and robbed, and shot at, and abused in every way. But when they come and ask me to help them get back—which I have known a great many of them to do—I ask them, "How dare you go back where they treat you so badly;" then they say, it was a made-up story, which they were told to tell, before they started away.

Q. Did they tell you that they themselves were badly treated, or did they only tell you that they had heard of others who had been badly treated?—A. Nobody could be found that had been badly treated themselves. I have noticed that particularly. I was considerably amused, one day at a conversation that I overheard. Between my laundry and ice-house, and the high fence in the rear of my hotel, there is a little vacant space. I happened to be out in the back-yard, when I heard a couple of these colored people talking; there was quite a crowd of them out there, sitting on some old trucks, and standing around there. I heard one of these, who was evidently a woman, saying "I am not going to tell this story any longer; it is all wrong, and it does not do a bit of good; there is nobody cares for us here; here we are, sitting on these old trucks, and may stay here till we starve to death, and nobody would care; you know very well that nobody ill-treated us down there, and I am not going to tell this story any longer."

Q. Who was she talking too?—A. Her husband, I judged, from the style of her conversation.

Q. What did he say?—A. Nothing. I think they started back home the next day.

Q. Have a considerable number gone back home?—A. Yes, sir; a great many. They are applying at the railroad offices there every day, to find out how much it will cost.

Q. What railroad is that?—A. The Kansas Pacific Railroad.

Q. Do you know anything about any pictures, chromos, or anything of that sort, being sent down South by anybody?—A. Yes, sir; I saw one picture, I think, last July or August, possibly September; I would not say exactly what month it was. I saw a chromo perhaps the size of that atlas, perhaps not as wide; it had a nice little cottage-house, a one-story house, with a porch and awning in front, situated on one of our green mounds in Kansas; in front of the house stood a mule, harnessed to a cart; an old gentleman and lady, colored, were standing on the porch, and little children were playing about in the shadow of four or five green trees. And the man that showed me that picture said that that was got him here—forty acres, and a mule and cart, and the like of that.

Q. Where was he from?—A. From Mississippi.

Q. What part of Mississippi?—A. I could not tell you. I saw so many of these people that I do not remember all the particulars concerning each one, and I did not then suppose that I would ever be asked down here to tell about it.

Q. When these colored people got to Kansas, did they find that farm ready for them, that neat little cottage, and that mule and cart, and those green trees and things?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did the man that showed you that picture go back?—A. Yes, sir; he went back, very indignant.

Q. He expressed himself as being disgusted?—A. Yes, sir. I have known men, when they came there and found there was nothing for them, to go back the next day. They would go to the barracks, take a look at the condition of things there, and turn around and go home.

Q. Do you know Mr. Case, the mayor of your city?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you hear his testimony here the other day?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you agree with him in reference to what he said as to the opportunities for colored men to better their condition in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; and I think he is about correct. I do not think the colored men can better their condition by coming there. Kansas is a new State, and the farmers there have but little means as yet; not one in ten is forehanded enough to be able to afford to keep help. They do their work with machinery, two thirds of it, and the negroes do not know how to work with machinery.

Q. The people of Kansas have felt the pressure of hard times themselves?—A. Yes, sir; and they cannot afford to hire. If the negroes are bound to emigrate they had better go to other States—older States, that have more money than Kansas.

Q. There are some mortgages on the lands in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; a great many of our farmers are struggling to free themselves from debt, and get rid of mortgages upon their farms.

Q. What are your politics?—A. Well, there is not much use of man's having any politics in Kansas; but when I lived in York State, in Syracuse, I was a Democrat.

Q. Is there any division of sentiment in Topeka as to the propriety or desirableness of these negroes coming to Kansas?—A. No. sir; I think I may safely say that there is no man in the first ward of Topeka who thinks it best for them to come there. When they threw those barracks in the river that they started to build it was the best business men of the place that did it, and advocated its being done.

Q. That is something I had not heard of before; tell us about it.—A. Governor St. John was president of this relief association, and his brother-in-law, Dawson, was superintendent of it, and they started out to put up some barracks there about two blocks above the bridge.

Q. For whom?—A. For these colored people; but the citizens would not permit it, and the business men threw them into the river.

Q. It cannot be possible that any Republicans were connected with that matter?—A. It was the business men there, and there were not three Democrats over there. I did not know anything about it until the next morning.

Q. Were not quite as many of these business men Republicans as Democrats?—A. Why, there were not ten Democrats among them. Then they moved the barracks up by the railroad, near the water-tanks. Then the citizens held a meeting and agreed not to allow them there. Then they moved them out of town, three-fourths of a mile or a mile, beyond the city limits.

Q. Was there any public indignation expressed against throwing the barracks into the river?—A. No, sir.

Q. What did the newspapers say?—A. Not a word.

Q. Is the city council Democratic or Republican?—A. I do not know; I should judge, of course, Republican; I do not see how any Democrat can get into the city council. Mayor Case, is there a Democrat in your city council?

Mr. CASE No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You must have a hard time of it out there.

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; it seems good to get hold of the hand of a Democrat, now, I assure you.

Q. Do you know anything about the desire of the negroes to return South, and whether the board, called the refugee board, has been willing to assist them to go home, or whether they refused to use the funds for that purpose?—A. I have had two cases of that kind, where men have come and asked me to help them get back home, and wanted assistance. One case is that of a man who is here in this room now; his name is Brookings; he is a colored man from Mississippi; the other man's name I forget; he came from Yazoo, Miss.

Q. That dreadful place, Yazoo?—A. Yes, sir; the same.

Q. Is it is possible that any colored man could want to go back to

Yazoo?—A. Yes, sir; he was a man with a wife and three children; they had been up to Wamego; somebody took them up to Wamego, but had nothing for them to do, and could not keep them; they got about five days' work up there, and that was all; they came very near starving; they staid there six weeks with nothing to do, and no place even for the family to sleep; they came back to Topeka, and landed in the barracks again. The superintendent drove them out, saying that he had helped that family once, and they must keep away. For three nights they slept on the freight cars there, or staid on the platform. I saw them about there for two or three days; I found that the children were hungry, and somebody fed them; then this man Brookings came into my house, and wanted to know if there was any way to help this man and his family get back; I told them that if they would come there the next morning I would go to the relief committee and see. He came early, and Mr. Beverly, the car inspector, and myself, went over there to see them. They said that they had helped this man once, and they would not help him any more. We sent three or four others over there to urge the matter, and finally one of the board came and handed out a couple of tickets for this family in what seemed to me rather an uncivil way; he never so much as said good-by to them, and they started home.

Q. He did not take a final farewell of them, as though they were going back South to get killed?—A. No, sir; this other man came and we tried to get a ticket for him, but they refused; they were willing to send persons that were there away, but not to send them back home.

Q. Where did he live?—A. In Mississippi, near the same place that the other man did, I think.

Q. Have you seen much suffering there?—A. There has been a good deal of sickness. I have been told—I have not seen it—that a great many have died, and been buried up there; sometimes at the rate of three to five a day.

Q. How many of these colored people are there in these barracks?—A. I cannot say; there are different estimates, and there are different numbers at different times. I never was there but once.

Q. How many were there there when you were there?—A. Two or three hundred; there are probably between three and five hundred there now.

Q. From three to five hundred?—A. I should judge so; they have been building—extending the barracks larger; every time you go by there you will see more buildings put up.

Q. Is the public money used for this purpose?—A. I do not know; I understand so; I know this, that if no more money and goods were sent there it would put a stop to the emigration.

Q. What do the negroes say, if they say anything, about getting these goods?—A. A boy that works for Eli Lewis, by the name of Tucker, boasted that he went there and got clothing enough to last him for two years—more than he wanted. He is not one of the emigrants; he has a situation right there at the depot.

Q. You think the emigrants would stop coming if the people would stop sending these goods?—A. Yes, sir; and another thing, there seems to be some colored people, a class composed principally of ministers and school teachers and politicians, who go down South and talk with these colored people, then they get a hundred or hundred and fifty or two hundred of them together, and get reduced rates for them, or charge these people additional for coming, so that they make one or two or three dollars ahead off from them. Another thing I have been told, and I have seen some of it two weeks ago last Sunday night. There was a colored man there that wanted to go back, and had made up his mind that he would go back; but he did not want those fellows up there to know anything about it, for they would pitch into him and abuse him. That was the man whose family we sent away two weeks ago Monday. On Sunday night they had quite a time on the platform; the others said there was no sense in going back, that he would get shot. The woman said that none of her boys had ever got shot; that she never saw any shooting down there, though she was born there. Another man said, "I have been here for three years, and have had all I want to eat and drink and wear; this country is good enough for me." Then the man who wanted to go down South asked of the other man whether the people in Kansas did not dress up and and put on their best clothes on Sunday. The other said "Yes, sir." "Well," said the man that was going back South, "Look at those clothes you have on. I would not wear such clothes as that on a plantation down there." I am only telling you the talk they had there on the platform.

Q. There is some bulldozing, then, even up in Kansas?—A. About as much, I guess, as you will find anywhere.

Q. This refugee board have a headquarters, have they not?—A. Yes, sir; and a very fine one, too.

Q. Did they buy a building for that purpose?—A. No, sir; I think they built it. I do not know, though; I only just see it there as I go by. It is a new building that has been put up within the last six months.

Q. And reputed to have been built by the board?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And is owned by them?—A. Well, they say that a man named Brown, who I see by the papers has been here and his evidence taken——

Q. A colored man?—A. Yes, sir; he pretends to own the lot—I have not been to the records to find out whether he does or not—and these people have put up this building on it.

Q. What is the general understanding with regard to the funds with which it was built?—A. They all say that it was built out of the funds sent there for the benefit of the colored people. I have been told that a hundred thousand feet of lumber was sent there, donated by one man; and that it was used for this building.

Q. Is it a better building than the barracks that were put up for the negroes?—A. It is the best house there on the north side of the river, except one, a brick house, owned by a man by the name of Baker.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Mr. Stanton, you have told us a good many things that you say you do not know anything about. You do not know anything about whether this office which you have spoken of has been built with money contributed from abroad, except that you heard somebody say so?—A. That is all.

Q. Have you ever been through that house?—A. I was in it once, when I went for checks.

Q. How large is it?—A. It is a two-story house; a large house.

Q. Is it the largest house in Topeka?—A. The largest except one.

Q. Is it as big as a meeting-house?—A. O, no, no, no, no; well, it is larger than some meeting-houses that we have in Topeka.

Q. Two stories high, is it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. With a cupolo on it?—A. No, sir.

Q. A bell?—A. No, sir.

Q. No spire?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is there a basement to it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are there any saloons in it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nor wholesale stores?—A. No, sir; but there plenty of clerks in it.

Q. Are they engaged in some business there?—A. Yes, sir; and at a good salary too, they tell me.

Q. That, too, is something you have been told?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the building made of?—A. Of wood.

Q. O, I did not know but it was of marble?—A. No, sir; there are no marble buildings in Kansas except government buildings.

Q. Of what kind of wood is it?—A. Pine lumber.

Q. You don't mean to say that it is made of common pine lumber?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it painted?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Blinds on the windows?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Large-sized glass in the windows?—A. I cannot answer as to the size of the glass.

Q. Is there a finer building in the State of Kansas than that?—A. O, yes, there are better buildings there than that.

Q. Did it cost fifty thousand dollars?—A. No, sir; O, no.

Q. How much?—A. From two to three thousand dollars.

Q. Only two or three thousand dollars? I thought by your first description that it must have cost at least fifty thousand dollars. Is two or three thousand dollars a large price for a building in Kansas?—A. It is a pretty good price for Kansas.

Q. But this is in a city of twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants. Have you no houses there that cost four or five thousand dollars? You say this is the best house in Topeka, except one?—A. I said on the north side. The large majority of the citizens live on the south side—about twelve thousand inhabitants.

Q. Are there any Democrats on the south side?—A. I don't go over there often enough to see; I stay home and attend to business.

Q. You are aristocratic, and won't associate with the people on the south side much?—A. Just so.

Q. This office is the best building on the north side?—A. I do not know of any better one, except Baker's brick house.

Q. How many rooms has it?—A. I don't know; I never was there but once, and that time they apparently did not want me to go beyond the hall.

Q. Were there any guards there—any military?—A. No, sir; but there was more red tape than a little.

Q. More than there is here at Washington?—A. More than I have found here yet.

Q. You can shake hands with a Democrat here without much trouble if you set out to?—A. Well, yes.

Q. To return to that building. It cost, you think, some two or three thousand dollars?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it is two or three stories high?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think it unsuitable for the purpose for which it was built?—A. I think that an unnecessary amount of money was laid out upon it.

Q. They are not going to take it down when the exodus stops, are they?—A. I do not know what they will do with it.

Q. Have you any idea that they will wear it out this year?—A. No, sir.

Q. It is not a bad piece of property to remain there in your city?—A. No, sir.

Q. It is not an extravagant investment, on the whole, is it?—A. I think that if they had given some of the money that is invested in that building to some of the poor people that are sleeping in the freight-cars and coal cars, and got a common cheap place to do business in, it would have been just as well.

Q. Perhaps, and perhaps not. It may be that the exodus will go on for some time to come; and in the course of time it might cost more for rent than the cost of this building.—A. They might get along with a great deal cheaper building.

Q. It might have been given to them. Some charitable person may have put his charity in the form of a proper building for this purpose; if so, there would not be anything wrong in their spending it, would there?—A. Of course not.

Q. That relief board is supported by charitable contributions from all parts of the country, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It does not damage Topeka, does it? If the people choose to expend three or four hundred thousand dollars of their own money there, you can have no objection?—A. I do not think it does Topeka any good.

Q. Have you been taxed much for the support of these people?—A. No, sir; I have not; I have no real estate there—nothing but what I can run out on wheels.

Q. In what shape is your interest there?—A. A hotel and railroad eating-house.

Q. Do you keep something to drink, too?—A. No, sir; I do not sell anything of the sort; but I take a drink myself whenever I am dry.

Q. Does this exodus damage you?—A. Some.

Q. Not much, does it?—A. No, sir. I keep white and colored help, about half and half; and when colored persons that I think really need help come there hungry, I feed them.

Q. What objection have you to their coming to Topeka?—A. I have not so much objection as other people have who own property there. The objection is not, as I understand it, because they are negroes, as because they come without money to a country where there is no work for them to do. And there is a class, and a pretty large class too, who do not want to work. The men who want to work push out into the country; but the loafers do not want to move on; they hang about town. I do not mean to say that they are all of this class.

Q. There are some three to five thousand there now?—A. Yes; in the city and suburbs.

Q. Are they persons who have come during this exodus movement?—A. Mostly, but not all of them. There were between one and two thousand there when this thing commenced. I do not know when they came there. I have been there myself only two years.

Q. Are all these people who sit on the fence and stand on the street corners colored people?—A. Nine out of ten are.

Q. Are nine out of ten of the colored people that sit on the fence and stand on the street corners these exodusters?—A. About all of them.

Q. Is it the same twelve or fifteen hundred all the time, or are there changes from time to time?—A. I do not know; I do not keep track of them, nor pay much attention to them.

Q. You do not mind the matter of personal identity?—A. No, sir.

Q. They are coming up the river all the time?—A. Yes, sir; and on the cars, too.

Q. They are coming and going all the time?—A. Yes, sir; not a train comes but there are one or two car-loads of these emigrants come.

Q. Is it not probable, from the fact of Topeka being a depot for their arrival, a point of distribution, that those you see there one day or week are gone the next, and their places taken by others?—A. I hardly think that.

Q. These are permanent loafers, are they?—A. Yes, sir; they some of them have families that live in old houses, dug-outs, sand-holes—any place to shelter them in cold weather.

Q. You do not think it surprising to find a few loafers in the black race as well as the white race? Is it at all strange that a few loafers are attached to this movement?—A. They do not want to go to the country to work; I am told that when work in the country is offered them, they refuse it frequently.

Q. You said, if I understood you correctly, that these colored people out there want to live on politics?—A. No, I did not say that.

Q. What did you say about politics?—A. I said that the most of them, or a great many of them, did nothing but stand on the corners of the streets talking politics. But a great many of them do want to live on politics, and their whole hobby is to get a chance to vote.

Q. Well, a great many white men want to live on politics, do they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Those negroes—you say their whole hobby is to get a chance to vote?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If that is their whole hobby, why didn't they stay down South? They can vote as well South as North, can't they?—A. I suppose so. The last I heard, there were more colored folks registered than white folks.

Q. Where?—A. In Topeka.

Q. Did they vote?—A. I don't know; I have come away since then.

Q. What officers were chosen? Did you elect a mayor?—A. No, sir; Mayor Case was elected for two years.

Q. Did you vote for him when he was elected?—A. Yes, sir. Why should I vote for anybody else?

Q. Why vote for him?—A. Why vote for anybody else? He was the only man running.

Q. Can a good Democrat like you vote for a good Republican like Mayor Case?—A. I can vote for a Republican as well as you, sir.

Q. You don't allow your politics to interfere with your voting?—A. No, sir.

Q. You voted for Mr. Case?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He was the only man running for mayor?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the proportion of Republicans to Democrats in Topeka?—A. I don't know.

Q. The Democrats didn't run any ticket last year?—A. No, sir.

Q. Mr. Case is the kind of a Republican that the Democrats can all vote for?—A. O, Mr. Case is a Republican.

Q. But he is that kind of a Republican that Democrats can vote for?—A. If a man wants to vote once in a while so as to keep his hand in and not get out of practice, if he lives in Kansas he has *got* to vote for a Republican.

Q. Do you think that is a good way for a Democrat to keep himself in practice—to vote for Republicans?—A. Yes, sir.

Mr. Blair. So do I; and it would be better for the country if more of them did it.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Wasn't there any respectable Democrat in Topeka that you could vote for?—A. Certainly; but what was the use of voting for him when there was no earthly chance of his being elected?

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You pointed my mind in the direction of hope by one thing you stated, which must also be a source of great consolation to the chairman; you said you thought these colored emigrants better go to some of the older States than to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I am inclined to think you are right. What State or States had you particularly in mind?—A. If I could have my way about it, I would send them all to Massachusetts.

Q. That is a good State; did you have in mind any other?—A. No, sir; Massachusetts is entitled to them all.

Q. It may be; I have no doubt the people there would be glad to receive them, and would treat them properly; I understand that a good share of this charity that takes care of them in Kansas comes from Massachusetts.—A. If she will send the money for their transportation, we will ship them all right down there.

Q. You say you think they ought to go to the older States?—A. Yes, sir; and I will tell you why: they have plenty of money and can afford to keep servants and to hire laborers of all kinds; if these colored people were to go there, they could get work, but in Kansas there is no work for them; farmers do not hire them because they cannot afford to hire them.

Q. Cannot they afford to hire them as well as to hire anybody?—A. No, sir; and I will show you why: the farm-work in Kansas is mostly done by machinery that these negroes never saw nor heard of before; and they do not understand the management of it all. If they were to go to Iowa, or Illinois, or Ohio, or New York——

Q. Why do you skip Indiana? That is one of the older States, and borders upon Illinois and Ohio, both of which you mentioned.—A. I was going to say New Hampshire; that is a good State, and I know a good many good fellows, New Hampshire fellows, and I would be glad to let them have the benefit of this immigration.

Q. I have extended an invitation to twenty thousand of them to come to New Hampshire.—A. I am just as good a friend to the negroes as anybody; I would use all alike; but it is no place for them in Kansas.

Q. You think that the belt of older agricultural States, like Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and so on, further east, would be better for them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you would be glad if your testimony would give the colored people notice that, in your judgment, they could do better by migrating to some of the older States instead of Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; I would.

Q. The town of Atchison is located in the northeast corner of your State, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; it is right north of us, fifty-odd miles; the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad runs from Atchison to Topeka, and so on southwest.

Q. A considerable number of these colored emigrants land in your State further south than your city?—A. Yes, sir; the Texas emigrants come into the State by railroad from the South. Some of them get up as far as Topeka. From what I learn, they are generally a great deal better off than the people coming from the other parts of the South to our place; they come there with wagons, horses and mules, plows, cattle, &c. I heard a remark the other day that it would be a good idea for some of the Kansas colored people to go down to Texas and get a start, and then come back.

Q. The citizens of Kansas have no objection to the immigration of colored people who have the means to take care of themselves, like other immigrants?—A. Certainly not; we would object just the same to the landing there of a large number of white men without means. A white man cannot get under way in Kansas without about five hundred dollars to give him a start. He must buy a team, plow, and other farm implements, build, and break the ground, and support himself and family from a year to a year and a half before he begins to get any return from his crop. A colored man is not any worse off than a white man who should come there without a cent to help himself.

TESTIMONY OF FRANK DOSTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 8, 1880.

FRANK DOSTER sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. In Marion Center, Kansas.

Q. Where is Marion Center in Kansas?—A. It is about one hundred miles west of the Missouri River, and probably one hundred miles north of the Indian Territory.

Q. It is pretty well in the center of the State, then?—A. Yes, sir; it is pretty nearly in the middle as to north and south, but in the eastern half of the State.

Q. Has your attention been called, to some extent, to this question of the immigration of colored people to your State?—A. It is only been called to consider and study the effects and consequences of the exodus, rather than the cause.

Q. Please state to the committee your occupation.—A. I am an attorney at law.

Q. What is your position officially, if any?—A. I hold no official position.

Q. Were you a member of the last legislature?—A. No, sir; I was a member of the legislature of 1872 in my State, but not since then.

Q. What are your politics?—A. I guess I had better call myself an Independent; at the last election I voted the Greenback ticket.

Q. And came from what party?—A. The Republican.

Q. You never had any Democratic antecedents or affiliations?—A. My father, I think, voted for Douglas in 1860.

Q. I am speaking of yourself; that is as far back as it is necessary to go. I ask this so as to obtain your political standpoint; the standpoint from which a man views matters of this kind is often important. Now, give us the results of your observation and the conclusion to which you have arrived.—A. I have not seen nearly as much of the exodus as many other gentlemen who are here. When in Topeka, I have several times gone over to the north side of the river where these exodus emigrants are landed; I have walked around town, and seen them there—had them pointed out to me as persons from the South. I have conversed with some of them. I did not make inquiries of a great many as to the causes of their leaving the South; I had my own opinion about that, and so did not inquire, except of a few.

The principal wonder in my mind was, what was to become of them after getting there.

Q. Did you find out whether any of them were getting employment?—A. My attention was directed to that inquiry in particular, because last summer, in my part of the State, we were building several lines of railway, commenced shortly after this exodus set in; and the thought struck me that this would be a good opportunity to get cheap labor on the railroad. I called the attention of the railway contractor, who was building the line of railway there, to the matter. But I think that none of them—comparatively speaking, none of them—got employment or tried to get employment on our lines of road.

Q. What number of colored people were in your county at any one time, and what number are there now in your county?—A. There are very few there now; at one time there were about one hundred; they were coming and going.

Q. You said that your anxiety was principally upon the subject of what would become of them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was there no demand for their labor?—A. There was not.

Q. You feared they would have trouble to get employment by which they could earn their bread?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Has there not been some trouble, even among white people, for the last few years, to obtain employment?—A. There has been.

Q. You say these colored people sought employment on the railroad?—A. No, sir; I did not say that they sought employment; I said I thought it a favorable opportunity for them to get employment. There was a demand for laborers to engage in that kind of work; but I failed to see that any of them went to work on these railroads. I do not think any of these colored people whom I had seen working on those railroads were exodus negroes. There were but very few of them, in all.

Q. We have called you here, among others, to advise us upon this question; you are evidently a man of intelligence and no doubt conscientious; I will ask you whether it would not be better for the government, under the powers given it by the Constitution, to protect these people where they are, than for them to go to Kansas seeking employment?—A. I should say it would be much better for them to be protected, if they need protection, where they are now, than for them to come to Kansas.

Q. You say, "if they need protection." Do you understand that the government has ample power to protect them where they are now?—A. That is the opinion that I have. I never studied that legal question; but I take it for granted that the government has power to protect all persons, in any part of the country, in all their rights, civil or political.

Q. Do you understand that the government has power to give them employment in Kansas?—A. No, sir.

Q. You say that there are very few of these colored people in your county now?—A. Very few.

Q. Where have they distributed themselves to?—A. I do not know, of my own knowledge. I have been told that quite a number of them have gone about seventy-five miles west, into Rice county, where there was a colored colony before these exodus immigrants came.

Q. They have mingled with that colony?—A. I suppose so.

Q. Are you acquainted with the condition of that colony?—A. I am not, particularly; I think it is reasonably prosperous; I noticed the persons composing that colony as they were passing through my county with their wagons, teams, &c., and they appeared to be in good condition.

Q. How long since you have seen any of them?—A. I think a year ago last summer I noticed a dozen or twenty wagons and families, which I understood were a colony of colored people going to Rice County.

Q. Did you understand that they had property and means when they came from the South?—A. I suppose they had, because I saw that they were quite well equipped.

Q. You understood it from that fact, not from information, but from your own observation?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the temper of the public mind, the sentiment of the people of Kansas, on the subject of this large immigration into that State?—A. As to the advisability of it, I think our people regard it as a bad thing. We have no objection to negroes or any other class of people coming there who have means, or, even if they are poor, if they can manage to take care of themselves; but our means are limited, and it is all that we can do to take care of ourselves. For this reason, I think this class of negroes is not generally desired by our citizens.

Q. Is it thought to be advantageous to the negro himself?—A. I do not consider it so; I have heard the subject discussed somewhat, not so much in my part of the country as elsewhere, because, as I said, we have not had to exceed one hundred colored people in our county at one time, and they were at a town about ten miles from where I live.

Q. Is not business improving in Kansas somewhat?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There has been great depression and hard times in Kansas for the last six or seven years, as there has been everywhere else, I suppose?—A. Yes, sir; I think, however, it has not been so bad in our State as in some of the States east of us; we have had immigration all the time, of persons bringing in money, and they kept up business to a considerable extent.

Q. There has been a constant stream of white immigration into Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If there is anything else you wish to say, the committee will be glad to hear it.—A. I know of nothing further, sir.

TESTIMONY OF PHILIP BROOKINGS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 8, 1880.

PHILIP BROOKINGS (colored) sworn and examined.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Question. Mr. Brookings, tell us where you live.—Answer. I live in the State of Mississippi, in Yazoo City, Yazoo County.

Q. Where have you been living, or staying, for some time past?—A. I have been in Kansas for about three months.

Q. You have come here from Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you a wife and children?—A. I have no children; I have a wife.

Q. Where is your wife?—A. I think she is at home by this time.

Q. Where do you call "home"?—A. Mississippi.

Q. What is the county town of Yazoo County?—A. Yazoo City.

Q. How long have you lived down there?—A. All my life, except the last three months.

Q. Were you born there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you belong to any one before the war?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you become a free man when the war closed?—A. Yes, sir; I was but about ten years old at the time of the surrender.

Q. That would make you about twenty-five or twenty-six years of age now?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How came you to go up to Kansas, Philip?—A. Well, we got papers down there, now and then, and every time we read them, it was all "Kansas, Kansas, Kansas." It looked as if a man could just play wild out there, doing nothing, all but. I had been worth right smart, and had got broke; and as everybody was going to Kansas, and every newspaper we would get hold of said "Go to Kansas," because we could make so much there, and do this and that there, I concluded I would shuffle out and go there. There was a prospect of getting hold of a big thing, you know.

Well, when I got out there, to Kansas, I went around and asked everybody I met, "How is work? Could a man get anything to do?" And everybody said, "There is no work now, but there will be in a few days." That was in January. I could just now and then get ten cents worth of coal or something to tote in, and so just kept from starving, and that was all. That month passed, and then I asked again, "How is work?" And they said everything would be satisfactory in March. But stilll there was nothing for me to do to earn a mouthful of bread. Some said if I would go out into the country, about three miles, I could get something to do. So I blazed out on Sunday; you see I did not know Sunday from Monday. I went out, but there was nothing to do. I met with some Republican men; they said: "That is the result of you niggers coming out here; there is nothing here for white men to do; that is what makes it hard times." I said: "We heard a great deal about this place; we heard that there was plenty of work here, and now I am hunting work." And they said, "If you can find it you can do more than we can." So I blazed on, and went to another man whom I had been told might want somebody to work for him; but when I got there the man said that he and his wife did all the cooking, and milked the cows, and did everything themselves; they could not afford to hire anybody. Then I went back to town, and goes to this refugee board, and asked them if they could get me anything to do; for, thinks I, if I can get anything to do so that I can squeeze along in some way till summer, then there will be no trouble about my getting work. Because I would not go to the barracks and stay there, they refused to give me anything. I would rather live on ten cents a day than go to the barracks, for they were dying in there at the rate of eight or ten a day. Some old women that I saw said they had lost all their children, and some of them had lost their husbands; so I felt pretty shy of going to such a place; I made up my mind that I would get pretty hungry before I would go in there; and I did get hungry. Things began to look pretty blue; I began to get uneasy; I felt worse than a fish in hot water.

Well, I staid there three months, not getting a thing to do, hardly. Sometimes I could get a chance to earn two bits; and I had to make that go a good ways. I was not used to such work as thay had there. When I talk about hiring out by the month, they would say, "No, I would not want you a month; I have not anything for you to do."

Finally I concluded it was time for me to light out of Kansas. I wanted to go home pretty bad. I knew that there I could get plenty of work to do. I had heard something about an aid society in Kansas City that had sent a man back south; but how was I to get to Kansas City? That was the preponderous question with me. But some body said that maybe this Refugee Aid Society there in Topeka might help me to get back. So I goes over, and blazed in there and spoke to a man, and says I, "I cannot get anything to do; I want to go back." He says, "Where to?" Says I, "To Mississippi." He said they had nothing to do with that; they helped nobody back. I said, "Must I stay here and starve because I cannot find anything to do?" They said, "There is a heap of folks come here hungry with nothing to do." That was not any consolation to me. Because other folks were hungry too, that did not put a stopper onto my appetite. I asked the man what was I to do. But the man would not speak any more to me; he looked right over the top of my head, and went to talking with a lady that was there. I stood there awhile, and by and by shuffled out. I went over to the hotel by the railroad depot, and made up to Mr. Stanton. I said, "What about a fellow getting away from this place? I have no money; if I were back home I might get in a crop of cotton; but I cannot make enough here in the summer to carry me through the winter." And in Kansas, if a man did not make money in the summer, he stands a darned poor chance in the winter. Let there come a few cold days, and they will run coal up to thirty cents a bushel. Mr. Stanton said, "Do you want to go back home?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Where have you been?" I said, "I have been to the aid society, and they won't talk with me." He said, "If you could raise money enough to get Kansas City, I think I could get you back" I said, "That is an impossibility; I might as well try to fly to the moon." So I knocked around there, still looking for work. There was a friend of mine there, William Billing, with a wife and three children; he had gone up to Wamego; it has a warm name, but lacks considerable of being a warm place; he had got back from out there, and was sleeping in car-boxes, and around. And all day Sunday he was traveling and hunting me, and I was traveling and hunting him; we were both trying to find some way to get back home. He run upon me in the evening. He said, "I would like to get in somewhere, because I am hungry, and my children are hungry, and my wife is over the river." Said I, "Where have you been?" Said he "To Wamego." Said I, "How came you to go there?" Said he, "A man hired me, because he seed me in the barracks." Said I, "What to do?" Said he, "To dig a cellar; and after that was done, there was nothing to do; and then he told me that he could not hire me any longer; because he had not any more money. Then I scrambled around, and looked for work in other places, but I could not find any; and then the conductor brought me here free; and I went to the barracks and they turned me out; and I went there again, and they turned me out; and now I want to get away from here, and get back home." I said, "I want to get away myself; and after seeing what arrangements you can make, I will make arrangements for myself." So I goes to the hotel, and I makes up with a man, and I says, "I want a word with you; here is a friend of mine with his children, crying for bread, with nothing to eat and no work to do—dirty and ragged and hungry." Said he, "You look like an honest man, well-conducted, and dressed up and comfortable"; well, I would not let on, but he was mightily mistaken, though he did not know it. He said, "What does he want to go back for?" Said I, "He cannot get anything to do; he is hungry and lousy and naked, almost, and nothing but God between him and the north wind." He said, "Where is he from?" I said, "From Mississippi." He said, "If he goes back there he will have to face bulldozers and butcher-knives and shotguns and things." This other man said, "There were none of these things where he came from." And I said the same. This other fellow said he had heard that a man could do so much in Kansas that he sold out everything he had—just gave it away; what was worth three hundred dollars he sold for seventy or eighty; and he says, "Now I do not know what to do"; and he just gave right up. Then I comes out and makes to Mr. Stanton, and tells him all about this other man; and I thought that if he would tell me what this other man could do, then I should know what to do myself. Mr. Stanton says, "There ought to be some way arranged for these men who want to get back to go back." And he said, "Send him here to-morrow morning." I think he staid there at the depot all night; he might as well, for there was no better place for him to stay; he was mighty glad of a chance to get back.

Q. Has he got back?—A. No, sir, he is not quite back; but he expected when I left there, to dance that way pretty quick.

Q. And you are now on your way back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think that you can do better there than you can in Kansas?—A. I am certain that I can make two dollars there where I could one in Kansas. There is nothing to do in Kansas, and nobody with any money to pay you for doing it. I got a man's horse and wagon there one day; he had hired me to do some hauling; and I drove out of my way to two or three places hunting for work; I was afraid if he found it out, he would think I was stealing, but I was not; I was only trying to find something to do.

Q. You say you can get work when you go home; to whom will you go?—A. I rented land before I left there on Dr. Burrell's place; I can get work there or anywhere else in that neighborhood.

Q. You spoke of having got somewhat broken up before you left Mississippi; how did that come?—A. O, by my own conduct; I have seen the richest kind of men meet with misfortune and get broken up.

Q. Yes, sir; so have we all, Philip; but what I meant to inquire was, was it on account of ill treatment from white folks?—A. O, no, sir; it was on account of a jug, principally.

Q. Well, that has broken many a man.—A. I thought, you know, I would just dance out to Kansas and get mended up, and go back solid, you know.

Q. And now you believe, if you go back home home and take care of yourself, you will get plenty of work to do while there?—A. I do not believe it, I know it.

Q. What pay can you get for work in Yazoo County?—A. Fifteen dollars a month and my board, regular.

Q. Do you have to go and hunt around much to get work down there?—A. No, sir; if somebody knows that you want to be hired, you can just sit still, and hire yourself.

Q. You are not afraid to go back down there, then?—A. Not a bit, no more than I am afraid to go and get a drink of water.

Q. Your wife is there now, is she?—A. I suppose she is by this time.

Q. How far do you live from Yazoo City?—A. About half way between Yazoo City and Bennet.

Q. What are you going to say to the people down there about going to Kansas?—A. If see any of them that wants to break up and go to Kansas, I am going to use the best means in my power to coax them off from that notion; I will tell them that they might as well be in the middle of the Mississippi River when they could not swim a lick. I will tell them it will be a race which they will do first, starve to death or freeze to death.

Q. This has been a very mild winter in Kansas, has it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If it had been as cold as the winters usually are in Kansas, how would the colored people there have got along?—A. Well, sir; I suppose God Almighty knew how the poor negroes in Kansas was fixed, and so came between them and the north wind, or many a one would have been played out there before now.

Q. How many of your people went to Kansas from Yazoo County, Mississippi?—A. I cannot tell how many did go; but there were a great many.

Q. How came so many to go from that county to Kansas?—A. Well, in the first place, men would go to Kansas who could not write, you know; and they would get men to write back for them; and these men, instead of writing what they were told to write, would write a very different tale; they would write that four or five hundred negroes had landed there, when it was only a hundred or a hundred and fifty; then the negroes back there would think there must be something in it, or there would not be so many landing there, and they would warm up on the subject, and bust up and go.

Q. You did not drink any while you were in Kansas, did you, Philip?—A. Drink! How could I drink? I did not have any money. I do not know what whisky is. I tell you, sir, Kansas broke me.

Q. You do not drink any now?—A. No; nor hain't been. It is hard to get hold of whisky in Kansas, even if you have got plenty of money, let alone when you have not a red cent in the world. But in Kansas a man would need it if he could get hold of it, for Kansas has the roughest wind you ever run acrost in *your* life.

Q. Philip, when they found that you were turning your face toward Mississippi, and were going home again, was any effort made by anybody to keep you from telling the colored people that they had better follow your example and go back South?—A. Yes, sir; they were very sharp about it; some of them said that if the law was not so strict they would take me and hang me. I told them that they need not mind the law; I had not had much to eat, but two men could not hang me, though I would rather be hung than to stay there in Kansas. I tell you this Kansas business is just like rot-gut whisky; it is slow but sure poison to a negro. The fact is, I was out of heart, because I was out of money; and a man without money in Kansas totes a low head. I could not get hold of any money or I would have come away before I did. One or two men were talking there; they were fine-dressed men, and they had money, I suppose. They said—you see, when the people found I wanted to go away everybody knew me almost—they said if they had known that I wanted to get away so bad they would have made up the money.

Q. Well, now, you are glad that you are going back home, are you, Philip?—A. Yes, sir; I am that; and I do not care who the devil knows it. If I had had wings I would have gone long ago.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Did you find many others of the colored people who wanted to go back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then how did it happen that you became so conspicuous, so prominent, as soon as it became known that you wanted to go back?—A. They found that I was a pullback to their business there; they found out that I did not like it there, and that I had aided these other folks so that they got back; and they did not know what to do.

Q. I understood you to say that when they found out that you wanted to go back everybody knew you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were known as the fellow that wanted to go back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That made you quite prominent?—A. Yes, sir: that notified me a great deal.

Q. It seems, then, that there were not a great many who felt as you did, or you would not have been so prominent?—A. They said, "That fellow is going to go back, and he will jest give Kansas hell"; and I tell you the truth, I am going to do it too.

Q. Have you told anybody here that you were getting the start of the white men in this matter, and were going back to Kansas when it was all over?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you said nothing of that sort?—A. Nothing of that sort.

Q. Are you sure of it?—A. I am sure of it. If you do not believe it, when I leave here you can watch, and you will see mighty soon which route I will go.

Q. How did you first find out that you were to come here?—A. I found it out by the papers.

Q. What papers?—A. The papers that they sell around in town there.

Q. How did you find out that you were coming before this committee?—A. I saw that in the paper.

Q. But who said anything to you about it?—A. After I saw it in the paper, lots of men spoke to me about it.

Q. Before you saw it in the papers, who talked with you about it?—A. Nobody.

Q. Did not Mr. Stanton talk with you about it?—A. He said, "If it is that bad in your State, I do not see why you should want to go back there."

Q. Had you told him how bad it was there?—A. If it had been so, I would have told him.

Q. What did he mean, then, by saying if it was that bad, he did not see why you should want to go back, if you had never told him that it was bad there?—A. That is what made him ask if it was that bad where I came from.

Q. Were you not one of the men Mr. Stanton spoke of, who were living around there and not working or wanting to work—sitting on the fences, or standing about the corners of the streets, and doing nothing?—A. You would not be surprised if you had been out there and seen the men. I have stood there and counted five hundred darkies on the fence.

Q. Why were they there?—A. Because they had not got work to do.

Q. Then Mr. Stanton was mistaken about their not wanting to work?—A. They did want to work, but they were disappointed, despondent and disappointed, and did not know where to go to find work.

Q. It may be that some of them did not try to find work as hard as you did?—A. I suppose lots of them didn't.

Q. Couldn't you do any kind of work that they had to be done?—A. There was lots of work that I could not do.

Q. What kind of work was there that you could not do?—A. Cutting and pecking stone——

Q. Couldn't you pick up stone?—A. (Not observing the misunderstanding.) No, sir.

Q. Couldn't you do any kind of farm work there?—A. No, sir; I could no more manage one of those machines than a cat could fight without wings.

Q. What had you been in the habit of doing in Mississippi?—A. Working in the cotton field.

Q. Did you not have to plow before you planted your cotton?—A. Yes, sir; but I always worked behind my plow; I did not ride my plow at all; we used to ride horses down there, not plows.

Q. Where is your wife?—A. She was in Kansas, but she went back.

Q. Where to?—A. To Mississippi.

Q. How came she to go back before you did?—A. I do not know as she is back; but I left her with the fare so that she could go back.

Q. You do not know where she is?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did not she get money with which to go away?—A. My brothers sent me eleven dollars, and I let her have it, and they wrote to me if I wanted any more to write, and they would send me more.

Q. Do you know anything about the murder of Representative Patterson in your neighborhood?—A. No, sir.

Q. Or of the running off of Sheriff Morgan?—A. Yes, sir; but all I know about that is by hearsay, and I don't mind hearsays. I remember once I was in trouble over something I had heard, and commenced telling about it to a friend, who said, "Don't pay any attention to 'hearsays'; you can hear something or other every day."

Q. Are we to understand from this that you do not believe what you have heard about Sheriff Morgan?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are the colored people in your neighborhood in Mississippi all well treated?—A. Yes, sir; some of them are poor people, and don't make anything much, and there are others who make money, but don't know how to keep it. I knew a man up there who had a hundred dollars and met with some Jew, who got him to give him a twenty dollar bill for a one. Men will lose money in some such way as that or gamble it away or spend it all and then cry out that they are cheated. I have had men work for me when I was in business, and then go and gamble the money away and afterward swear that I had cheated them; and I have had them bring up old debts against me when I had settled them.

Q. Did you sell out your property before you started for Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much did you have?—A. Two horses, two mules, a wagon, a buggy, and about twenty-seven head of cattle.

Q. Do you know who told the Sergeant-at-Arms that you would be a good witness before this committee?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you talked with Mr. Stanton about what you have testified to here?—A. No, sir.

Q. How did you come to start for Washington to be examined before this committee?—A. People quizzed me till I got sort of uneasy, and if I had had money I don't know as I would have come here. They were so hard on men that I commenced feeling jubious.

Q. Have you not told somebody that if you were examined here you were to be given the witness and mileage fees to go South with?—A. No, sir.

Q. You did not know that this committee was being used to get you home?—A. No, sir; I don't know anything about that.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. You say that the first you knew you were to be a witness here you saw it in the newspapers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was it that was in the paper?—A. The names of the men that were subpœnaed to come to Washington City.

Q. And your name was among them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was that all there was in the paper?—A. No, sir; there was lots more.

Q. What else?—A. I am a very dull reader.

Q. What was the rest of the article, as you remember it?—A. I learned that it was on this exodus business, and that several men were to be brought down here, and they told me that I was one of them.

Q. That piece did not bring you here?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then how did you happen actually to come here?—A. I commenced asking about it; and these men told me I would have to come, and would have to raise my own money; and I commenced seeking to borrow the money so as to be ready; and a sensible man said, "If you don't go you will be put in jail." I tell you I was just as keen as a fellow could be to find the money and get ready to come.

Q. Go on—tell the rest of the story.—A. That is all.

Q. No, that cannot be all, for after that you started and came here. You said you were as keen as a fellow could be to find the money to come here with. What then?—A. I goes across the river to find Mr. Eggleston about the money.

Q. Who is Mr. Eggleston?—A. He is a colored man here.

Q. Is he here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, what next?—A. He said he would pay my way. I was acquainted with him, and talked with him, and he gave me some instructions.

Q. What did he say to you?—A. He said I would be compelled to come.

Q. Had anybody said anything to you about coming as yet?—A. No, sir.

Q. You had seen this in the paper, but had been told nothing else?—A. No, sir.

Q. What next?—A. I commenced seeking after the money.

Q. Go on.—A. I went across the river.

Q. That was to the south side of the river?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did you go then?—A. I went to see Mr. Stanton.

Q. I thought he lived on the north side of the river?—A. He does.

Q. Then you are one of the aristocrats—the southsiders?—A. I lived all over the city.

Q. Well, you went to see Mr. Stanton?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And then what happened?—A. I got him to pay my way.

Q. Got Mr. Stanton to pay your way?—A. Yes, sir; I borrowed the money of him.

Q. Mr. Stanton furnished you the money with which to get here?—A. Yes; he said he would not try to cheat me; all he asked was to pay him back.

Q. What was the talk about it?—A. There was no talk about it.

Q. How did you happen to get the money? What did you say and what did he say?—A. He said, "You are subpœnaed to go to Washington."

Q. But you had not been subpœnaed; you had seen nothing but what was in the newspaper; here is the piece of paper that you saw (exhibiting a slip cut from a newspaper). You had this talk with Mr. Stanton before you came here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And before this money was furnished?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What reason had you to think you had got to come here, except that piece in the newspaper?—A. They subpœnaed me like they do other witnesses.

Q. Had they done it then when you talked with Mr. Stanton?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When was that?—A. I could not tell the day; I was walking about on the street.

Q. Who subpœnaed you?—A. I do not know anybody much there.

Q. You say somebody subpœnaed you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who did it?—A. I don't know, sir.

Q. How were you subpœnaed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was done when you were subpœnaed?—A. Man read it to me.

Q. Did he tell you that you had got to come here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have any talk with him about how you were to get here?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was nothing said about your being furnished with the means to get here?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were the means with which you got here furnished by Mr. Stanton?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did you get that scar on your forehead?—A. A mule kicked me.

Q. This property of yours, how did you get it?—A. I worked and made cotton and corn, and sold the cotton and bought the property.

Q. Did you ever buy any real estate?—A. No, sir; I never bought any land.

Q. How many of the colored people down there owned land?—A. Well, there is Houston Burrs, he has got two places——

Q. I do not care about the names of particular men; I only want to know about how many colored people own farms in proportion to the whole number of colored people?—A. Well, I would have to count them, or I wouldn't know.

Q. Does one colored man in a hundred own land?—A. Yes, sir; a good many.

Q. Is there any difficulty in buying land?—A. No, sir; no more than in Topeka City.

Q. I am not asking about land in Topeka City, but about land in Mississippi; what is land worth there?—A. About ten dollars an acre, on an average, on the hills; in the swamps about twenty dollars an acre.

Q. When men hire that land, what rent do they pay?—A. What land I and two more men could work we rented for two bales of cotton, weighing four hundred and twenty-five pounds.

Q. What were the two bales of cotton worth?—A. Sixty dollars a bale.

Q. That is a hundred and twenty dollars for the two bales. How many acres could you cultivate?—A. About thirty acres to the hand.

Q. How many hands were employed?—A. Two besides myself.

Q. That would be three hands. How many years did you follow cotton planting?—A. Ever since I got large enough.

Q. How old are you now?—A. About twenty-five years; I have worked at cotton planting about fifteen years.

Q. When did you lose your property?—A. Well, I just lost it occasionally along, you know; things kind of slipped out from under me, till by and by I made a big break.

Q. When did you make your big break?—A. Last year. I made a settlement and it took pretty nearly everything I had but one horse. I had been a big man there, you know, riding around in my buggy, and I hated to stay there among the people after having been such a big man, and having made a big break; so I thought I would go to Kansas and get mended up, and by and by go back there and be a big man again; but you see I got caught in my shirt-tail that time, sure.

By Mr. **Windom**:

Q. Did you ever drive a wagon for a man named —— ——?—A. I drove a wagon for him awhile, sir, down in Kansas.

TESTIMONY OF A. S. JOHNSON.

Washington, D. C., *April* 9, 1880.

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m. Present, Messrs. Voorhees (chairman), Vance, Pendleton, Windom, and Blair.

A. S. **Johnson** sworn and examined.

By the **Chairman**:

Question. Where do you live, Mr. Johnson?—Answer. In Topeka, Kans.

Q. What is your occupation there?—A. The railroad business.

Q. In what capacity are you as a railroad man?—A. Land commissioner of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad Company.

Q. And you live at Topeka, do you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Ten years in Topeka. I have been in Kansas all my life—was born there.

Mr. **Blair**. Where were you born?

The **Witness**. In Kansas.

Mr. **Vance**. Why, Kansas is not as old as you are.

The **Witness**. I was the first white child ever born in the State.

Mr. **Blair**. You are not a carpet-bagger.

The **Witness**. No.

Mr. **Vance**. The State carpet-bagged on you.

The **Witness**. Yes; the other way in this case.

By the **Chairman**:

Q. Where are your ancestors?—A. My father is in Virginia; my mother in Kentucky.

Q. Is the Atchison and Topeka a road running south?—A. It runs east and west from Atchison and Kansas City to Pueblo, Colo.

Q. Is that the road the most of the emigrants arrive upon?—A. No, sir; there has been some considerable amount on the Kansas Pacific Road; that is the road they have been mostly coming on; that runs parallel with the Santa Fé road a little, but north of us.

Q. You may state to the committee your politics, Mr. Johnson.—A. I am a Republican, sir.

Q. Has your attention been called a good deal to the subject we are investigating here?—A. Yes, sir; considerably, so far as the Kansas phase of it is concerned.

Q. Yes, sir, of course; that is what we want to examine you about. Well, Mr. Johnson, state whether, in your opinion, the colored people are bettering their condition, or appear to be improving, since they have come to Kansas?—A. You mean the exodus?

Q. Yes; I mean those that have been coming in recently in large numbers.—A. I think those coming since February and March, 1879—that is really the date of my first knowledge of their coming into the State as a large class of destitute people from the South. I presume it hardly answers the question directly; that is, the first comers that had got out, and got good places, I think have done reasonably well; but they have got to coming in such large numbers, and all pretty much in the same condition of being destitute when they got there, that I doubt very much as to their condition being bettered, although I know nothing about their condition before they come to Kansas.

Q. What do you know about their desire to return, Mr. Johnson; any applications over your road?—A. There have been some, sir. I don't know how many. I have not been directly connected with the passenger department of our road; but I think I remember of possibly fifty or sixty that went nearly about one time.

Q. That went back?—A. As far as Kansas City, as far as our road could pass them; that was their intention; they claimed that they wanted to go back.

Q. Some fifty or sixty in one party?—A. That is my remembrance, sir.

Q. When was that, Mr. Johnson?—A. I think, sir, within two months.

Q. Did you talk with them yourself?—A. Not with that party particularly. What I got was more from our general passenger agent and officers of the road in talking with reference to what they had done. The general passenger agent has stated to me that he was ready to pass any back that wished to go, and they passed them to Kansas City, sixty-eight miles—a comparatively small distance.

Q. What did they say to you about their applications to him to go back if they had means?—A. Well, if they had means, he would make a low rate to go back; and if they had no means, he would pass them to Kansas City, so far as our road was concerned.

Q. What did he say about their desire to get work, if they said anything to him?—A. I don't know particularly, only that such applications now and then came in.

Q. Now, this party of fifty or sixty, do you know where they were returning to?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know what part of the South they came from?—A. My impression is, from Mississippi; but I am not positive.

Q. You did not talk with them yourself?—A. No; I only got it from the officers of our road.

Q. Do you think there is a demand for this kind of labor in your State?—A. No, sir; not now, at any rate. I think the supply is very much larger than the places. They have filled up everything, and now it has got to be a point where places are very scarce for them—that is, for the class that come. If there were more laboring men we might find places for them. But as a rule, so far as my own observation is concerned, the larger proportion are women, children, and old men; that is, the young men, or able-bodied men, seem to be very much smaller in number in proportion.

Q. Taken as a body, it is not a very available working class that goes there?—A. No, sir; it is not; and particularly as they have been as a rule from the plantations in the South and unused to our manner of work. If they work at all they will have to work as servants or on farms; and our farming in the prairie country is done largely by machinery, with which they have no experience whatever.

Q. Did you witness their condition during this last winter, Mr. Johnson?—A. Yes, sir; somewhat. I visited them at their barracks and have had them in my office a great deal.

Q. Were they getting along comfortably?—A. There has been a good deal of sickness and a good many died this past winter.

Q. More than the usual death rate amongst laboring people?—A. Yes, considerably more, I think.

Q. You had a very soft winter this year, had you not?—A. An unusually mild winter.

Q. Suppose it had been as hard a winter as you have sometimes known in Kansas; what would have been the result to these people?—A. I think they would have suffered severely; much more than they did, because the barracks they are in—temporary shanties—could not have been much protection. As it is they were crowded very closely when I left.

Q. Men, women, and children in there together in the barracks?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Let us have some idea of these barracks; briefly; are they built with separate compartments?—A. Yes, sir; well, the original building, I think, has some four or five—four probably—compartments in it. They have bunks all around, built one over the other, of rough boards, with sides for sleeping arrangements. I think, from inquiries I made last week of some families in one or two compartments, I think one told me there were twenty in one compartment.

Q. Twenty families?—A. No, twenty persons.

Q. That would embrace three or four families?—A. Yes, sir; more than that.

Q. Do you mean there would be twenty persons, comprising three or four families that were living together without any partitions between them?—A. There are no partitions, I think; for their bunks are built over each other; they had curtains or clothing put up frequently.

Q. And they have to climb up one over the other?

Mr. **Blair.** That is like a Pullman palace car?

The **Witness.** Very much like a Pullman palace car; one over the other; except the upholstery.

Mr. **Blair.** You leave out the curtains? (Merriment.)

The **Chairman.** Yes, like bunks in the steerage of an ocean steamer. But we will draw the curtain over that scene.

Q. Well, now, Mr. Johnson, have they cooking stoves in there and do they do any cooking?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where do they get provisions?—A. They have a commissary building; there is this main building and what you might denominate cottages—imagine a main hotel and cottages—some few little houses put up temporarily around it and some occupying them. They have a commissary building and a hospital.

Q. And a hospital, you say?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, there are barracks, and outside cottages and cabins, and a hospital, and a commissary department?—A. Yes, and places as cooking rooms for the hospital.

Q. Well, what physicians are in charge of this hospital?—A. There is one that has been employed by the committee or by those having charge of the relief.

Q. Is he a white or black man?—A. He is a white man—Dr. Hibbard.

Q. Now, where do the supplies of this commissary department come from; from the relief board?—A. Yes, sir; the supplies are sent in as contributions from all over the Eastern States; they come there in very large quantities and are turned over.

Q. Suppose the voluntary supply should fail for a few days, what then?—A. I think the thing would bust up very quick, so far as running the barracks is concerned. The means have been supplied very freely by Eastern people and English people.

Q. It is the easiest, laziest sort of life, to go there into the quarters and live on the commissary supplies and have a hospital docter, is it not?—A. I don't think the committee allow that very much; my opinion is they watch that as much as they can. I think they are very conscientious in their actions in reference to it.

Q. Suppose, though, they cannot get labor for them, they have to stay there, don't they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many are there now?—A. There were two hundred last Thursday—yesterday week—when I was there.

Q. Now, this is the spring of the year, when hiring is going on as rapidly and more so than any other season?—A. Yes, sir; and they were fitting up a carload to go to Nebraska the other day, and fitting them up in the commissary and clothing department; one of the principal persons connected with the relief society, Mrs. Comstock, was there in Nebraska, and had made arrangements to ship this party there and had found places for them—that was my understanding—and they were selecting out of the two hundred when I was there.

Q. When they once let them out of the barracks do they ever let them back?—A. As a rule not unless in extreme cases; that is the rule, not to take them back again if they can help it.

Q. Do you know where these fifty or sixty that went away a little while ago got funds to go on?—A. No, sir. My understanding is that the relief society, generally, will furnish them funds to go back. I do not know whether all the way or not, but at least part of the way, so the papers have stated when some officers had a controversy with Mr. Stanton in the newspapers, in which Mr. Stanton refused to send parties back; he stated that the application had not come regularly as the reason for his not doing it, but they were ready to send them to Kansas City.

Q. Did not he claim that he had done it before and manifested a willingness to do it hereafter?—A. I think that question was not raised; they simply charged that Mr. Stanton had refused to send them back.

Q. Did they dispute his statement on that point?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they say they had been willing to furnish them the means?—A. Yes.

Q. And all other parties?—A. I cannot say about that. I know my impression is that if anybody wanted to go back we will send them as far as Kansas City.

Q. How far is that from Topeka, Kans.?—A. Sixty-five or sixty-six miles.

Q. Well, if they sent them to Kansas City and neglected to send them any farther, it would be like leaping from the frying pan into the fire, would it not?—A. Kansas would turn them over to Missouri.

Q. That would not help it much?—A. That would get us out of our trouble and let Missouri take care of them.

Q. The people of Kansas would not object to that. I suppose Missouri is better adapted to them really than the State of Kansas, is it not?—A. I think so; very much so.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. And Arkansas would be still better?—A. I think it would be a good place for them.

Mr. BLAIR. And Louisiana best of all?

The WITNESS. I don't know anything about that. I know about Missouri. I know it is a good State for them.

Mr. BLAIR. Missouri seemed to want to get rid of them about twenty-five years ago.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Q. Have any of your people manifested a desire to get these colored people into Kansas, that you know of?—A. These exodus people—the Kansas people, you mean?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. I think not, in the broad sense of the word. The question was sprung on us very unexpectedly in February and March of 1879, when there were several boat-loads landed at Wyandotte, and the report that came to Topeka was that they were suffering very much. They were put off on the levee sick, with no means, and none to take care of them, and a lot of them were shipped to Topeka. At that time a large meeting was called at the Opera House in Topeka, at which city officials and prominent men of the State were invited to take part to discuss the question and to decide what to do in reference to the matter. It was the first time I ever heard it discussed.

Q. How long ago was that?—A. My impression is it was about March, 1879, or along in there; probably it would not run thirty days either way.

Q. Did Governor St. John take a prominent part?—A. Yes, sir; he spoke at the meeting, and quite a number of the State officers.

Q. Made speeches in favor of the movement?—A. Of the exodus coming to Kansas?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. No, sir; I would hardly take it in that light. I don't remember reading of it; but the general sense of the meeting was that it was a calamity and a misfortune to have such a large number of indigent people coming on us at once. The question of color did not cut any figure; but the immediate question was what to do with the sick and destitute people on our hands at the time.

Q. Did you have an interview just before coming on with Governor St. John on this subject?—A. Yes, sir; he came to my office the day before I started, and talked over this matter with reference to my coming, and the question of the exodus generally.

Q. What was his view of it at that time, as expressed to you?—A. He stated that the charge was being made very frequently of late all over the State that he was the cause—one of the main causes, so far as Kansas was concerned—of the exodus coming to Kansas, and that they were trying to use it against him in the State, and that he wished to state his position clearly on that subject. I suppose, with reference to my coming on here, and also being an old countyman of mine, he would have talked it over generally anyway. He stated that from the commencement he had opposed the colored people coming to Kansas as an exodus, as destitute people; that statement made that he had thrown open the doors of Kansas to them and invited them to come was a mistake; that he had always said that none of them should come unless they had means enough to carry them through a year, at least, and have something to go on after they came; that it was a great misfortune and mistake for them to come to Kansas under these circumstances in such large numbers, and destitute as they were. And that his letters and correspondence the last few years, which he was able to show at any time to the people of the South, or of any other section with which he had had correspondence, had been based on that idea, that they should not come as they were coming there; that it would be better for them to go to other places; better for them to go to the older and richer free States than Kansas, which was young and poor.

Q. Did he express the idea that it would be better for them to go to Indiana?—A. He intimated no States—only in a general way the older free States.

Q. Yes; that is his present view, then, and his present advice to the colored people, as expressed to you and through you to this committee, is that he would be against their coming there unless they had means of self subsistence for a year or so at any rate.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That there was no demand for their labor?—A. He stated also that he was doing everything in his power to divert them from coming to Kansas, and was trying to direct them to Illinois and other Eastern free States that were better able to care for them than Kansas.

Q. Yes.—A. And not only that, but had advised sending Mr. Lynch, a colored man now at Cairo, and some others to intercept the exodus as they came up from the South and direct them into other States.

Q. Direct them up the Ohio River rather than up the Mississippi?—A. His idea was this: It was useless expense to have them come to Saint Louis or Kansas City and then have to go back to Saint Louis and be distributed to other States as they would have to do, since they would not be able to care for such large numbers of them that needed help and required work at once.

Q. Now, you have known Governor St. John a good while; have you any doubt that he would repeat just what you have said?—A. He would, more fully and better than I have done.

Q. The statement you have made was made within the last ten or twelve days?—A. Yesterday a week ago.

Q. And he did not tell you that as any secret matter; he speaks of it everywhere, then, as his proposition?—A. Yes, sir; he is making that now politically in his canvass.

Q. He is candidate for re election?—A. Yes, sir. I would like to make a statement here, in another direction, that has not been called out, and I think it ought to be.

Q. We would be glad to have it whether it is for or against our views here; don't make any difference so it is true.—A. The matter concerns the colored people themselves, who are anxious to have it known in an official way. Many of them I have met, of the colored people, especially those who have come to my office, it being a land office, have stated that among the other inducements offered them to come to Kansas was to go on the government lands; that they could get farms free when coming to Kansas; that is, could settle on government lands under the homestead and pre-emption law; and they had vague ideas with reference to that; and I wish to state that the government lands are taken up for two hundred and fifty miles, at least, west from the Missouri border; in other words that government lands that settlers could go on now would have to be in the extreme western part of the State, where it is thinly and sparsely settled, a treeless country, without timber.

Q. And consequently not much water?—A. Not very much water; and that any settler going in there would necessarily have to have a very considerable amount of means, for he would have to live at least two years before he could get any return from his crops.

Q. That is really on the frontier, is it not?—A. The extreme frontier, outside of civilization. And that has been the means, I am quite sure, of a good many coming from the South, hoping to get on these free farms. Of course they have got to have fuel—coal. Coal is gold, money, cash, out there. They have got to have homes. If they go there and have not homes, they have got to have fire and protection from storms, and if they have not the means to get it they suffer and freeze to death out on those prairies in winter. They cannot expect to live without some means, and it is absolute folly to send them out on the frontier. It is inhumanity, and they ought to know it. And they ought to know that this government land business is a myth, unless they have got means. Many meet with trouble and come to grief, even those with a little means, that have gone out there.

Q. Some of them have gone out there?—A. Few, comparatively few, for some have had a little means and gone there and wasted their substance in that way.

Q. What makes you think they have been induced by this government land act to go to this State; have you talked with them on this subject and they with you?—A. A great deal, especially that class would drift into my office naturally; they would want to hunt up a land office.

Q. You being land commissioner of the road and your name associated in the question of lands, they would naturally come to you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you found they had the impression that they could get government lands to a certain amount on advantageous terms?—A. Well, some of them, I think. They had a vague idea, which was not very far from right, that they could get government lands free under the homestead law by living on it five years.

Q. And you think it important for them to know that that is a mistake? I think so, too.—A. I think everybody ought to agree on that subject, because it is a question of humanity.

Q. Yes, sir. And the settled portions of your State, you think, are making no demand for this kind of labor, and have not the means to supply it in the amount it is reaching there?—A. I think the people of Kansas have done to the utmost of their power to assist them. I think it is wonderful, the way they have done.

Q. I think so, too.—A. They have absorbed them until they can absorb no longer, amongst those that have means to give them labor and work. The only safe way to protect them is to keep them in the older part of the State, where the people have some means and employ some labor.

Q. Mr. Johnson, as one of the oldest citizens there, and taking an intelligent and kindly view of this question, I want to call your attention to the fact that a good many prominent colored men, especially about Saint Louis, connected in some way with this movement, have testified here that the movement to Kansas is merely in its incipiency; that this coming year there will be largely increased numbers coming. Now, if that should take place, and especially in view of the hard winters that may follow the easy one we had last winter, what would you predict as the consequence to the colored people themselves in Kansas, of such a large immigration as some have spoken of here?—A. It would bring an incalculable amount of suffering and distress, beyond anything we have had yet.

Q. You think the people of Kansas are strained to the utmost already with what they have there, to treat them charitably?—A. Yes.

Q. And that they could not meet the requirements that would be made by this increased number?—A. I think that is beyond any question, in my mind.

Q. Suppose then, Mr. Johnson, that the world outside would respond to help the people of Kansas take care of, say, one hundred thousand blacks pouring into the State, what would be its effect, do you think, upon the future of Kansas?—A. I think it would be very demoralizing, sir.

Q. It would be injurious to both whites and blacks, would it not?—A. Yes, sir; as it is now; our laborers, both white and black, that were there before this exodus, when it seemed at that time that they were insufficient to do all the laboring work required, now see that is lessening their chances all the time by this large number coming there destitute, requiring work, and willing to work at any price to get work, and thus reducing the price of labor, and making dissatisfaction in the laboring classes.

Q. You think you have spoken the sentiment of the State?—A. Yes, sir; irrespective of party.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Mr. Johnson, our especial inquiry is as to the cause of the exodus. Can you see in any way that the state of the weather in Kansas this last winter was a cause of the exodus?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nor the condition of the barracks and the sufferings that these people have endured since they got here; can you conceive in any way whatever that those circumstances are causes of the exodus itself, or are they only circumstances attending the exodus now that it has taken place?—A. Are you speaking of the barracks in connection with the relief committee?

Q. No; but the question I asked you is, whether these things should have been testified to as causes of the exodus?—A. No, sir; I think not.

Q. Then most of your examination, except as it may serve as a source of instruction to others that are going to go elsewhere than to Kansas—most of your evidence is not really relavent to our inquiry as to the cause of the exodus?—A. You must be the judge of that, not I.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, that would be a matter of argument.

The WITNESS. I don't know.

Q. You don't know? Well, I would like to ask you if you have in your intercourse with these people who have made their exodus and are going out, who have come in to you there—if in your intercourse with these people you have learned anything of the causes which led them to go there?—A. The first six months after they commenced coming there, in 1879, I took a great deal of interest in asking almost every one I would meet every day; sometimes quite a number during the day; and I found that the reasons given by them were varied; no general reason common to all. For instance, probably the larger portion that I asked to give a reason why they came made the complaint that they had been cheated by the merchants who furnished them goods during the growing of their crops; and that when turning their cotton over to them at the end of the year after the crop was made that there was nothing left for them; and running in that line, of course, all sorts of details in reference to it.

Q. That these men themselves had been cheated in that way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was that the complaint of the greater part of them?—A. Yes, sir; those that came under my observation.

Q. Now, what other causes, if any, did they mention?—A. Well, yes; some would offer reasons; another class stated that their friends had come in advance and got places in Kansas and wrote back to come on, it was all right, and that induced others to come. I have asked the question very frequently with regard to whether they had been intimidated or whether they knew of any of their own knowledge that had suffered any personal violence. As a rule those I asked did not go beyond their own personal knowledge, only what they had heard from others; but quite a number have stated that they had not voted for a long time, for they thought the only safe way for them was not to vote.

Q. Did they say anything in regard to school privileges for their children?—A. I don't remember anything in reference to that—anything that I could give as positive.

Q. Where were these people from that you have met with?—A. Mississippi largely, some from Louisiana, and a considerable number from Tennessee, and a very few from Texas.

Q. Generally they have been very poor, have they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Some families come with means, I suppose, or a small amount of means?—A. Well, it is very limited, and as a rule they have to be cared for for a few days after they come until they can get out to work.

Q. You have not known any instances of families or heads of families coming provided with property sufficient to take care of them until they should become settled?—A. Yes; I presume—well, I would hardly know what per cent.—ten or fifteen per cent. probably.

Q. Ten or fifteen per cent.?—A. Possibly more.

Q. Have you any means of forming a correct judgment as to the numbers that have come into the State?—A. I have asked that question a good deal at every opportunity I have had of those that have had direct charge of them in the different places. For instance, Topeka has been headquarters particularly for them, and quite a number have come up to Parsons, in the southern part of the State, from Texas this last winter. My impression is that fifteen thousand would cover the number that have come in since March, 1879.

Q. About fifteen thousand; that is the exodus proper, is it?—A. Yes, sir. I think probably ten thousand have been distributed from Topeka; not coming there to stay, but would be sent all over from there; that is a central point of distribution.

Q. Is there a large flow of immigration to that State now?—A. Very large.

Q. The white immigrants are usually supplied with means, are they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They understand that frontier life makes it necessary for them to have a thousand or two dollars to get on with for a while?—A. Yes.

Q. From what parts of the country does this white immigration come, or is it from foreign countries?—A. It is largely from Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa and Michigan, and some from New York and Pennsylvania; a little from New England, but not much. There is some foreign immigration, also.

Q. Your belief is, then, that the better direction for these poor people to take is to the older States?—A. Yes.

Q. And the fact that there is a perpetual emigration from the older States makes it still more desirable that the colored people should go there to supply the deficiency?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You think there would be comparatively little difficulty in obtaining employment?—A. I think there would be very little trouble.

Q. Now, from your knowledge of these people as a whole—of course there are loafers, scallawags, and that sort among them—but taking them as a whole, with opportunity for labor, do you think they would embrace it heartily and be found to be an industrious and useful population?—A. Yes, sir; fully up to the average of the white.

Q. You do think so?—A. Yes.

Q. Are they not usually strong, muscular, and well-developed; and are they, as a whole, free from bad habits that would affect their labor for instance, intoxication?—A. They compare very favorably with their white brethren on that.

Q. Yes; they didn't go up there simply for the purpose of getting whisky, but are in search of work and a better chance in life, are they not?—A. I rather think they are more temperate than white people similarly situated.

Q. Among Kansas people is there any prejudice against them on account of their color and race?—A. I think not. I think they have met that question very squarely.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Mr. Johnson, do you know whether the Republican party has given any formal expression as to its opinion as to the cause of the exodus? In other words, have you read the recent Republican platform on that subject?—A. No, sir; I did not read it, although I was in the city.

Q. You have not heard it, so that if I were to read it you could recognize it?—A. No, sir.

Q. I will read it:

> Fifth. That the unhappy cause of the migration of the colored people from the South to the North is the apprehension of persecution and robbery by the white people, their former masters, and the present owners of the soil; and it is the duty of the Government of the United States to extend to the colored people of the South such protection that their removal from their native land shall cease to be a necessity.

Q. There is a good deal of difference in being on the witness-stand and being on a platform. I would not like to swear to any political platform.—A. I know nothing about what is going on myself. I only speak for Kansas and what I saw.

Q. Well, from what you have heard, wherein do they differ from that platform?—A. I give only some of the reasons why they left the South.

Q. Are not those reasons sufficient, such as are set forth in this platform?—A. I only give you my impressions.

Q. What are your impressions as compared with this platform? I want to see whether you are straight on the platform.—A. I think they have drawn it rather strong.

Q. Wherein?—A. I think they have assumed to know in reference to it, whether they do or not; it may be that they know.

Q. You do not pretend to be posted on that?—A. I have not been in the South, and cannot speak for them.

Q. What has been the average number in the barracks at Topeka?—A. I asked that question of the man in charge of it last week, and I think he answered between two and five hundred. He certainly said they frequently had five hundred in the barracks at one time.

Q. They are coming and going all the time, are they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is simply a sort of reception-place until they find places for them to work, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say the company has made a standing offer to take them back to Kansas City?—A. I don't know that it was a public offer, the agent of our road stated that he would.

Q. But you do, whenever they apply, and the negroes know it generally, do they not?—A. Yes, sir; I think they got it also from the relief committee.

Q. Was the relief committee, also, ready to send them back to the Missouri River?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you not heard of some sort of organization in Kansas City that would help them to get back to the South?—A. I have heard that.

Q. It has been sworn to here, I think. Now, in view of the fact that these provisions are made for them in Kansas City, and that your road is ready to take them back free to that point, and that the relief board is ready to help them back, about how many have gone back over your road; do you know?—A. My impression is, something less than one hundred.

Q. Something less than one hundred out of about ten thousand that have come to Topeka.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Do you know about the barracks being torn down at your place at one part of the town?—A. Not this one; it was before this was built.

Q. Before this was built, the relief board put the barracks in a certain part of the town and the citizens tore them down, did they not?—A. That was in the north part of Topeka, in the center of the town. The barracks now are outside, within the charter limits.

Q. They threw the barracks there into the river, did they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know who were engaged in that?—A. No, sir; it is in another part of the town from where I live.

Q. Well, is it not your impression that a thing of that kind would injure the value of property where it was located?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You may state whether or not Governor St. John is being opposed by a good many people for re-election for governor on the ground that he assisted in bringing the exodus into Kansas?—A. I have heard that argument used against him frequently.

Q. Frequently?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is not that the fight he has got on his hands now?—A. It is one of them.

Q. And really the leading one?—A. Well, he is carrying the temperance issue.

Q. Is not this issue made on him as being the original friend of the exodus movement into Kansas about as heavy an issue as he has got to meet?—A. I am not prepared to say.

Q. But it is one of the issues made against him, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And one that he seems somewhat anxious to be relieved from, don't he?—A. I think so, sir.

Q. You and he were personal friends?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And political friends? A. No, sir.

Q. I mean belonging to the same party?—A. Yes, sir; I favored the other gentleman for governor.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. The whisky men and the anti-exodus people have rather combined against the governor a little, have they not?—A. I think that a natural combination.

By Mr. VOORHEES:

Q. Are you one of the whisky men?—A. No, sir.

Q. You are against Mr. St. John's renomination, are you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that you are not embraced in this unholy alliance Mr. Windom speaks of—of the whisky and anti-exodus men?—A. I don't characterise it.

Q. I know how you feel.—A. I expect to vote against prohibition, and against Governor St. John.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Do you think the laboring population of Kansas would like to have a general exodus of Chinese laborers to that State?—A. No, sir. We don't object to them on account of the color; it is simply their destitution and poverty, and such a large mass of them coming on us, poor and destitute and needing help; coming into a State that is poor itself. We are not able to take care of them. That is the point. I would rather have negroes than Chinese. They are as good as anybody, as far as that is concerned, but they must have some means to live; it is simply a question of humanity.

Q. You reside in Topeka?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are there wings and divisions in the Republican party there? I see the mayor of Topeka is a Republican and you are also a Republican; you are opposed to Governor St. John. How does it happen that the mayor of Topeka is a Republican? I believe the other State officers generally are Democrats. Any combinations or collusions there?—A. No, sir; I understand it is Republican.

Q. I think the Republicans have about six hundred majority there?—A. I think it has been running that way.

Q. What is the city government there; is the mayor—he is a Republican?—A. I think it is all Republican; that is my impression.

Major A. J. **Allen** sworn and examined.

By the **Chairman**:

Question. What is your full name?—Answer. A. J. Allen.

Q. Where do you live?—A. I reside in Ottawa, Kans.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. About twelve years.

Q. How long have you lived in Kansas?—A. About twelve years.

Q. I believe you are unfortunate enough to be a Democrat in politics?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, tell us, Major Allen, whether your attention has been called to the subject of the negroes coming into your State from the South; and, if so, in what way, and your observations upon the subject, your views generally?—A. Well, sir, my attention has been called to it since the exodus commenced in my county. In my county there are not so many as in the other counties in which I have been. My business is such that I am not in the county or the city of Ottawa, where I live. Much of the time I am absent.

Q. What business are you engaged in?—A. I am a railroad attorney.

Q. For what road?—A. The Saint Louis, Wichita and Western.

Q. Give us an idea of how many have come into your county?—A. In our county fifty to a hundred came in. There was a large population of that kind previous to that, and not so many stopped there. In other counties in which I have traveled I have found more; some in Montgomery County, through which we built a line of road this summer; four to five hundred came in there from Louisiana; many of them I am acquainted with.

Q. Have you talked with them?—A. I have.

Q. Where were they from, particularly?—A. Particularly from the vicinity of Shreveport.

Q. Caddo Parish, Louisiana?—A. Well, in there; yes, sir.

Q. What seemed to be the trouble with them?—A. Where; up in Kansas?

Q. No; what seemed to be the trouble that induced them to leave Louisiana?—A. They said to me that had received printed circulars and letters from Kansas, stating to them that they could get government lands free;

and if they did not want government lands, they could buy a tract of land by making a payment of five dollars an acre, and have ten years to pay it off; or they could rent land and make money—cotton lands. They sent a party up there, and he looked around considerably, as he informed me, and got some parties to write letters for him. I think he was the victim of a very cruel joke. He wrote back fabulous letters as to what they could do, and when they got there they found they could do nothing of the kind, and they became discontented. They informed me that the land there in the southern part of Kansas would not raise cotton, for it is a windy country, and it would blow all out of the bolls. When they came there they found they could not buy land there as represented, and they could not rent a farm; and found no man who would advance them anything to live on until they could raise a crop of corn, and the corn not being worth over fifteen or twenty cents a bushel, they thought there was not much show to make a living there, and became discontented and wanted to return.

Q. What did they say to you about being badly treated down at Shreveport?—A. Those that talked with me told of instances where men had been badly treated, but did not happen to be there themselves. There was one complaint that some of the merchants there charged them rather more; had rather bigger bills for their merchandise than they ought to have had. They got credit, and had everything charged on a book, and paid at the end of the year, when they got money for their crops. They had some complaint about that.

Q. When they talked to you about going back, did they still speak of their complaints?—A. They did not make any particular complaint; they say they can make more money raising cotton than in Kansas; and when they got there the merchants of Kansas would not trust them for anything.

Q. Well, as a fact, would the merchants of Kansas credit them?—A. No, sir.

Q. No credit at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. They had to have the money?—A. Yes; they brought some money, but that was all gone.

Q. Did you find any of them with money to enable them to buy land?—A. There was one man did buy forty acres, making one-half payments; he had some money, and he paid one-half.

Q. Is he living on it now?—A. I think he is; he was talking, however, of selling it if he could, and returning.

Q. Then he was not satisfied?—A. He was not satisfied.

Q. Did he think he could do better?—A. He had a large family, and thought he could do better by working cotton. He could not see any chance of making money in Kansas, either at farming or anything else. The farms of Kansas, you must understand, consist chiefly of smooth bottom land and upland prairie, and the farming is done by machinery. A boy—one big enough to drive a team—can work a circuit plow and run two furrows at a time. Corn is planted by machinery; wheat put in by machinery, and cut by machinery, and all the work that can be done by machinery is done in that way. There is no demand for the laborer, and there are very few manufactures.

Q. Did you notice how they got along this last winter, colonel?—A. Very poorly, especially in March; when the cold weather came they suffered a good deal—intensely—with cold. Previous to that time the winter was more open and warm, and they did not require fuel; they were no worse than others in March, because everybody got out of coal

—coming on so suddenly, but they suffered more intensely than other people, I think.

Q. How would it have been if you had had a very hard winter, such a winter as you have sometimes seen in Kansas?—A. I think it would have killed nearly all of them; it would have hurt them—ruined them.

Q. They were not warmly clothed, were they?—A. No, sir, and had no houses to live in; those that I have seen lived in wagons. One man named Banks, when I saw him last, a few week ago, his family, a lot of grown children, were all sleeping in a wagon-bed.

Q. Did they give you the impression that they were fleeing in terror from any danger behind them?—A. No, sir; they said that when they got to Kansas they would have a great many more political and social advantages than they did have in the South; that is to say, in voting; if they voted the Republican ticket, they would vote with a large majority—with the people—and the majority would be agreed, and they like to be with the majority pretty well.

Q. They made no representations of ill-treatment, did they, except so far as they thought the merchants were charging a little too much money for their goods?—A. No, sir.

Q. What is the general public sentiment in Kansas, irrespective of party, Mr. Allen?—A. The general sentiment is, so far as I know—and I have traveled pretty extensively over the State—that they don't want that class of immigration; nobody wants it. They would be glad to see immigration come in and invite it in, and all men that can come there to take their chances with the rest and work up the land and pay some money for it and buy homes—they would like to have them come in there.

Q. There have been statements made here indicating, colonel, a large influx hereafter, possibly this summer, probably reaching one hundred thousand people, from those densely settled colored States South. What would you say as to the effect of such an immigration as that upon the prosperity of your State and upon the condition of the colored people themselves?—A. It would have a very injurious effect upon the people of our State, and be a most cruel and outrageous thing to the colored people.

Q. Did they talk to you about being induced to come to get government lands?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You heard Mr. Johnson's testimony upon that point, did you?—A. Yes, sir; I heard it.

Q. You can state generally whether you concur with him?—A. I do, so far as that is concerned.

Q. The only way to get government land is to go out on the frontier where they could not possibly stand the exposure nor perform the labor required?—A. Yes, sir; they could not possibly; it is as much as a good many white men could do.

Q. Well, Mr. Allen, Kansas, as we have been apprised by the current history of the times, has been a Republican State, has it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many counties may be said to be reliably Democratic in that State?—A. I don't know how many are now so; I cannot tell you how many are; the county in which I live is Democratic.

Q. What is your county?—A. Franklin; fifty-three miles southwest from Kansas City.

Q. What is the extent of your practice as attorney of your road; through how many counties?—A. Well, sir, I have been connected with the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas particularly until last April, then I went over to the other. We extend from the State line of Missouri to Wichita, about two hundred miles on that line. Previous to that time there was two hundred miles or more over the Missouri, Kansas and Topeka.

Q. Now, in your practice through the various counties of Kansas and from your knowledge as an attorney of age and experience, state how frequently or generally you have seen our Republican friends, the colored people, on juries out in Kansas.—A. Well, sir, I never have seen them on juries there.

Q. You have not?—A. In no court I have been in, except little courts before justices of the peace, and I have not seen jurymen sit in the box.

Q. What is your system there?—A. The district court.

Q. Your State courts are called district courts, are they?—A. Yes, sir; judicial districts.

Q. Well, in these district courts do you have the probate system?—A. Yes; we have the probate system and a probate judge or justice. For the trial of all civil and criminal cases we have the district court.

Q. And you have never seen colored men sitting on juries of any of these State courts?—A. I never have.

Q. How about serving on the grand juries?—A. We don't have the grand jury system there.

Q. Do you proceed by information?—A. By information entirely, sir; unless in certain cases where the county attorney may make an application to the court of a special venire, and they do.

Q. Was the grand jury system abolished from the first in Kansas?—A. I think it was.

Q. You practice, of course, largely in the United States courts?—A. I go there some.

Q. Of course your relations and interests take you into United States courts; have you ever been there when they had colored men on the juries?—A. I have never been there when they had colored men on the jury.

Q. You don't know of it?—A. No.

Q. In nine-tenths of the counties in Kansas Republicans elect all the county officers, do they not?—A. I suppose they do.

Q. I suppose there must be a very considerable number of colored people elected to county offices out there; please state as many as you know of.—A. Well, sir, there may be some unimportant offices in the State of the second or third class where colored men are elected, and perhaps in the first, but I don't know of a colored man holding office in the State of Kansas that was elected by the Republican party.

Q. Not elected to the legislature?—A. I have never known them in the legislature. I have known men to be nominated for the legislature by acclamation—almost, I think, by acclamation—one case last fall.

Q. A colored man?—A. Yes, a colored man, and they went before the people, and although he was nominated with great unanimity, I think they defeated him also by acclamation.

Q. What evangelical county was that?—A. Cherokee County.

Q. It must be unanimously Democratic?—A. I think pretty largely Republican.

Q. Pretty largely Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they did not elect that almost unanimously nominated Republican?—A. I have never known them. Captain Matthews of Leavenworth was also nominated to the State senate with other Republicans who were elected by four hundred majority, and he, I think, out the same; a decent man, a very clever fellow, and knew a little ore than some of the others, I think.

Q. Really one of the foremost colored men of the State, was he?—A. es, sir; Captain Matthews is considered so.

Q. A man of good character?—A. Yes, sir; but Republican friends ould not vote for him. They liked him pretty well as a voter.

Q. Is Captain Matthews a Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And nominated as a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; he had the full anction of the convention.

Q. The Democrats had a candidate of their own?—A. Yes, sir; they enerally have one of their own.

Q. And they voted for him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the colored Republicans voted for all the rest except this an?—A. Yes, sir. They seldom go into convention now; they sometimes get defeated there; they are not always nominated.

Q. Do you mean to say the Republicans in Kansas would rather vote or a Democrat than for a respectable colored man?—A. Yes, I take heir word for it.

Q. I never heard of such a thing before. Did you see any colored en on trial in Kansas?

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me a moment.

Mr. WINDOM. (To the witness.) I would like to know, colonel, where ou had the honor of being brought into the world; where were you orn and raised?

The WITNESS. I was born in the State of New Hampshire.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it possible; what part?

The WITNESS. In Rockingham County, but lived in Grafton most of y life while there.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you live there?

The WITNESS. About thirty-one years.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Do you remember any colored man once nominated and elected as an elector in Kansas?—A. I never knew of any.

Q. Did you not know that Mr. Langston was an elector?—A. I did not know it, as I said before; he might have been one, but never knew it.

Q. Have you known of any colored men on trial before juries?—A. I have known colored men to be on trial for crime, the same as white men.

Q. How many?—A. I cannot tell you how many; but I have seen colored men on trial before a jury for crimes committed and have seen them acquitted.

Q. There is no suspicion that they did not have fair play there?—A. I think not before a jury.

Q. When those colored men were nominated and defeated, did you hear of anybody being shot or whipped because they were running or because the colored people chose to vote for them?—A. I never knew of any shooting because men voted in Kansas.

Q. There is nothing of that kind in Kansas?—A. No, sir.

Q. You spoke of the only reason these people gave for coming. In your own language, you said the merchants charged *rather* too much. Did they emphasize rather?—A. I think they did.

Q. You spoke of their charging a little too much; they gave you the idea that they were slightly overcharged?—A. I think they used the words "little" and "rather"; but the inference I got was that the merchants there had charged more than they thought they ought.

Q. They said they were charged *rather* too much?—A. Yes; that is about it.

Q. They did not say anything about others being murdered for their political opinions, did they?—A. I said they had heard of such things.

Q. But knew nothing about it themselves?—A. No, sir; they did not.

Q. Did any of them say they had not had the privilege of voting?—A. One said they had voted.

Q. Did they speak of political persecutions?—A. They spoke of this: they thought the colored man did not have as good a show to make a living in places where they were Democratic as where they were strongly Republitan; they spoke of that as one of the causes why they left.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You are from New Hampshire?—A. Yes.

Q. And you used to live near the town, general, where I now have the honor to live?—A. In Plymouth?

Q. You lived in what was Ashland a number of years, did you not? —A. Well, I don't know that either of us need to be ashamed of that

Q. It is a good place to come from?—A. I don't know the object of the chairman; I thought it was a mutual compliment.

The CHAIRMAN. I wanted to show you a splendid specimen of New Hampshire I had here for you.

Mr. BLAIR. I think, under the circumstances, inasmuch as the chairman introduced you as major, and during the examination promoted you to a coloneley, I will give you a commission as general.

The WITNESS. Commissions are very cheap now; I will take anything.

Mr. BLAIR. I think I will take the liberty of giving you one. I am glad to see a Democrat have such a commission; no doubt you would make a good military record.

Q. Now you spoke of colored nominations by Republicans out there in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have known quite a number of cases, it seems, in which the majority of the Republican party carried out its convictions by nominating colored men to office?—A. I stated to you the number.

Q. It is not a very unusual thing for Republians to make nominations of colored men, is it?—A. Well, they have done it there.

Q. Have you ever known a Democrat in your travels in Kansas to nominate a colored man for any office?—A. Yes, sir; the office of alderman once, in my city; we found a colored man there the Democrats came very near electing, but when the Republicans found it out they came out in full force and beat us about three or four votes.

Q. Did they do that on the ground that he was a Democrat or that he was a colored man?—A. We nominated him on the ground that he was a better man than the man running on their side.

Q. Was the man running on their side a white man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And nominated by the Republicans?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you stood by the colored man?—A. We wanted to improve the condition of things.

Q. You did not mean to perpetrate a pretty-sharp joke on the Republicans?—A. No, sir.

Q. You were in dead earnest that he was the best man—the colored man?—A. Yes, sir. It was greatly regretted that we did not succeed in electing him.

Q. Have you known the Democratic party to nominate any other?—A. No, sir; I have not. We don't propose to it when we can help it; we think we have good men enough.

Q. As a rule the Democratic party are opposed to the political promotion of the colored people?—A. Not if they get a better man than the white man.

Q. You have not always found better white men than colored men?—A. I told you when we defeated Captain Matthews for the senate.

Q. He was no Democratic nominee?—A. No; he was a Republican.

Q. I asked you if you have ever known an instance of the Democrats—with this one exception, running against a white Republican; have you known any other instance where the Democrats have found a black man better than a white man?—A. I don't know that I ever saw any nominated by the Democratic party except that instance, and we nominated him because he was the best man, and when we nominated him we stuck by him and did not intend to defeat him.

Q. You say you nominated this colored man as a Democrat?—A. No, sir; but on the ground that he was a better man than the Republican.

Q. It follows that this negro was better than any white man in the Democratic party in that town and section. Did not you nominate him on the ground that he was the best man?—A. Only that he was a better man than the Republican.

Q. Might you not have nominated a white man?—A. We could, but did not want to.

Q. On the ground of beating a white Republican with a black Republican?—A. O, yes.

Q. You had white Democrats in your county?—A. O, yes; we had better material.

Q. Was this colored man preferred by you on that occasion?—A. He had been.

Q. But he was nominated by the Democratic party to which you belong.—A. But he is a good Democrat now after all.

Q. That colored man is a good Democrat now, is he; did that nomination convert him?—A. I think not; I think it was the treachery and falsehood of the Republican party.

Q. Rather than the favor of the nomination of the Democrats?—A. No, sir; he did not care about office; we just picked him up because we thought him better than the other.

Q. At any subsequent election, did you have the impression that he was better than any man they could get?—A. No, sir; he drank too much to come in and be a full-fledged Democrat; a year after that he came into the Democratic party and reformed.

Q. You say that was a Democratic county, and they did not sell liquor in that place?—A. On that point we are the only Democratic county I know of in Kansas that don't sell liquor.

Q. Franklin county?—A. Yes. We don't sell liquor there.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. It may be I have made a mistake in fixing your military title; what was your rank in the Army?—A. They call it captain and have promoted me to major, and I believe I held a commission as colonel.

Q. You say you held a commission while in service as a colonel?—A. I have a commission as captain, lieutenant-major, and colonel; they call me colonel.

TESTIMONY OF J. B. HUGHES.

J. B. HUGHES sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. In Shreveport, La.

Q. What do you do there, Mr. Hughes?—A. I am in the mercantile business.

Q. You may state, Mr. Hughes, what you know about the condition of the negroes there at this time; whether they are peaceful; whether any imposition is practiced upon them; whether there have been any murders of them; whether they are cheated out of their wages; and your views generally?—A. So far as the negroes and whites there are concerned, a peaceful relation exists between the two races. Do you want me to state my ideas as to the causes of the exodus movement?

Q. Yes; whether they are going away from there?—A. Well, I think it is due chiefly to the expectation of coming into possession of this land, and farming utensils, and mules that have been spoken of in connection with Kansas.

Q. Did you ever talk with them there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did they say to you about their idea of getting land in Kansas?—A. Well, they said they understood when they reached that point that they would be given forty acres of land and a mule, and farming utensils necessary to cultivate it. This idea prevailed among them down there with reference to Kansas, which has been brought about by the reports of political emissaries and emigrant agents that are traveling around through that southern country.

Q. Do you know of any means resorted to to keep them from voting?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. How is it about serving on juries down there?—A. They serve the same as white people.

Q. Is there ever a court goes by without some colored men serving on juries?—A. I do not think there is, though I do not attend courts; I have my business to attend to. Those courts I have attended have always had negroes on juries.

Q. When you have elections, do they come out to the polls and vote as the other people do?—A. They do, sir.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. In Shreveport for the last two years.

Q. Where did you live before that?—A. In Texas. I was born and raised in Texas.

Q. How far is the Texas line from Shreveport?—A. Only a short distance. I was raised in Jefferson, Tex., and I think Jefferson is forty or fifty miles from Shreveport.

Q. Is there any difficulty, Mr. Hughes, in colored laborers getting employment down there?—A. No, sir; those that want to get employment can do so without trouble; they can do well there.

Q. What kind of wages do they get?—A. They generally work for a portion of the crop; they rent land and pay so much an acre for it, or pay so much of the amount they raise on the land.

Q. A good deal has been said about their being cheated by the merchants; do you know anything about that?—A. Well, sir; a good many of the negroes there, like the white people, are poor and unable to run themselves without assistance to furnish the lands they rent; and they have to get assistance from the merchants; the merchants advance to them, and of course they charge them a reasonable interest on the money and they charge them a good price; very often the merchant suffers as well as the man he advances to, from the fact that there are often failures in the crops; and he loses, perhaps, all that he has advanced. They charge, I think, for advancing about alike to colored and white people; they charge good prices for all advances from the fact that, in many cases, they don't know whether they will get it back or not.

Q. Well, is it not true, North, South, or anywhere else, that merchants charge more on the credit principle than on the cash principle?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you think, so far as you know, that there is no distinction between the white man who needs credit and the colored man who needs credit?—A. No, sir.

Q. Both of them have to pay a little more because they are not able to pay down?—A. Certainly.

Q. Do you know of any understanding by which colored men are to be robbed in that way?—A. I think they arrived at the idea that they have been unfairly dealt with from the fact that most of them are ignorant and unable to keep account of a transaction; they buy a good deal during the year and of course it runs up bigger than they expect.

Q. I never in my life saw a man meet his Christmas bill in a store that did not think it bigger than it ought to be.—A. They employ no book-keepers and they are unable to keep books, and their accounts are larger sometimes, probably, than they anticipate.

Q. Buying on credit they buy pretty freely, don't they?—A. Yes, sir; very freely. Merchants have often to check them—limit them to so many hundred dollars a year, so as to keep them from overrunning their accounts and absorbing all their crops.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. WINDOM:

Q. How long have you resided in Shreveport?—A. Two years and a little over.

Q. Where did you live before that, near Jefferson?—A. I lived in Jefferson about two years.

Q. Jefferson, La.?—A. Jefferson, Tex.

Q. Did you belong to any white order, such as the White Camelias or Ku Klux?—A. I did not, no sir; I never belonged to a organization of that kind in my life.

Q. Have you never heard about any colored people being murdered in Caddo Parish for political reasons?—A. I have not.

Q. Did you ever hear of colored people being murdered at all?—A. Yes, sir; colored people were killed at a riot which took place on the river below Shreveport.

Q. How many?—A. Not many—a few, I think.

Q. When was that?—A. That was last year, I believe; I don't remember dates accurately; I think it was the election of 1878.

Q. How many white people were killed in that riot?—A. Well, there was one man killed and another dangerously wounded. I don't know whether he ever died or not.

Q. You don't know how many colored people were killed?—A. No, sir; I do not. I never went down there, and could not tell.

Q. You have only attended one or two elections in Shreveport?—A Two or three.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What is the population of Shreveport?—A. I could not tell you sir; it is variously estimated; from six to eight thousand, I suppose—in that neighborhood. I could not speak with any degree of accuracy.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN HENRI BURCH.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 9, 1880.

JOHN HENRI BURCH (colored) recalled.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Question. You may go on and state anything further you may have to say to the committee bearing upon the causes of the exodus.—Answer. So far as the causes of the exodus are concerned I have one more paper, that I missed at the time I gave my testimony before, that I desire to call the attention of the committee to, as the causes of the exodus; and also to sustain the point that this exodus did not commence a couple of years ago in the South, but has been in existence and thought of for the last several years.

Q. You may go on and give us what you have.—A. It is the proceedings of the labor convention of Alabama. They are marked.

The CHAIRMAN. Mark them and give them to the reporter.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What is that pamphlet?—A. It is the proceedings of the labor convention of Alabama, relative to whether they would remain in Alabama or not, and disadvantages under which they labored, so far as their educational privileges and rights were concerned, and their civil and political rights, and the possibility of their obtaining homesteads in that State. The reports of the several committees are in it.

Q. What year was that?—A. Eighteen hundred and seventy-two; also the report of the agent who was sent to Kansas to look into that country there, and report back to this convention, which he did, and that report is here.

Q. His investigation was prior to 1872?—A. It was in 1871. He was sent in 1871.

Q. What is his name?—A. Hon. George F. Marlowe, chairman of that committee.

Q. And you state that the extracts are from his report also?—A. Yes, sir; his report is very short.

Q. Well, mark such portions of the proceedings of that convention as you desire to put in your testimony.—A. Yes, sir; I have done so.

(The marked extracts as indicated by witness follow.)

EXTRACT FROM PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

LABOR CONVENTION OF ALABAMA,

Assembled in the city of Montgomery, January 2, 1872.

The following report of Hon. George F. Marlowe upon Kansas was read immediately after the convention was called to order, as follows:

In August, 1871, being delegated by your president for the purpose, I visited the State of Kansas, and here give the results of my observations, briefly stated.

It is a new State, and as such possesses many advantages over the old.

Is much more productive than most other States.

What is raised yields more profit than elsewhere, as it is raised at less expense.

The weather and roads enable you to do more work here than elsewhere.

The climate is mild and pleasant.

Winters short and require little food for stock.

Fine grazing country; stock can be grazed all winter.

The population is enterprising, towns and villages spring up rapidly, and great profits arise from *all* investments.

Climate dry, and land free from swamps.

The money paid to doctors in less healthy regions, can here be used to build up a house.

People quiet and orderly, schools and churches to be found in every neighborhood, and ample provision for free schools is made by the State.

Money plenty, and what you raise commands a good price.

Fruit of all kinds easily grown and sold at large profit.

Railroads are being built in every direction.

The country is well watered.

Salt and coal are plentiful.

It is within the reach of every man, no matter how poor, to have a home in Kansas. The best lands are to be had at from $2 to $10 an acre, *on time.* The different railroads own large tracts of land, and offer liberal inducements to emigrants. You can get good land in some places for $1.25 an acre. The country is mostly open prairie, level, with deep, rich soil, producing from forty to one hundred bushels of corn and wheat to the acre. The corn grows about eight or nine feet high, and I never saw better fruit anywhere than there.

The report was adopted.

Hon. Robert H. Knox, of Montgomery, was then invited to address the convention, and spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: While I am deeply sensible of the honor conferred upon me, I shall address you but few words, believing, as I do, that you have met for work rather than to hear long speeches, and that the members of this convention are anxious to finish their labors, return to the people whose representatives they are, who are waiting expectantly for tidings of what may be recommended and accomplished.

You are called together from all portions of the State for the purpose, as I understand, of advancing the interests of labor in Alabama. It is a noble cause, and your duty in connection with it a sacred one—one that will be faithfully discharged only when the subject has been conscientiously considered, and some line of action suggested and adopted which will insure protection and advancement to the labor cause, and extend the privileges and immunities of the laboring man in this State.

The three principal points to be considered by you are, I think—

First. Protection to the laboring masses of Alabama in their exercise of the rights of citizenship, and personal security from ku-klux hate and violence.

Second. Protection to the laborer in securing payment of wages earned.

Third. The protection of labor against the inroads and encroachments of capital.

Work honestly and hard for the consummation of those three great objects; do everything in your power to secure these; and after the subject has been exhausted, if your efforts fail, it is time then to desert Alabama and seek a land—a State—where these rights are accorded.

I have listened with great attention to the report of the commissioner appointed by authority of the State Labor Union to visit Kansas, and while I own that the inducements held out to laboring men in that far-off State are much greater than those enjoyed by this class in our State, yet I would say let us rest here a while longer; let us trust in God, the President, and Congress, to give us what is most needed here—personal security to the laboring masses—the suppression of violence, disorder and ku-kluxism—the protection which the Constitution and laws of the United States guarantee, and to which, as citizens and *men*, we are entitled. Failing in these, it is time then, I repeat, to desert the State and seek homes elsewhere—where there may be fruition of the hopes inaugurated when by the hand of Providence the shackles were stricken from the limbs of four millions of men—where may be enjoyed in peace and happiness by your own firesides the earnings of your daily toil—where the bickerings and cavil of party and caste will not be heard, and where the truth asserted by the "Ayrshire Plowboy"—

> The honest man, though e'er so poor,
> Is king of men for a' that."

may be recognized and maintained by those who surround you.

The true nobility and dignity of labor are asserted and recognized by a great part of the intelligent world. It has remained for the spirit of the nineteenth century to appreciate and confirm the principle that—

> Toiling hands alone are builders
> Of a nation's wealth and fame.

May God grant this may be the case in our own loved State!

It is a principle of the Mahomedan creed, that I believe is inculcated in the Koran, that every one should have a trade. This is certainly a doctrine worthy the adoption of all creeds and systems, since individual industry and good character form the sum of a nation's condition and progress.

While our government, and men who have power and opportunity, can and ought to do much to elevate and ameliorate the condition of the laboring class as individuals, workingmen can do much more for themselves. Diligent self-improvement is the road to success and fame and fortune. It is *your* privilege to assist those who, already assured of this fact, are toiling up the rugged path; and it is your duty to incite the indolent to ambition, and the humble and timid to confidence. What if their station be lowly and their opportunities few? These are the lower rounds of the ladder that have to be ascended before the great results at the top can be reached. Call the attention of such to the names of Elihu Burritt, Ben. Johnson, the poet Burns, Dr. Livingstone, the missionary traveler; to that of Abraham Lincoln and others, who, resting from their daily toil, as mechanics or laborers, spent each spare moment in mental improvement. In private and social life it should be ever your aim to assist in elevating and ennobling those whose interest you are now considering in convention. If here calm deliberation and conscientious counsels prevail, and are remembered and acted upon hereafter, much must be accomplished, thousands in our State must be benefited, and you will be faithful to the trust confided.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND WAGES.

Mr. **President**: The committee appointed by yourself on labor and wages have had the subject under consideration, and beg leave to submit the following

REPORT.

We find here, as almost everywhere, two classes of labor—skilled and unskilled. To the former class belong the mechanics; to the latter, such as work by the day or month, and all those who work in the fields for a living.

We find the wages of the mechanics differ according to skill, kinds of trade, and locality; that there are about 4,000 in the State; that the average wages are about $1.50 per diem, and that work is not plentiful.

The common daily laborers form such a small portion of the labor of the State that we do not deem it important enough to devote much space to them; they number probably about 2,000, are confined mostly to the railroads, and their wages average about $1.25 per diem, without board.

We further find that there are not less than 125,000 laborers engaged in agricultural pursuits in this State. That this class of laborers have fared badly requires no report from your committee to prove. But we have taken some time to investigate their condition, and, so far as in us lie, the causes of our deplorable state, and find, first, that it is owing to the fact that there was a very short crop this year, by reason of a very wet spring, followed by a severe drought in the summer; consequently we failed to make more than two-thirds of an average crop; second, on account of high interest we are forced to pay for the use of sufficient capital to conduct business.

The laborers contract in different ways; a few work for wages, but the greater portion work on the system known as "shares"; the landlord, furnishing the land, stock, and implements, draws two-thirds, whilst the laborer furnishes his provisions, does the work, and draws the remaining one-third of the crop. But that in order that the case may be understood, we have concluded to count all things outside of our labor as capital, plus the interest on the same. We must then charge ourselves with all the capital we borrow, as well as our time, and credit ourselves with whatever the crop brings. If at the end of the year we find that the crop does not more than pay back the actual cash borrowed, then we have lost our time; if more, then the surplus is just what we have received for our time.

Taking the crop of 1869 as a basis, and calculating that this year (as is generally conceded) there was just two-thirds of a crop made, and we have the following result, viz: 1869, the aggregate value of the products on all the farms, except cotton, was $38,872,260; two-thirds of this amount $25,914,840. 125,000 laborers, allows each $207.31. Amount of cotton raised, about 300,000 bales, at $75.00, $225,000. This divided by 125,000 laborers, $180.00. Total amount for each laborer, $387.31.

To produce this crop the laborer has been compelled to borrow capital as follows, viz:

Land, 25 acres, value	$300 00	Interest, $6 peracre	$150 00
One mule	150 00	Interest	37 50
200 pounds meat	20 00	Interest	10 00
13 bushels corn for self	13 00	Interest	3 25
140 bushels corn for mule	40 00	Interest	10 00
Total borrowed	523 00	Total interest	210 75

To this interest you must add the loss of the perishable property, which is the corn, and meat, and percentage of the mules that die, 15 per cent.

Corn	$53 00
Meat	20 00
Mule	22 50
Total	95 50
Sum total of all outlay	306 25

It will be seen from the above figures that the laborer is compelled to pay, in round numbers, 40 per cent. for all the capital borrowed. We submit this is usury; the capitalist charging just five times the lawful interest.

RECAPITULATION.

Total from all sources	$387 31
Total outlay	306 20
Profits	81 11

Out of this amount ($81.11) the laborer must clothe himself and family, feed the little ones, and furnish medical attendance for the same. Hence his inability to accumulate property. But if the capitalists would strike off half of the interest that they now charge, make it 20 instead of 40 per cent., we could then save $105.37½, and in a few years would be the owners of considerable real estate. There is no earthly reason why capitalists should charge such high interest—upon the whole, the highest charged anywhere in the civilized world. The government today is borrowing money at 6 per cent., and finds plenty of it, and we believe it can be safely said that 6 per cent. is the average interest in monetary circles.

Whilst our capitalists are wondering why immigration don't turn this way, we suggest to them that it is altogether unreasonable to suppose that labor will flock to any country where it is confronted with such ruinous interest on money, and the necessaries of life that they may be compelled to borrow.

We suggest further, that labor in one sense is like capital, seeks fields where best paid. Not only does this high interest tend to prevent labor from coming to the South, but surely has a tendency to drive off a portion of that already here.

Mr. McKiel then introduced the following resolution, which was adopted:

> Whereas the report of the committee on labor and wages shows a sad condition of affairs amongst the colored citizens of Alabama, owing in a great part to the fact that we are landless: Therefore,
>
> *Be it resolved*, That this convention memorialize the Congress of the United States to pass the bill now pending before that honorable body, known as "A bill to incorporate the Freedman's Homestead Company," thinking as we do that such a company would do much good by assisting many poor men to obtain homes, thereby rendering him a free and independent citizen.

The bill is as follows:

A BILL to incorporate the Freedman's Homestead Company.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Charles W. Eldridge and Frederick G. Barbadoes, of Massachusetts; Frederick Douglass and Aaron M. Powell, of New York; E. M. Davis, of Pennsylvania; O. O. Howard, Richard J. Hinton, William D. O'Connor, Daniel R. Eaton, A. F. Boyle, J. W. Le Barnes, and William J. Wilson, of the District of Columbia; John M. Langston, of Ohio; R. W. Stokes, of Missouri; James T. Rapier, of Alabama; Abram Smith, of Tennessee; James H. Harris, of North Carolina; Oscar J. Dunn, of Louisiana; and Richard Nelson, of Texas, and their associates and successors, are hereby constituted a body corporate, by the name of the Freedman's Homestead Company, and by that name may sue and be sued in any court of the United States.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the general business and objects of the corporation hereby established shall be to aid in procuring homesteads in the States commonly known as the Southern States of the Union, and to assist in the settlement thereon of persons formerly held in slavery and their descendants, and to foster industrial pursuits, co-operative enterprises, and the acquirement of useful knowledge among them.

SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted*, That the corporation shall maintain its principal office in the city of Washington, and District of Columbia, but may establish its branches and agencies elsewhere, and shall have power to acquire, inherit, receive, hold, and convey real and personal property, and to do and perform all acts and things incident to the objects and purposes of the corporation, not inconsistent with the laws of the United States, which any individual or body corporate now has or shall have the right to do.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That the business and affairs of the corporation shall be managed and directed by the board of trustees, who may make, establish, and prescribe all needful rules, regulations, and forms for carrying on the business and government of the corporation, and not less than nine trustees shall be a quorum for the transaction of business at any regular or adjourned meeting of the board. The persons named in the first section of this act shall be the first trustees of the corporation, and the number of trustees may be increased to fifty by the election by the board of additional members; and any trustee omitting to attend the regular meetings of the board for six consecutive months, without reasons satisfactory to the board, may be considered to have vacated the office, and a successor may be elected to fill the vacancy. The board of trustees shall annually, on the first Monday of December, make a report to Congress of the operations of the company for the preceding year; and the books and affairs of the company shall at all times be open to the inspection and examination of such persons as Congress may designate and appoint.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That the corporation may receive any gift or bequest of lands or property as a special trust upon such conditions for such purposes, not contrary to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and compatible with the general purposes and objects of the corporation, as may be expressed by the grantor or devisor and accepted by the corporation, which trusts shall be faithfully administered in the interests and for the benefit of those for whom the same may be intended and prescribed.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That if any person, whether under color of State authority or otherwise, shall interfere with, assault, menace, or obstruct any officer or agent of the corporation hereby established while in the proper and legal discharge of his duties, or in the proper and legal prosecution of the business of the corporation, or shall maltreat or by force or menace, and whether under color of State authority or otherwise, intimidate, prevent, or obstruct any of the persons designated in the second section of this act from removing to, settling upon, or peaceably occupying the homesteads which may be obtained for them under this act, or of availing themselves of any of the advantages intended to be secured to them by the provisions of this act, or shall in any manner conspire in, counsel, encourage, aid, or abet any such interference, assault, menace, maltreatment, or obstruction, such person shall be deemed guilty of a crime, and shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not less than five hundred dollars, and by imprisonment not more than five years.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That the district courts of the United States, within their respective districts, shall have, exclusively of the courts of the several States, cognizance of all crimes and offenses committed against the provisions of this act, and also, concurrently with the circuit courts of the United States, of any cause, civil or criminal, to which said corporation, its officers, agents, or beneficiaries may be a party; and if any suit or prosecution against said corporation, its officers, agents, or beneficiaries, shall be commenced in any State court, the party defendant in such suit or prosecution shall have the right to remove such cause for trial to the proper district or circuit court in the manner prescribed by the "Act relating to habeas corpus, and regulating judicial proceedings in certain cases," approved March three, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, and all acts amendatory thereof; and the provisions of the act entitled "An act to protect all persons in the United States in their civil rights, and furnish the means of their vindication," which became a law on the ninth day of April; eighteen hundred and sixty-six, shall, so far as the same may be applicable to any proceedings under this act, or to any cause commenced in or removed to any court of the United States under this act, be extended thereto.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HOMESTEADS.

Mr. James Green, of Hale County, chairman of committee on homesteads, submitted the following report, which was adopted:

The committee on homesteads beg leave to say that they have endeavored to find out from the several land offices in this State the number of homesteads taken up by the colored people since we adjourned in January last; but in consequence of no record being kept respecting a man's color, it is impossible to tell the exact number of homesteads entered by the colored people. But from the best information at hand, we estimate that no less than two hundred homesteads have been entered in this State under the "homestead act," and more than one hundred have been entered in Kansas by colored Alabamians alone, who inform those behind that they now live under their own "vine and fig tree," and none dare to molest or make them afraid—a land in which there are no "Kuklux," and where a man can lie down at night with a reasonable prospect of being spared until next morning.

We think this convention can do nothing better than urge upon the colored people throughout the State to secure homesteads wherever they can be had. If they are not to be found here, then go where they are to be found. Let the colored people exhibit as much earnestness and pluck as the foreigner, who travels thousands of miles from the land of his birth in order to secure a home for his family. We beg to remind this convention that at the rate the government land is now being taken up there will not be any left worth entering on this side of the Rocky Mountains in twenty years; that it will be a sad day for colored men in this country when there will not be sufficient land in the country owned by their own race or in their reach to produce as much bread as is consumed by them in each year. How easy it would be for the land-owners all over the country to unite upon one price for your labor, and close all the corn-cribs until you come to terms. There is nowhere else for you to go and find such a country as this, and if there was, you never would be able to get there.

While we do not advise emigration *en masse*, we do recommend that steps be taken to send out a small number of families as an experiment.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

Mr. John B. Simpson, of Autauga County, chairman of committee on education, submitted the following report and resolutions, which were adopted:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: We, the committee to whom was referred the question of the educational condition of the colored people of the State of Alabama, beg leave to report as follows:

We find that the free schools of this State are well patronized by the children of colored people, and thousands are to-day merrily and prosperously tramping down the school-house paths who four years ago had never seen the inside walls, or even the outside walls, of a free-school building. The board of education seem to have done all in its limited power to provide for the education of the colored children of the State.

Normal schools or classes are now provided for, which will tend to supply the schools with competent teachers. Normal schools and normal classes cannot be too highly commended, as our greatest cause of complaint to-day is the want of competent teachers.

Many persons have to be employed as teachers from the fact that no better or more competent person can be procured, who should themselves be students in some primary school, and who are totally unfit to teach. The question, then, which presents itself is, how is this great evil to be remedied? By holding out such inducements to competent colored men and women of the North, East, and West as will tend to bring them among us as teachers. The too prevalent idea among the domineering and illiberal aristocracy of the State that "anything is good enough for a nigger" is now one of the things of the past, or at least should be.

Now, if the great work of instructing the colored children of the State is to be *effectually* done, it must be done by competent teachers of their own race, who have an abiding interest in them beyond the dollars and cents their quarterly statement may call for.

We hail with pleasure the wise and patriotic move of the board of education looking to a fair division of the funds arising from the sale of agricultural land-scrip with the now separate universities for the use of the white and colored races.

We hope the general assembly will not sit idly by and allow this fund to be given alone to *one* race. We think the magnanimous conduct of the colored people toward the University of Alabama in yielding a willing support to the resolution of Mr. Finley, which declared the University of Alabama to be a university for the whites, should impress the general assembly with the fact of our race being in favor of harmony, peace, and good-will to all, and should impress said honorable body with the justice and equity of giving a fair part of the agricultural land-scrip fund for the benefit of a colored university. It seems to your committee that this *must* be done, or else let the agricultural college be a *mixed* college, and free to all, without respect to race. We think the bill recently passed by the board of education, providing for a university for the benefit of the colored race, a *wise* one, and was dictated by feelings of wisdom, justice, and deep patriotism. We think the present superintendent of public instruction and the members of the board of education deserve great praise for their earnest efforts in favor of educating the children of the laboring masses.

We think the effort now being made to blot out the provisions of our State constitution providing for a free public school system is unwise and mean, and *tends*, as its originators *desire*, sooner or later, to destroy this entire system.

We think that it is a movement that is founded in a destructive prejudice and a deep-rooted hatred for the cause of educating the poor children, both black and wite.

We look with deep feelings of sorrow and gloom to the efforts being made in the general assembly to lessen the school revenue. We are pained and somewhat surprised to see the *strength* of the effort that is being made to repeal section 957 of the revised code of Alabama. It is a movement that would more seriously affect the whites than the colored race. It would drive out many of the schools from the "piney woods" and mountain region.

This unwise and reckless movement seemed to have been most strongly supported by many so-called *wise* men, and by many of both political parties, who owe their places almost entirely to the laboring men; some from the mountain region who professed great love for the poor white men, but who had within their bosom a upas-like sword, always ready to be driven to their hearts; and some from the prairie, or cotton region, who got *their* places by or through their *pretended* love of justice and equal rights, and who really despise *all* the poor, and love only themselves, and respect the rich. We think all such should be awakened by the sound of the bugle notes of the trumpets of Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, Hoar, and their millions of followers.

There is undoubtedly a strong feeling in the State in opposition to the education of the poor; it has now found its way into our legislative halls, and may God in his infinite mercy have compassion upon such heathen beings and tyrannical wretches as give to it their support.

We think our present school system is gradually gathering into the free public school houses all of the poor children of the State, and soon will they arise, and say, blessed be they (without distinction of political parties) who labored for the interests of the laboring men; and cursed be they who labored only for tyrants, capitalists, and millionaires.

We close our report by referring again to the effort now being made to abolish and obliterate the free school system of the State; and we say, unless the *poor* men of the country, both colored and white, arise to the importance of the times, and hurl from power those unwise aristocrats, unmerciful and unfeeling men, to be found in the ranks of both of our ruling parties, who care nothing whatever for the wants and necessities of the poor, and who *think* only with *little* and contemptible bigoted minds, the time is near at hand when the free public school system will fall, but fall to rise again and flourish over the disgraceful graves of those who now propose and desire its death.

Should the State fail to provide for educating the poor children of the laboring masses, and thus allow the moneyed wolves of the land to go onward in their heartless oppression of the poor, we trust and believe that the national government will come to the rescue of the humble but ever deserving servants. But the State must not fail. "Better that all the colleges, academies, select and high schools in the State *perish*," than have our common school system obliterated from the statute. Let the State "make that which can be done for the *common* people, *better* than that which can be done by the select classes in a community for themselves." We should urge at all times that the State "make such provision for the education of the commonest *common* people, that the richest uncommon people will come suppliantly and ask for *their* children the privilege of participating in the advantages of the common schools."

Extremists can be found in all classes. We propose to be moderate, for God knows we love the country and the country's people; but we boldly say that poor Rosell, Cremieux, or Ferre are shining patriots when compared with the blood-sucking capitalists or the moneyed corporations that now seek to trample in the dust all who are called *poor!*

The present school system of the State has done more for the poor man in three years than was ever done for him before in any ten years of the history of our State, the arguments of the enemies of schools and of the poor man to the contrary notwithstanding.

And now, to more thoroughly impress upon the members of this convention the grand and great importance of a continued agitation of the subject, we have deemed it expedient to append to our report the following resolutions, believing the "while there is a silver lining to every cloud," and that "all things come round to him who will but work" and agitate, and knowing, too, that governments are strong as they educate wisely; we therefore offer in support of the above the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the delegates to be sent to Washington be instructed to impress upon Congress the importance and urgent necessity of the passage of Representative Hoar's "national school bill," whereby every child in the Union can learn, or at least be taught, the rudiments of the English language; experience in this and other Southern States having taught us that without such a system as is here sought for the rising generation (in an educational point of view) will be but very little superior to generations gone before.

Resolved, That in event the legislature of Alabama refuse to set aside the *pro rata* share of the "agricultural fund" for the benefit of the colored people, then the executive committee of the State labor union are empowered, and hereby instructed, to memorialize Congress to withhold said "agricultural fund" from the State.

ADDRESS OF MR. RAPIER, SECONDING THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

Mr. RAPIER said:

Mr. Chairman, in rising to second the resolution of my friend from Autauga, I wish to say that I do so because I am convinced that it is impossible for the poor children of this State to get a common-school education in any other way.

First. The amount ($1.20 per head for each child) is insufficient to keep the school-houses open more than two months in the year.

Second. Under this system we have some of the most inferior teachers on record; in too many cases it appears that there are in the school-houses more to exhaust the funds than to improve the child; at all events, they succeed better in the former than in the latter.

Let me compare for a moment the amount per head set aside in several States for the education of their children. In Alabama we give $1.20 per head; New York, $6.83; Massachusetts, $16.45; Nevada, $19.17 These figures show very clearly that Alabama is fearfully behind in providing for the education of the youth within her borders; and just in proportion as these States surpass our own in making provisions for the education of their children, so will their citizens in after life excel ours in civilization and refinement, and outstrip us in the highway of life. Why is it that New England ideas control the policy of the government to-day? The answer is, because of the superior education of the people of that section. The superior education of the New Englanders enabled them to combat the slavery question successfully; enabled them to settle the question of citizenship in this country by removing all political obstructions which hitherto confronted a certain class of American citizens. They also propose a national inquiry, through one of their ablest statesmen (Mr. Hoar), into the vexed question of the relation of "capital and labor." Where is the man from Delaware to Texas adequate to such a task? And the reason why they are able to accomplish more than the citizens of any other section of this country, particularly the South, is to be found in the fact that they are educated in a way superior to any other class, and seeing the advantages their own section has derived from such an admirable system, now propose a like plan for the nation.

There is another thing that militates against our system: that is, teaching with us is not a profession as in other States, but rather a make-shift. In Alabama the school-teacher, the great civilizer of the day, has not been properly respected. In North Alabama, where I was raised, he filled but a very small space in society; consequently, most young men preferred a clerkship, even in a country store, to a teacher's desk in a school-house, supposing that the former calling was more honorable than the latter.

We have never had any school system in Alabama worthy of the name; and when the new order of things overtook us, which necessitated a change from the old groove, we had not one prepared to take hold of the matter, no one understood thoroughly the free-school system; therefore a series of blunders were in store for us, and we were powerless to ward them off. I am satisfied that we have had more blunders from a want of knowledge of the common-school system than from all other sources combined.

At first we had the county superintendent appointed by the State superintendent (an elective office), many of whom were never examined by any competent board, appointed more for political reasons than merit. The system, then, to a certain extent, was turned into an electioneering machine. At the Republican convention last year I was told that at least one fifth of the entire delegation were composed of county superintendents, and I suppose it will be the same at the next Democratic State convention.

Whoever saw such examinations as we have here? Who is it that cannot get a certificate to teach school in Alabama? Hundreds of teachers (so called) are to-day drawing pay for putting in their time at the school-houses who can't work out a simple sum in "interest;" who can't write a half-dozen lines grammatically; who are wholly ignorant of any of the rules of composition, to say nothing of etiquette. Can you tell me how we are to succeed with these dead weights hanging to us?

Why, sir, in every county there should be an examining board, composed of the best scholars, whose moral character should be beyond question, of which board the county superintendent should be a member, which board should meet twice a year for the examination of applicants for certificates to teach school. The schools should be graded third, second, and first. The pay should be graduated according to the class. The first step towards procuring a certificate should be this: The applicant should give the board notice that he or she intended to make application for a certificate to teach school (naming the class), inclosing a moral certificate from some minister or magistrate. At the appointed time the meeting should be held. The questions in the several branches should be submitted in printing, and answers to the same made in writing, with the name of each applicant subscribed thereto; examination over, which should last several days, the board then should meet, pass upon the qualification of the applicants, and issue certificates accordingly. By this operation many worthless teachers would be cut off, and the calling would be made to partake more of a profession than it now does, and, as a consequence, be more respected. This plan is pursued elsewhere.

Now, sir, I do not think that the State will ever be able to carry out such ideas. Our only hope, then, is in a national system. We want a superintendent of education who shall be a member of the cabinet. All assistant superintendents should be appointed by the President, upon the recommendation of the superintendent of education. We want a government school-house, with the letters U. S. marked thereon, in every township in the State. We want a national series of text-books which will teach the child that to respect the government is the first duty of a citizen. You may ask, where would the money come from to sustain such a system? I answer by saying, let the government, after 1872, turn over the net receipts of the Internal Revenue Bureau, which will be about $115,000,000. This amount, parceled out amongst the several Congressional districts, would give to each one about $406,360. At this rate, Alabama would receive, in round numbers, $2,438,160, a sum sufficient to keep the schools at least seven months in the year. If to this be added the "State fund," we will be able to have our school-house doors open nine months in the year.

This investment on the part of the government would be one of the best it ever made; in all human probability would prevent another war.

If you wish to see the advantages of a national system, you have only to cast your eyes over the Atlantic to Holland and Prussia. It was the superior education of the Prussians, traceable to their national system, that enabled them to combat so successfully the armies of France in the late Franco-Prussian war, and to eventually overthrow the French empire.

And as a national systen has done so much for other countries, and as like causes give like effects, I hope to live to see the day when we shall have a like system in this country.

I conclude by expressing the hope that the resolution may be adopted.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ADDRESS.

Hon. A. H. Curtis, of Perry, chairman of committee on address, submitted the following, which was adopted:

To the laboring men and women of Alabama:

We, your representatives in convention assembled, deem it wise and prudent to address you briefly upon our condition in this State.

It is well known that at the time we were emancipated that we did not own a single shelter in the country, nor did we possess provisions enough to last one day, if parceled out amongst us. By a change of circumstances, we were to engage in a struggle for life in a way new to us; hitherto, such a thing as a bargain which included the giving of a certain portion of our labor for its equivalent in capital was, comparatively speaking, unheard of. We had not the remotest idea of the value of our time; and many persons took advantage of our ignorance, and forced us to make such bargains as should make any upright man feel ashamed. In many cases the landlords furnished the land, implements, stock, and feed for man and beast, and gave the labor one-fifth of the crop after making; the labor responsible for the death of any of the stock, whether by disease or accident; nor were we allowed to use any stock, on the plantation, but we were to be subject to any of the plantation rules that might be prescribed by any superintendent.

From 1865 to 1868 there were no laws that protected the laborer; till then, he could be imprisoned for debt. A blessed time it was for poor men when the constitutional convention enacted that clause in the constitution of the State which forbids the imprisonment of any man for debt; without this our condition would be deplorable; without this clause how easy would it be, a disastrous year like this, to take up almost any one of us, and imprison us for debt? And in our anxiety to be free, we would gladly mortgage our time to any one who would become our security, and thus go into voluntary servitude, a species of slavery not provided against in the constitution.

We hailed it as providential that we had hard times just after our liberation, for by them we learned something of economy, and without which, we fear, this generation would have learned nothing of this indispensable science.

At first it was unpopular to advocate schools for our children, and in many cases both churches and school-houses were burned down, thus destroying the only means known to us by which we could lift ourselves, from the degraded condition in which slavery left us, to more elevated and respectable position in the moral and intellectual fields. But the landlords soon saw that to secure labor (without which their lands were worthless) it was necessary to concede this point, and it is our pleasure to state that in a majority of the counties in the State there are schools of some sort established.

Notwithstanding it was heralded throughout the land, and currently believed, that we would not work as freemen as well as we did when slaves, yet the statistics bear us out in the statement that we have been more industrious and energetic in our present sphere than in the old.

Again, it was said by men who have opposed our progress, as well as our liberty, that when we were free that we would conduct ourselves in the most unbecoming manner, that we would be guilty of all enormous outrages; but time has proved that such fears or hopes, as the case may be, were founded in error, and to-day we stand before the world, for uprightness, industry, and, thrift, the peers of any similar class on the face of the globe, and challenge the admiration of fair-minded men everywhere.

We have done well, considering the disadvantageous circumstances under which we had to labor. The amount of land owned by us in Alabama is not definitely known; but in the several Southern States the aggregate, in round numbers, is about one million acres; more than one-half million have learned to read and write, and at this time we have hundreds away at the North in different high schools and colleges, and two at the Military Academy, preparing themselves for future usefulness.

While we congratulate ourselves upon the advancement we have made, we feel that we have not done all that was possible for us to do. There are many things which militate against our progress over which we no immediate control. Then there are some barriers to our social, moral, and we might add pecuniary advancement, which we can and ought to remove; among these are the drinking of whisky and the want of unity in our action. Let us advise abstinence from strong drink; it does no good whatever, but keeps us in want, and will surely bring disgrace upon ourselves and children.

Whatever excuse could be offered in other days for a difference amongst us, none can exist now, since our hopes and aims are the same, and our destinies one. Let us pay more attention to the cultivation of morals and manners around our firesides; let us forget we have been slaves; call no man master, but in every particular act the part of freemen, and we will be respected as such by all those whose respect is worth enjoying. In short, let us set aside all those old plantation habits, and appear as freemen indeed. Try and accumulate homes as fast as possible, however small, whether it be here or elsewhere. Whilst we as a body have no advice to give respecting emigration, yet we feel if we cannot secure homes here it would be better to go where they can be had.

The WITNESS. I desire to add to what I have already placed before the commitee a word as to the causes of the exodus——

Q. Have you any matters as to the holding of elections or counting of ballots—the organization of the legislature?—A. I could only apply that to the State of Louisiana.

Q. I am speaking of Louisiana now.—A. Well, we have had one or two extraordinary cases of unseating Republican members of the Louisiana legislature the present session. Something that has passed the actions of the Republicans in their palmiest days, the unseating of senators and representatives.

Q. State them.—A. There were some six senators, colored, elected to the present legislature of Louisiana—to the senate—last December, and some, I think, nine or ten Republicans to the house. They have unseated two of the Republican senators, so that but four now are left, and they refused the seats of several colored Republicans that were elected—on technical grounds.

Q. Elected to the house?—A. Yes; they claim they have adopted in their constitution which they adopted last December a clause prohibiting any one from holding office who has been guilty or found guilty of embezzlement or withholding the funds belonging to the State; they claim to have such a clause in their constitution. The case of Mahoney, of Plaquemine Parish, below the city, was the case of a man who had been treasurer of a school board and who had been charged with embezzling the school fund, I believe, in 1873 or '74; and that case was decided by the courts—the State board of education—several years ago, and nothing more was thought of it.

Q. In what way?—A. In his favor; but when he presented himself it was claimed that he had been guilty of this charge; and although he sent and brought up the records of the court, they would not receive it, nor would they permit him to take his seat. This was a case where the charge was made upon which he had been acquitted, yet they revived the charge of which had been acquitted, and excluded him from his seat. The other was the case, I think, of Hon. David Young, who has been senator two terms. This time he was elected to the house from Concordia Parish. He has had the same difficulty, but some time ago, I believe last November; the charge against him was embezzlement of funds; but he claimed he had lost a great portion of the money by the failure of the Freedman's Bank; he had deposited this money in the Freedman's Savings Bank, and his books, I believe, showed it. For several years he has had considerable trouble about it; but last year, previous to election, Mr. Young made a settlement with the school board, which is, of course, Democratic, by the surrender of a certain amount of money and his book, and supposed that was fixed. He was elected, but, to his surprise, when he got down there they refused to admit him; and did not admit him simply because he had been charged with embezzlement of the school fund.

Q. He was never tried and convicted in a criminal proceeding, was he?—A. No, sir; and his case was *nolle prossed* in 1876, but afterwards revived.

Q. And you understand his embarrassment resulted from depositing in the Freedman's Bank?—A. Yes, sir. I have the case of Senator Davidson, a colored man, who lives in one of the strongest Republican districts in Louisiana. There is no gentleman here from Louisiana but will concede that the two parishes of Iberville and West Baton Rouge, comprising that senatorial district, is as strongly Republican as any district in the State; and that the committee may understand that, I will give them the vote as given officially by the Democratic board of last year in the election for governor.

The vote for governor is taken from the New Orleans Democrat; and the parish of West Baton Rouge gave for Wiltz, Democratic candidate for governor, 338 votes; for Beatty, Republican candidate, 563 votes.

The other parish, Iberville, that goes to make up that senatorial district, gave Wiltz 626, and Beatty, Republican, 2,245 votes. This is the vote as returned, by which this man claimed to be elected. He claimed to have received the same vote in both these parishes for senator; and in Iberville, his own parish, he ran a little ahead of Beatty. And that is the vote he claimed.

Q. Were they the candidates for governor?—A. Yes, sir; he claimed to be elected by the same majority that the Republican was elected. This man Montague, who received a large minority vote, he brought in a charge that the police jurors of that parish, who, of course, were Democratic, had changed the polling places, and there had been fraud in one ward. The committee at first refused to give him his seat, but afterwards, for some reason, they reconsidered and brought in a report unseating him and giving his seat to the Democrat, Mr. Montague. When this new evidence was taken he knew nothing of it, but when the report was brought into the house he was allowed two minutes to explain anything; and by a vote of 28 senators to eight he was unseated.

Q. As I understand you, the ground for unseating him was that these police jurors, being Democrats, were charged by this Democratic candidate of the minority with having committed fraud?—A. No, sir; not them. The charge against the police jurors was that they had changed the polling places. They claimed that they had fixed them once and then changed them to another place.

Q. But this change was made by Democrats, was it not?—A. O, yes, sir; the police jurors.

Q. And this Democratic candidate took advantage of this wrong of the Democratic police jurors, to oust the Republican colored man, is that it?—A. That, with the fact that they claimed fraud in one of the wards.

Q. What was that fraud?—A. I don't know exactly the nature of it.

Q. Do you know which ward it was?—A. Yes, sir; I have an account of it here.

Q. Do you know the vote of that ward?—A. No, sir; the police jury of Iberville had changed the voting places.

Q. They gave him two minutes to meet this new case with?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there anything else that occurs to you?—A. One or two cases parallel with this.

Q. Recent cases?—A. Yes, sir; the present legislature. Mr. Riard, member of the senate, born and brought up in Louisiana, educated in France, who was a naval officer there. He was elected to the senate. He lives in La Fayette; he owns property there, and his family reside there. He is in the general commission and employment agency business in New Orleans, and has his office there. He was elected, went home, canvassed his district, came back, and was elected. They threw out the votes, claiming they had been cast through fraud, and yet he had a majority of some fifteen or twenty; but the grounds upon which—and of this I am informed by him; I have not watched his case as closely as I have the other, though I saw a synopsis of the brief submitted by his counsel, Y. A. Breaux, once a Democratic State senator—on the ground that he was not a resident of La Fayette, but that he lived in New Orleans; and for that reason they gave the seat to the Democratic competitor.

Q. He claimed that as his home?—A. Yes, certainly; his family are there and he owns property there.

Q. Of how many members does the senate of Louisiana consist?—A. Thirty-six.

Q. How many Republicans?—A. Five, I believe; four colored men and one white man—no, I think only four now.

Q. Three colored men and a white man?—A. Yes, sir; I think they are Republicans.

Q. The other branch is the house of representatives, so called, is it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many members—ninety to ninety-six?—A. Under the new constitution there are one hundred and twenty or one hundred and twenty-one.

Q. How many of them Republicans?—A. About ten or twelve—along there.

Q. Part white and part colored?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have no doubt that the honest vote of Louisiana is Republican?—A. I have no reason to doubt it, sir.

Adjourned to April 10, 1880.

TESTIMONY OF ISAIAH WEARS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 10, 1880.

The committee met at 10 a. m., and proceeded to take testimony. Present, Senator Voorhees, chairman; also, Senators Vance, Windom, and Blair.

ISAIAH WEARS (colored), having affirmed, was examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. State your name and residence.—Answer. My name is Isaiah Wears. I reside at 414 Poplar street, Philadelphia.

Q. How long have you lived in Philadelphia?—A. For nearly forty-five years.

Q. Where were you born?—A. In Maryland—Baltimore City.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am a real-estate broker.

Q. State whether you have been taking an interest in and been identified with the movements in regard to your own race of people for a good many years past.—A. For thirty-five or forty years I have been intimately engaged in almost all the general movements in connection with my people.

Q. I understand that you are willing to give to this committee your views in regard to the matter that we are investigating here—the condition of your people. If you will do so we will be obliged to you. Have you given the subject of this exodus your attention?—A. I have. I have written six or seven articles which have found their way to the Western country. I write for the Christian Recorder principally; that was the medium through which I made my views known to the public as antagonistic to the exodus movement. While I was prepared to believe that they had causes which largely claimed to be the potency which moved the people, I did not think that the exodus was the proper remedy.

Q. What did you think was the proper remedy?—A. I wrote those articles rather to show that that was not the remedy, first. I believed it to be suicidal; first, that the condition of things that prevails in the South, bad as they are—and they are wretched—are but incidental to the revolution by which these people are passing from one civilization to another I think I commenced my articles by stating that our great difficulty was that we do not seem to recognize the fact that the abolition of slavery was not the establishment of freedom. The falling down of one house is not the building up of another. We have effectually destroyed slavery so far as its legal form is concerned; but we have not succeeded as a nation in establishing liberty among a people with no ideas of liberty. The white people of the South are as ignorant as the black with regard to the duties and responsibilities of their new situation. The white man did not recognize liberty—did not know anything about it; and the black man had never had any exercise of it, and did not know how to improve it—did not make it desperate for a man to interfere with his liberties. His very weakness was a temptation to the white man to play the tyrant; the fact that he had no full idea of his right, not only to liberty but to protect his liberty, necessarily invited aggression; and that has produced largely the terrorism which pervades the whole South. As I said, I believe that the white man of the South is a tyrant—made so by the institution from which he has just been relieved. He is human; he cannot conceive the idea yet, and hardly will in the present generation recognize the liberty of the black man. He cannot, indeed, recognize the liberty of the white man. I, therefore, hold the view that the great mistake is in venturing to trust such a people, even with their own liberties.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You mean the whites?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You think the great mistake is, trusting the white man with his freedom?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. His own freedom?—A. Yes, sir. The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution shows that the white people of the North understood to some extent, though not fully, the necessity of watching them in that respect.

In the next place, I have opposed, even before the rebellion, all colonization, for the reason that I did not believe that there was any country so capable of realizing the expectation of this love of liberty as our own. I did not believe in our race becoming unsettled. Poverty and ignorance fights at a great disadvantage with wealth and intelligence, and it will be an up-hill work with our people. I have, however, thought this with reference to the colored man, when I take into consideration the fact that he has produced all the wealth of the South, and largely the wealth of the North, by the lavish manner in which Southern men have expended in the Northern States the money that cost them no labor to obtain, but which was earned for them by the colored men of the South—I have thought that the hands that had done so much for others ought to do something on the same soil for themselves; and anything that unsettles them invites aggression from every tyrant, and the Southern people are all, with very few exceptions, tyrants. In any community where the people believe that a little oppression will drive the colored man away they will apply it; that is one of the grounds of my objection to the colored men moving.

I still believe, as I have written, that the Northern people will become awakened to this fact, some time. I think that the remedy is in the hands of the North as well as of the South; in the black man's hands as well as in the white man's hands. I cannot believe that this thing can remain long—this tyranny and these sufferings, and I have so written—perhaps more severely than some would think wise. I have said tha when the black man shall have come to a condition such that there is no hope for him, neither at home nor abroad, then the younger men that are growing up will certainly resort to some measure which will look like what is occurring in Cuba. They will use the torch, if no milder method will suffice. When it comes to be fully understood that they are perfectly ready to do that, there will be help for them and not till then. With regard to this movement to the North another objection I have to it is this: I think it has been largely superinduced, and intentionally so, by some of the white people of the South. There is a redundant population in communities like that; there are more than are really wanted; and especially more than they want about election time. And if they can unsettle them and drive them away, so that they will not have to resort to the stronger measures of murder and outrage rage, all the better. I have not discovered among the colored people—and I have tried to investigate that matter as closely as possible—I have not discovered any indication that the colored people knew anything about this movement at the start. I have not yet found one man that was cognizant of the fact that this was any combined operation, or that they intended to move with any degree of unanimity, as they did last year. I can find no company of colored men who knew anything about it. I therefore believe that it has been outside pressure—pressure not from the colored men, but pressure from their oppressors—that has induced these men to move; and I believe that this has been done purposely. They know that the negroes cannot move at the same rate that they increase in numbers naturally. Still they will get rid of some of this redundant population by making it so unpleasant for them that they will remove. On that account, if on none other, I advise the colored people to stay where they are.

Then, again, I am impressed with this idea, unpleasant as it is to be compelled to say it: The Northern people are not inclined to do justice to the colored man in the South, and they are not any more inclined to do justice to him in the North; in this respect, I mean: if the United States Government cannot protect me in my rights in South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and the other Southern States, I do not see how it can protect me in Kansas or Indiana. If the government would violate any principle of its Constitution in the one case, it would necessarily violate the same principle in the other. And I say that the people in the North have not been true to the black man. They promised him, when the war was on hand, that if he would join in with them and help save the country, that they would help save him. They knew that he would incur the displeasure of the people of the South by whom he was surrounded. It was only reasonable to suppose that he would incur their most bitter displeasure; but the North said they would protect him from them. But they soon showed, after the war was over, that they were ready to hand him over to the South by the fourteenth amendment, which gave to the South a right to cut him off from voting, providing they did not mention him in the ratio of representation. Even after that, the North called upon the negro again and asked him to vote, when the white man would not vote, for the reconstruction of the Southern States. By this he necessarily incurred still more the displeasure of the South; and then the North abandoned him again. It was not that the North meant to be untrue to the negro, but because they did not want to press too severely on the South.

My idea is this: This last administration, which has handed everything over to the South, the colored men and all, has taught the whole

American people one thing, that the South is not able or is not willing to protect the colored man in his rights.

Q. The North?—A. No; the South. The South demanded that the entire and exclusive right should be accorded to their State governments to settle all their matters at home, including the status of the colored man there. The present administration handed the whole thing over to them. I do not see how the American people ever could have been convinced without this action on the part of the administration, that the South either is not able to protect the colored man or is not willing to do so. But whether it is unable or unwilling, the colored man's duty, in my estimation, is to remain. This is a wonderful revolution; but it cannot go on now in the course of progress at the same rate that it did during the war or during reconstruction. There is just where the difficulty comes in. The most of our leading men desire things to go forward at the same ratio that they did during the war or during reconstruction; but it is unnecessarily the case, and it is now to be assumed that, as we approach a condition of things which is destined to be permanent, our progress must be slower.

The tendency of the colored man before the war was not to go North. There was about 434,000 free colored people in both the North and the South before the war; and the largest number of them, even under the severe treatment they had in all Southern States, remained in the South. They bore, I will not say with Christian fortitude, but with some kind of fortitude, the terrible treament to which they were subjected. They were not allowed to stand on the street corners; they were not allowed to be out later than a certain hour in the evening; they were not allowed to travel more than a certain distance; and many other tyrannical and oppressive conditions were imposed upon them. But still they did not move North even under these oppressions; and it is well for them that they did not. The Northern people are a hard people; they do not mean to be cruel, but they are severe; they have not much sympathy. They think that a man ought to have the Ten Commandments in his hands all the time, and always obey them, or they have no mercy for him. They do not believe in a man who is not able to fight his own way and make a living for himself. My greatest fear for the colored man is that he will become notoriously—in the estimation of the people at the North—a pauper; that every time they see a colored man coming towards them they will think he wants a dollar. That is what I fear if the exodus increases, as some people suppose it will, though I do not believe it will. I do not think that the natural increase of the race will be overbalanced by any exodus. I do not think this movement deserves the name of an exodus any more than the coming of the people from Ireland deserves the name of an exodus.

Q. If you have stated all that you wish, I will ask you a few questions.—A. I think I have.

Q. I understand the basic idea—if I may express myself in that way—that underlies all your testimony to be this: That the colored people, as a whole, living in the South, oppressed, outraged, subjected to hardships, which you expressed by saying that their condition is extremely wretched, ought, notwithstanding those oppressions, to stay and fight it out. That is your idea, is it?—A. Yes, sir; I believe the colored man of the South has duties as well as rights.

Q. Being thus oppressed and overpowered, their duty is to remain and cope with their oppressors and fight the thing out?—A. I think it will make better men of them.

Q. Of those that can survive, perhaps. The progress of the race has been, according to the Darwinian theory, from "monkey to man," through the destruction of the weaker members and the survival of the better specimens of the race. From this results the formula of the "survival of the fittest." You think that the colored people better stay where they are and die, the most of them, in order to secure the progress of the few that will be left alive?—A. I think that would be better than to run anywhere in this country.

Q. You have a few times alluded to emigration from abroad; there are the white people of Ireland, to whom you have alluded; then there are the white people of Germany, and of some portions of Russia, and of other countries. They emigrated largely to America; they settled America originally. The Puritans came here, you recollect; we have been accustomed to hear it said that they came here on account of persecution, and formed here a government wherein religious and civil freedom should be recognized as the common birthright of all mankind. Do you think that was a wrong thing for them to do; to flee from those prevailing institutions; or ought they to have remained there and fought it out on the spot?—A. I mean that if they had been but one remove from mere animals, from chattel slaves, they ought not to have fled from these oppressors, but to have risen against them, and compelled the oppressor to deal with them justly.

Q. How do you establish the distinction? You said that a people who are deprived of their rights should stay and fight it out wherever they may be. The colored people of the South have been liberated; they have advanced to a degree of civilization which makes them much superior to what they were in the jungles of Africa; they have considerable intelligence; they are a highly moral people; and I think you yourself, and many others, have demonstrated that they are a people of high intellectual qualifications. Now, you can hardly speak of them, even as they were before emancipation, as being mere animals, just a step removed from a chattel slave in the sense of his deepest degradation; they were freemen in all but the name of freemen; and the moment the legal tie of servitude was snapped, they were in a condition to exercise largely an intelligent suffrage, were they not? They seem to understand their own interests pretty well, voting almost universally the Republican ticket; exhibiting a large degree of intelligent discretion there. They are accounted the most religious people on the continent, more immediately under the guidance of heavenly inspiration, than any other class of people in the country. You cannot speak of them as mere animals?—A. I have not done it, sir.

Q. If you lay down as a principle that these people must stay there, without arms, without an organization of any kind, entirely at the mercy of a people who have made so brilliant a military record as the Southern people have made so recently; if you lay down as a principle that they should stay there and fight it out, and take butchery if it comes, why not, for the same reason, say that the entire white emigration from Europe ought to stay there and fight it out with the despotisms of the old world?—A. I do not say stay there and submit.

Q. But stay there and fight?—A. No; I say this: They are under a process of treatment which will necessarily evolve a manhood which will protect itself, if it has to do it with the torch.

Q. It is rather a troublesome process of evolution, is it not? It is a process which results in good mutton becoming good man, by its consumption by the human body, and its conversion into human tissue?—A. I think not, sir.

Q. Suppose your theory should be carried out; suppose that the colored race, as a race, should institute a warfare of resistance against the white race, as a race, do you think that, in one year's time, there would be one hundred colored men left on the continent to tell the story?—A. I tried to make my position as clear as possible. I do not believe in war, or any attempt at war, on the part of the colored man.

Q. I am asking if your principle is a rational principle?—A. I think it is.

Q. If you do not want to be understood as meaning war, when you say that the colored men should stay there and fight it out, explain what you do mean.—A. The case of the colored men, and that of the men in the case to which you have referred, are not parallel cases with each other. The colored man has his vote, and will yet be able to wield a power in the South which none of these people of whom you spoke will ever be able to wield in this country for their own protection. It remains for the people of the North to see that that power can be exercised by him in safety. Not because they love him so well, but because their safety—I mean the safety and interest of the people of the North—and the safety and solidarity of the nation depend upon it. The interests of the black man are so completely interwoven with the national life that the one cannot exist without the other.

Q. That is beautiful and poetic. But explain to me how the Northern States are going to interfere with the domestic institutions of the Southern States, so as to benefit the negro to any great degree, within any reasonable period of time? We are talking now about the remedy for a man who is poor, and naked, and hungry, with a wife and half a dozen children dependent upon him, who cannot wait more than two or three generations for salvation. It is an immediate necessity for him to take care of himself; he cannot wait a great while in order to work out political theories for the benefit of his race. Now explain to me what this man on the banks of the Mississippi River, penniless, naked, and hungry, cheated if he works, and whipped or killed if he votes, is to do for next week's food and clothing?—A. I have not brought my attention down to the point of looking at this matter in its individual aspect.

Q. These people are all suffering as individuals, and leaving for the West as individuals, are they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. A man needs to eat two or three times a day, does he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And a suit of clothing once or twice a year?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I want to direct your attention to the fact that the matter which we are appointed to investigate is the exodus; and the exodus implies the action of individuals, going somewhere to get something to eat, drink, and wear, for their immediate necessities. Now, how are the Northern people going to help these individuals who need food, drink, and clothing, and who go away to get it?—A. I have entered into this matter with no idea that the rights and duties of one man are any different from those of another; I look at the matter with reference, first, to a class of the people; next, with reference to the whole nation. I have never been able to bring myself down to look at it individually.

Q. If an individual chooses to go from the South to the North you have nothing to say?—A. No, sir. But when it becomes an ostentatious movement, such as this exodus is, this is the great evil that presents itself to me. I find this feeling to be omnipresent in the North, with good-hearted white men, who mean well for us, and wish our advancement; they look upon it as a cheap way of relieving themselves of their duties to the black man. They are pleased to see that this duty is being done by the black man himself. In that way they satisfy their consciences, and convince themselves that they have no more duty in the matter. They say "We have nothing more to do."

Q. Do you mean that it is liable to beat the Republican party next fall?—A. No, sir; but I think it is liable to prevent the Republicans from feeling that they have a duty to do in the way of protecting the men who have protected them.

Q. Did you see any particular indication that the Republican party is going to fail in its duty next fall, so far as strenuous efforts are concerned?—A. I have nothing to say against the Republican party; all that has been done has been done by it.

Q. What, then, have you seen to justify your assertion that the removal of a few negroes—six or eight hundred into Indiana; twenty-five or thirty thousand in the whole—has paralyzed the conscience of the North?—A. No; I do not say that it has paralyzed the conscience of the North——

Q. I thought that not an unfair summing up of your position; if that is not what you mean, please explain yourself more fully.—A. I mean that the North seems to be looking upon this exodus as apparently superseding the necessity of any further action on their part for the protection of the colored man. They think that if at any time, or in any place, he is oppressed beyond what he can endure, he has this recourse—to get up and go to Kansas or somewhere else. If the black man had any such recourse, then the duty of the North would be apparent. It is as if a man who was sick were to send for a physician; the physician takes the case into his hands, and feels that he has a duty and responsibility in the matter; the life of the patient is in his hands; but by and by the patient takes the matter into his own hands—takes such medicine as he chooses, without consulting his physician; when he does that, the physician feels that he is no more responsible in the matter, because the patient has taken it upon himself.

Q. According to that theory the colored man is to do nothing for himself; is to lie passive in the South, or suffer at the hands of the South; be deprived of his rights, and remain utterly inert, for fear of creating a feeling among the people of the North that he will help himself, which will prevent them from doing so much as they otherwise would to help him.—A. It is when he attempts to do something for himself and the North too that he is met by tyranny, ostracism, and hate. If he would do nothing but work; if he would always be diligent, gentle, submissive, and obliging, then the Southern people would not hate him, but the contrary, as the bleached and pallid faces of some of his posterity fully prove.

Q. That proves that they don't hate his wife?—A. They do not hate *him*—not on account of his color. Your remark reminds me of what was said by Mrs. Madison, I think—at least by the wife of one of the slaveholding Presidents. She said, "We women think ourselves wives, when we are only the heads of harems." But, as I was saying, when the colored man backs out and runs, that is just what the Southern people want him to do.

Q. The Southern people want him to do that?—A. Yes, sir; if they can get quit of a certain number of colored people so as to keep down their votes, that is all they want.

Q. Do you mean that the Southern people are anxious to promote the exodus?—A. Well, not enough to call it an exodus, but enough to give them the majority in the elections—or what they can make appear to be a majority.

Q. Then you think that the removal, this emigration, so far as it is a political move, is a political move on the part of the South rather than upon the part of the North?—A. I think it is a forced emigration, induced by the white people of the South.

Q. You think the origin of this emigration is in the action of the Southern people, that action being designed to produce it?—A. I will say this: if I lived South, and was a white man, and had been conquered, as they were conquered, that would not convert me. I know that as a Northern man, loving liberty, if they had conquered us, that would not have made slaves of us. We would have waited, and watched, and worked, by every process, to regain somehow our lost rights, and re-establish liberty, as we understood it. I think the Southern men are doing the same thing to-day.

Q. Do you mean to be understood that the Southern white people who engaged in the war are still as hostile to the government as ever, and that this talk of reconciliation is nothing but a deep laid plan and plot of treason, waiting to break out at a more favorable time?—A. I do not say that they are as hostile, or that they are plotting treason. They told you, at the last session of Congress, what they meant; they told you that they would never abandon the exclusive right to rule in their own States.

Q. Do you think they mean to take their geographic section away from the nation at large?—A. I do not say that that is their purpose now.

Q. Do you think it is their idea, if they can rule the country within the nation, to stay there, and if they cannot, to get out of it?—A. I do not say, to get out of it; but I do say this, that they have not abandoned, and have told us so—they say so every time they can get opportunity, in the persons of their leading men—they have not yet abandoned their doctrine of State rights.

Q. Do you not think that they have had pretty good luck and success in carrying out their principles, so far as their own States are concened?—A. My idea about that is this—the war of the Revolution——

Q. Do you mean the war of 1776 or the war of 1861?—A. The war of 1861. That was but a part of the Revolution. The Revolution did not begin with the war, nor did it end with the war; we are in the midst of that Revolution yet; they are fighting yet, it is true, here and there, with a forlorn hope, as they fought in the field. You know that they carried on the war long after all hope of their success had vanished; and they are carrying on a war now, when all hope of success in carrying out their idea has vanished. The only thing is, I don't want any of our soldiers to run.

Q. You want them to stay and fight?—A. Yes, sir; they staid and fought for the nation, and now I think he ought to stay and fight for himself.

Q. But he hasn't any gun?—A. Then the white men of the North are the more to blame.

Q. Nobody claims but that the colored man deserves well of the white men of the North and of the South alike. But he finds himself under the control and pressure of peculiarly cruel circumstances. They are facts; and they involve the deprivation of the necessaries of life for himself and his family, and oftentimes life itself. He would starve to death in about a week, and needs something to eat about three times a day. These people are individuals; they are oppressed as individuals; they suffer as individuals; they go as individuals to some place where they can procure the food which is withheld from them in the South. And in this are they not justified? A man's first duty is to provide for himself and his family. The Bible tells us that "He who provideth not for his own household is worse than an infidel." Supposing it were your own case, as an individual; would you escape and live, or remain there and die?—A. In time of war a man must do his duty, and in the war some men must die.

Q. I want to have you state specifically what you think to be the duty of a man, or of a company of men, women, and children, who arrive on the banks of the Mississippi in a state of utter destitution, as these people have been described. Do you understand it to be their duty to turn around and fight the people who have put them in that extremity?—A. If I had sufficient time, I think I could get you to understand my position. My point is this: These people, if they are of any use in the South at all, which I am satisfied they are, when they go away they leave a vacancy, which will be filled probably with a hardier people than they are; and when they come to return, they will find those places closed up against them.

Q. Don't you know that the Southern States could maintain at least five times the number of people now upon their soil?—A. O, I don't mean so far as maintaining the people is concerned.

Q. What probability is there of this great vacancy being filled up? Who are these "hardier people" you speak of that you think will go in there, so that the places these colored men have occupied will be closed against them?—A. The colored people of the South are not landholders. The white men are employers—the colored men are employés. If they leave, their places as employés will be filled up. White men cannot work down there.

Q. Then who is to fill the places of these colored men?—A. Irishmen and Chinese.

Q. Are not Irishmen white men and are not Chinese white men?—A. Of course, but if they go down to work they will fill up the places of these colored men all the same. And I understand that they are coming largely already.

Q. You do not think that Irishmen are likely to emigrate to the South in large numbers?—A. I don't know why not, if there is an opening for them.

Q. Is not there an opening for five times the number of persons now down there?—A. No, sir; I have no such information.

Q. I think you will find, comparing their population with that of France and other countries of like resources, that there is room in the South for five times its present population.—A. O, if they owned the land there is plenty of room for them.

Q. You do not understand that this exodus is likely to go on to the extent of involving the entire colored race?—A. No, sir.

Q. It is simply a drifting away of those who think they can do better somewhere else than in the South?—A. If it is to be held up as a remedy for the great evils to which they are subjected in the South, with regard to the great mass of the colored people, I have a blow for it.

Q. You do not understand that it is so held up?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I have heard this idea advanced: that if a few of these people, the surplus, should go away, the Southern planter, those controlling the industrial interests of the South, will see that they are likely to lose their labor unless they treat their laborers more like men; and that in that way the condition of the great mass of the colored people of the South would be ameliorated?—A. Yes; that might be; but if this is to be a movement of the whole people—of all the colored people—away from the South, that does not matter.

Q. I am speaking only of the removal of a part—of the surplus of the colored population. That is the character of the only exodus that there has been or that is likely to be. You seem to have in your mind all the time the exodus of the Scriptures, where all the children of Israel left Egypt in a body.—A. I have the idea which comes to me by tradition and general impression.

Q. This thing has started only within a year or two, so there cannot be much tradition about it. I am not quibbling with you over the term "exodus," or whether it is or is not proper to apply that word to this thing; I am talking about this immigration, such as it is, of these people, those of them that are going to the North. I question you on the basis of your own statement. You have pictured their condition as wretched and horrid, beyond the power of expression, have you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is real?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When we came to the exodus as it is, to this emigration now in progress, to the going away of those who do go, and are likely to go—the surplus colored population of the South to the extent of, perhaps, forty or fifty thousand annually; do you not think it is better for them to go? do you not think that the movement, as it is, is for the good of the South; that the movement as it really exists is for the good of the Southern negro?—A. No, sir; because if they leave because of oppression, then they invite that same oppression everywhere, when the people want them to go.

Q. Do you think the larger the number that goes the more they that remain are oppressed?—A. No, sir; but if oppression will bring about an exodus or immigration, that will be the remedy applied everywhere by those desiring to get rid of a negro population.

Q. You think the Southern people want to drive the negroes away?—A. Yes, sir; if the colored people did not vote, the white people there would not care about bothering them.

Q. This exodus, then, is chargeable, in your opinion, to the desire of dominant whites in the South to get rid of them?—A. To get rid of them *at the polls*. They don't want to be met by them at the ballot-box.

Q. Where were you born?—A. In Baltimore, Maryland.

Q. Have you ever been a slave?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then you do not testify from the standpoint of one who has suffered much from slavery?—A. Yes, sir; I have suffered terribly, because I have looked at it more closely than those of my people who were slaves; my sufferings have been mental, though, rather than physical.

TESTIMONY OF T. C. SEARS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 10, 1880.

Judge T. C. SEARS sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. What is your occupation?—Answer. I am a lawyer by profession.

Q. What are you principally engaged in?—A. Railroad business, especially; I am the general attorney of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad.

Q. Has your attention been called to this influx of colored people into Kansas?—A. A good deal, sir.

Q. Please give us your observation of it, and how it has struck you. —A. My attention was more especially called to it about the time when the immigration began; a great many of the colored people came to the town in which I live. The class of immigrants that came then was a much better class than that which subsequently came. A good many of them had some small means, and as a class were a rather industrious people. They readily found homes and employment. I speak only of those that came to my own town. Many of them came along the line of the road with teams, and some on foot.

Q. Then, you say a different class has come there since?—A. Yes, sir; very different from those that first came; that is my observation.

Q. When was your attention first directed to this movement?—A. At about the beginning of the movement toward Kansas, last year. There was at that time no feeling on the part of the people against those that came in; and to-day there is no feeling against them as a class; this is not on account of their color, but they do object to the immigration of a large number of persons who are unable to support themselves, and who will be a burden upon the community; that is the feeling now. This feeling has arisen from the fact that the last parties of immigrants have been a very different class from those that came earlier; they are not self-sustaining, but subsist very largely on the charities of the people.

Q. Did you talk any with these folks when they first commenced coming?—A. Frequently, when I have been on trains, I have talked with those who were coming up from Texas—from the Red River country.

Q. What seemed to be their idea about coming to Kansas?—A. It was generally very vague; I do not think that many of them had any particular idea about it. A great many of them thought that if they came up there, by some means or other, which I did not understand, nor did anybody else, they could get farms and homes. The class that has come more recently has consisted largely of women and children, and old men; that is, within the last six months.

Q. Were these also mainly from Texas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you talked with any about going back?—A. I do not think I have.

Q. What has become of them, generally, since they have got into Kansas?—A. Those that came first are scattered over the different parts of Kansas, and have done exceedingly well. I speak especially of those that came into the neighborhood of my own town. There were something like one hundred and fifty or two hundred, perhaps three hundred of them. In the main they have done exceedingly well. What became of the others, of course I am not able to say; they went on, and were scattered over the State, and I lost sight of them.

Q. If this movement is to continue, and its proportions be swollen to the extent predicted by some of the witnesses—possibly one hundred thousand colored people going to Kansas—what will be the result to them and to your State?—A. The result to them, and to the State, will be the same as in the case of any other class of persons of like habits. I do not believe, as I think I have already said, that there are any objections on the part of the people of Kansas to colored people coming there, as such; that is, simply on account of their color. If they come there, and behave themselves well, and sustain themselves by their own industry, as the rest of us there have to do, they would be entitled to all the privileges that white people coming there would be. If they do not, of course they will become burdens upon the community. It is this that causes some alarm to the people of the State; and not because they are colored people.

Q. It is estimated by some that there are twenty-five thousand colored people in your State now. Suppose that double or quadruple of that number should come there, what would be the result, so far as they were concerned? Would it be advantageous or disastrous to them? —A. That would be a very hard question for me to answer.

Q. Could they get employment in Kansas?—A. We are urging white men to come there, without any fear of their failing to get employment; and I think colored men can get employment just as easily as white men. In answer to one suggestion that I have heard made, I would like to say this: the idea is prevalent that we have a large number of colored people in Kansas, and that our community is glutted by them, as you might say. This is not the truth. Kansas is a very large State; it contains more than a million people; and when twenty-five thousand colored people are scattered among them you will hardly notice the fact that they are there, or even a hundred thousand.

Q. But you say there is a feeling of alarm among the people?—A. Not because the immigrants are colored, but for fear lest their coming will add to our pauper element; lest they will be a burden on community, and no benefit to themselves.

Q. If there is any immigration that is self-sustaining—that has the disposition and the means to go to work—it is welcome anywhere?—A. That is precisely the point I wish to make.

Q. I am speaking of the class of people that have been coming since that first lot arrived. You fear that large numbers and increased immigration of people of the kind that have come since that first lot would entail misery upon themselves and the State?—A. Unquestionably. They would suffer for the necessaries of life. If they cannot sustain themselves, they must not only suffer themselves, but must inflict suffering upon the community where they stop.

Q. Is it not the fact that the charity of the people of Kansas has been stretched to its utmost limit?—A. It has been severely taxed, Senator.

Q. Your advice, then, if I understand your testimony, would be that, unless the people are self-sustaining, able to provide themselves with homes when they get there, this class of people better remain away from Kansas?—A. I would have no different rule for them from what I would for the same kind of white people.

Q. So I understand; but you would apply that rule to these or anybody else?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there any chance for them to get homesteads in Kansas—government lands?—A. The same as white men, and no other.

Q. Mr. Johnson, the land commissioner of one of the roads out there, in describing the government lands, said that those that were accessible to the homestead law as yet were very far away from all the settled portion of the State.—A. Yes, sir; there are no government lands really now accessible that are valuable.

Q. Could this class of people—these colored immigrants—go out to the frontier and make homesteads?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. Then, so far as the class of people who have been coming into Kansas is concerned, with perhaps a few exceptions, you do not think their condition would be much improved, unless their condition was very bad before they came there?—A. I do not.

Q. Have you ever been South much ?—A. My business calls me into Texas a good deal; our line of road extends into Texas.

Q. How far into Texas ?—A. The United States court meets now at Dallas; I am frequently at Dallas.

Q. Have you charged your attention with the labor system of Texas, and observed how things are going on down there ?—A. No, sir; I have not.

Q. I really do not know, but I suppose, being from Kansas, that you are a Republican ?—A. Yes, sir; I am.

Q. There is no political feeling about this matter in Kansas, is there ? The sentiment in Kansas is taking no partisan character ?—A. No, sir; certainly the Republican party do not need any help in Kansas. We have a big majority there now.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You do not wish to go to the expense of bringing any immigration that might be useful to your party in Indiana ?—A. Certainly not.

Q. How long have you resided in Kansas ?—A. Since 1864.

Q. Where did you reside previous to that ?—A. In New York State; though I was born in Connecticut.

Q. Kansas is in the same latitude as Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and that belt of States, is it not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You do not think of any climatic reasons why the colored race cannot flourish in Kansas ?—A. It is pretty hard on the colored people from the Southern States.

Q. But the climate is the same as that of the Southern States in corresponding latitudes ?—A. There is no especial difference.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Is it not really colder in Kansas than in States east of Kansas in the same latitude, because of the heavy, piercing winds, which are not known in Virginia and North Carolina ?—A. There may be some difference on account of that.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Does not Missouri actually stand farther north than Kansas by fifty or a hundred miles ?—A. I think it does.

Q. Kansas is directly north of the Indian Territory, in the same latitude as Arkansas, Northern Mississippi, and Alabama and Georgia, and that belt of States, is it not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are of an age to remember distinctly the entire history of the Territory of Kansas ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You, of course, remember that the entire South made a strenuous political fight to fill Kansas with a colored population ?—A. I do not know as to the colored population; I do know, as a matter of history, that a strong effort was made to make Kansas a slave State.

Q. There were no climatic reasons that were allowed to interfere with that project. You know that the question was argued very much, it was argued by many that it could never be made a slave State, because it was too cold there for the colored people.—A. You know that we were not so well accustomed to the negro as they were, and did not know what his constitution would endure; but that a strong effort was made to make Kansas a slave State is a matter of history.

Q. Then is it not a trifle inconsistent for the Southern people to say now that the negro cannot live there as a free man ?—A. That is a matter for the committee to determine.

TESTIMONY OF W. P. FORD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 10, 1880.

W. P. **FORD** sworn and examined.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. In Shreveport, La.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. More than twenty-five years—since 1853—excepting three years that I was in the Army and three years in New Orleans.

Q. What business are you engaged in?—A. I have been engaged in the cotton factory business.

Q. What are the opportunities for laboring people to get employment down in your part of the country?—A. I think the opportunities for getting employment are better there than in other sections of the country with which I am acquainted.

Q. What wages are paid to laborers?—A. From twelve to fifteen dollars a month.

Q. Including board?—A. Yes, sir; board and lodging.

Q. What is the opportunity for women and children to get work, especially in the cotton season?—A. In the cotton-picking time the children are all employed. They pick cotton at so much a hundred weight. In the early part of the season, when the planters are pitching their crops, the women, as a general thing, work with their husbands. Wages for women are from eight to ten dollars a month.

Q. Do you know of any destitution or suffering among those colored people down there?—A. Not in my section.

Q. Is there in any section?—A. I do not know of any.

Q. Is there any reason why a colored man cannot get labor there the year round and make a good living?—A. Not if he desires to do so, sir.

Q. Do you know anything about their being driven away from the polls at election time?—A. I never saw any of it, sir.

Q. Do you employ colored labor?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much?—A. Ten or twenty families.

Q. Did you ever make a condition with them that they shall vote in any special way?—A. I never have made even a request.

Q. Is there any disorder or trouble in your part of Louisiana at this time?—A. None at all.

Q. If there is anything that you desire to state, bearing upon this matter of the exodus which we are investigating, be good enough to go on and state it.—A. I can only say that I have inquired of a number of the colored people of my section the cause of their anxiety to leave; that they have invariably told me that it was their desire to better their condition; they had been persuaded to leave there, in many instances, by other laborers; and that in other instances they had been persuaded by means of circulars distributed among them, which stated that they could enjoy greater social, civil, and political rights in Kansas than they could in the South, and that they would have better opportunities for accumulating fortunes than in the South. But I have never had one tell me that it was from any persecution.

Q. Was anything said about opportunities to get land cheap?—A. They had an idea that they could get land in Kansas very readily.

Q. What did they say had been represented to them about wages in Kansas?—A. I have never talked with them on that point.

Q. You never heard any of them assign as a reason that they had been badly treated?—A. No, sir; I never heard that given as a reason.

Q. Have you attended elections yourself?—A. I have, sir.

Q. Did you see crowds around the polls on election day?—A. Five or six years ago it used to be quite a habit among the colored people to assemble before daylight in large numbers around the polls; but in the last few elections we have had, that inclination has very much subsided.

Q. On the day of election do the whites and the blacks mingle together around the polls in a peaceable manner?—A. In the last two elections I never witnessed any disturbance whatever, not even an ill word from a white man to a black man, or from a black man to a white man. They seemed to meet together on the friendliest of terms. That has been my observation.

Q. Have you talked with any of these colored people who have returned from Kansas?—A. I have not.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. How long have you resided in Shreveport and vicinity?—A. I went there in 1853; that would make it about twenty-seven years.

Q. Have you been there through this period of trouble and violence which is asserted by some to have existed down there at one time?—A. No, sir; I went to New Orleans in the early part of 1866, and returned to Shreveport in 1869.

Q. With that exception you have been there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you known of any acts of violence, any disturbances or riots?—A. I have never been in a riot, and have never seen one. I have have never seen a dead man on either side—either white or black—except that I saw two men who were killed in the Caledonia riot, which occurred in 1878, I think.

Q. How far is that from Shreveport?—A. Aboyt twenty miles.

Q. Were you present?—A. I was not.

Q. Did you see the men who were shot?—A. I saw them after they were shot; I saw the deputy sheriff who was fired upon, afterward, in Shreveport; I saw another party, I forget his name now, he was also shot; he was shot in the jaw, very seriously.

Q. You were not present at the disturbance; you had no connection with it?—A. Only this connection: along in the afternoon, about two o'clock, I was appointed special deputy sheriff to take a *posse* down to quell the disturbance, whatever it might be; I went about ten miles, and then, understanding from parties in that district and immediate vicinity that the disturbance was over, I returned.

Q. Then you were not on the ground at all?—A. No, sir; I went out with a *posse* a part of the way there.

Q. Of how many did the *posse* consist?—A. I took with me five men.

Q. You were armed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the men you took with you were armed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you ever connected with an organization the purpose of which was to preserve order in your part of the country?—A. There has been no organization of that kind there.

Q. Were you ever connected with the White League or the White Camelias?—A. Yes, sir; I was connected with that in 1874.

Q. What was that?—A. It is hard for me to tell what it was. I never saw anything done by them.

Q. Had they an understanding as to what would be done in certain contingencies?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they have meetings?—A. Yes, sir; but the meetings amounted to nothing. The idea was, the organization was formed for the purpose of keeping the peace and quelling any disturbance that might be precipitated by any acts of indiscretion from either white men or black men.

Q. Was it made up indiscriminately of Republicans and Democrats?—A. I could not tell a dozen men who belonged to it now.

Q. You know whether any Republicans belonged to it?—A. No, sir.

Q. As it was a White League, of course no black men belonged to it?—A. No, sir.

Q. How did it come to be named White League; had it a race purpose? Was it aimed more particularly against black men?—A. I do not think it was for the purpose of arraying one race against another. I think the object was to preserve order.

Q. Was it organized to preserve order among the whites? Is that the reason why it was called the White League?—A. I do not know why.

Q. It was a White League?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It was not a white-washing affair; it had some real, definite, and rather serious purpose?—A. If so, it was not carried into effect.

Q. Perhaps there was no occasion; but did it not have some pretty serious purpose? The White League is the name its promoters gave it, was it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you go, in 1874, to Red River Parish?—A. I never went out of my own parish in my life on any such expedition as that.

Q. Are you a Republican?—A. I am not.

Q. Were you ever a Republican?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were you ever elected to office in Shreveport on the Republican ticket?—A. I ran once for one of the administrators, and was indorsed by the colored people of my city.

Q. Did you get the office?—A. I did.

Q. How long did you hold it?—A. About a year.

Q. You lost it, then?—A. Yes, sir; I lost it by change of charter.

Q. Was that change of charter brought about in the interests of the Democratic party?—A. It was in the interest of a reduction of salaries; the salaries were considered too high, and the charter was changed for the purpose of reducing the expenses of the government.

Q. Do you know of any colored man being hung in your parish during the past ten or fifteen years?—A. I heard of three being hung, but I do not know who they were; I do not know their names, and do not know where they were hung.

Q. On the whole, you have had a rather pleasant, happy state of things down there?—A. Well, no, sir; I cannot say that.

Q. Well, what was the condition of things?—A. We have had some disturbances, such as are generally incident to elections; but, as a whole, great friendliness of feeling exists between the colored men and the white men.

Q. You refer to the present time?—A. Yes, sir; they live on the most amicable terms.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES BUTLER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 10, 1880.

JAMES BUTLER (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. In Shreveport, Caddo Parish, Louisiana.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Ever since the surrender.

Q. You have not been away from there?—A. No more than on visits. I have nowhere else to live.

Q. You have not been to Kansas?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you own any property in Shreveport?—A. I do.

Q. What property do you own there?—A. I suppose I own twelve or thirteen lots within the city limits.

Q. Twelve or thirteen lots in the city of Shreveport?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you a free man before the surrender?—A. No, sir.

Q. To whom did you belong?—A. To Reuben White; he was my last owner.

Q. Of course you had no property when the surrender took place?—A. No, sir.

Q. How did you come to own those twelve or thirteen lots in Shreveport?—A. I worked awhile for wages for different men; nine years ago I farmed on the river, and did pretty well; I made one crop and quit; I invested my money in mules and drays, and went to draying for the public.

Q. Have you a family?—A. Yes, sir; I have a wife and eight children.

Q. How have you got along raising your children, as to their schooling?—A. I first commenced sending my children to private schools. I at first paid five dollars a month for my first son. He staid there at five dollars for about three months. After that I paid more; I paid as high as ten dollars a month.

Q. Did you manage to give him a pretty good education?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where is he now?—A. He is dead.

Q. Did you educate your other children?—A. Yes, sir. My daughter started at a private school, and she went there until the public school opened; then she went to the public school.

Q. What is your daughter doing now?—A. She is a teacher in one of the schools down there. She has been a teacher for six years, more or less.

Q. Did your son become a teacher before he died?—A. Yes, sir. As I had not any education myself, I wanted to graduate him. He got along very well in Shreveport, but he got lung disease, and I was advised to send him away. He went to Cincinnati, Ohio, and went to teaching, but was attacked by hemorrhage of the lungs. He was not gone long before he wrote me to come for him.

Q. Have you any other sons?—A. Yes, sir; four more.

Q. Have you had any more trouble than people usually do in educating your children down there?—A. No, sir; I think my children have done very well in the schools.

Q. The colored people are not denied school privileges down there?—A. No, sir; not generally.

Q. Are they at all, any more than other people who live scattered, so that some of them are not near school-houses?—A. The schools in Shreveport now are not in session, because, they say, they are short of money; but we have had nine months' schooling a year, until the last session, when we had only five months; then the school disbanded, and they say that it is for lack of money.

Q. There is generally nine months' school in the year in Shreveport, but only five this last year, because the money ran short; is that it?—A. That is what is stated.

Q. Have you improved your property in Shreveport to any extent?—A. Yes, sir; I have.

Q. Is your property pretty well located?—A. I have two lots that it cost me a good deal of money to improve. I am living in a house that is built on one of them. I know how much it costs, because I keep a particular account of the way in which I get along; at least I make my children do it, so that they will have an understanding just how things are when I am gone. I am satisfied that the house I live in cost not a cent less than three thousand dollars.

Q. What is your real estate in Shreveport worth, in all?—A. The way the price of property in Shreveport has gone down now, sir, I shall feel mighty well paid if I could get two thousand dollars for it.

Q. You are now speaking only of the house you live in?—A. Yes, sir; and of the way in which the price of property has gone down in Shreveport.

Q. Have you some other personal property?—A. I do not know what that means.

Q. Mules, horses, hogs, stock, &c.—A. Yes, sir; I suppose I have eight as good mules as there is in Caddo Parish.

Q. What is a first-class mule worth down there?—A. About a hundred and fifty dollars.

Q. And you have eight mules that you call first-class?—A. Yes, sir; I have got some that I have had for six years that cost me more money than that.

Q. How much did they cost you?—A. From a hundred and eighty to two hundred dollars. Then the price of such mules as that went down to a hundred and ten dollars. You could buy mules cheap last year.

Q. Mr. Butler, is there any reason why a man, even if he is a colored man, cannot get along at Shreveport, and make money, if he attends to his business as you have done?—A. Well, I can only answer for myself; I know how to conduct my business, and how to conduct myself among people in order to get along.

Q. And you have got along satisfactorily?—A. Yes, sir; I have got along so far as I told you in a property way; and I think I have got as many friends on the one hand as I have enemies on the other, and that I call an even thing.

Q. You vote sometimes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you ever staid away from the polls for fear of anybody hurting you?—A. I did not stay away from any particular fear; but at the last election they had to elect Mr. Grant for President, we saw some threats in the papers that it would be a good thing for Republicans to stay away at that election, and so on, you know; and we all took it for granted that it was best to stay away, and we staid away. I like to tell the fact just as it is.

Q. Was that in 1872 or 1868?—A. I do not recollect.

Q. Was it the first time Grant was elected or the second?—A. The first time he was elected, I voted like a man, at the court-house.

Q. But the last time—that was in 1872—you did not?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you voted since then?—A. I have, at every election; and I think every gentleman in my neighborhood knows it, black or white.

Q. Are you willing to state what ticket you vote?—A. I do not deny that principally I vote the Republican ticket. For eight years now, since 1872, I have voted as everybody else there has.

Q. In 1872 it looked as if there might be some trouble at the polls, and you did not go to the polls?—A. No, sir. At the last election, the city election, there did not a good many vote, I know; because they live in the same ward with me.

Q. Did you vote?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have any trouble in voting?—A. Not at all, sir; I could not have trouble; in the city election I was one of the commissioners at the polls.

Q. You were one of the commissioners at the polls?—A. Yes, sir; at the city election I was.

Q. How is it about the courts there; do you serve on the jury sometimes?—A. I have served, myself, on the jury but once; but I was appointed as one of the jury committee, to help draw the numbers of the jurymen; I knew the colored people of the parish, mostly, and I suppose I was put there to represent them. I had the privilege of doing it, any way.

Q. Have you ever had any business in the courts?—A. No, sir; I never had any case in court; I never sued any person, and I never was sued; I never was arrested in my life, by either a sheriff or a policeman; and I never paid a fine in my life.

Q. Do you know District Attorney Leonard?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Does he live in Shreveport?—A. That is considered his home, but he is in New Orleans generally.

Q. Did he give the colored folks any advice about voting, in 1878, at the city election, when you were one of the commissioners?—A. Well, he came to the polls where I was, and looked at the ticket; then he looked at the ballot-box; it was a new thing on us there; we had always been used to using one box at the polls, and they had there three. He said he did not see any use of voting; it was no go—voting would not do any good at all.

Q. What did he mean by saying it was "no go"?—A. He saw that it was a new thing to have the votes divided up in such a way, and that we could not elect any candidate that we had up.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. The Republicans, you mean?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What election did you say that was?—A. The city election of 1878.

Q. You spoke of your having done pretty well down there, and that that was because you understand how to get along with the people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You had a pretty fair understanding with the folks all around you, did you not?—A. Yes, sir; generally.

Q. And you have been on pretty good terms with the Democrats down there, have you not?—A. I will tell you just how that was; I was principally able to paddle my own canoe, and was not under any obligation to anybody; I took a course to suit myself, in my principles.

Q. You never had any difficulty with the Democrats?—A. No serious difficulty, sir.

Q. You know something about the proceedings in the way of voting, down there, I presume; how long is the parish of Caddo?—A. I could not tell you that, sir.

Q. Can you not give any idea about it, or how wide; is the county sixty or eighty miles long?—A. I suppose it is.

Q. And not so wide as it is long?—A. No, sir.

Q. There is a voting place at Shreveport, of course?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then what others are there in the county?—A. I think Green's is about the next poll.

Q. How far is that?—A. I think it is about sixteen miles.

Q. Is there any other in the county?—A. Yes, sir; there is another polling place—I do not remember its name; I never was out at the other polling place.

Q. You know of but two in the parish?—A. Yes, sir; there are more than two.

Q. Where are they?—A. I do not know, any further than I have already told you.

Q. When did you know of their being there?—A. There is one at the place I used to live on called the Hogskin place.

Q. Where is that? How far from Shreveport?—A. The polling place is by Carthron's, sixteen or seventeen miles from Shreveport.

Q. How long ago was that?—A. At the last election, I understand; I was not down there at all.

Q. Do you know anything about the schools, away from Shreveport, in the country places, plantations, and around?—A. No, sir; I cannot remember where the schools were at.

Q. Do you know of any besides those where you sent your own daughters and sons?—A. I think there are several others.

Q. Do you know Mr. Foster's plantation?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know anything about the schools down there?—A. I do not.

Q. You say that the schools have been kept up but a limited period this year at Shreveport, because they were a little of money?—A. Yes, sir; there were no funds to pay a teacher I was told.

Q. Was Caddo Parish prosperous in the way of raising a good cotton crop this last season?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they ever raise a better crop down there than they did last year?—A. Not that I remember.

Q. How was the cotton crop the year before?—A. It was rather a sorry cotton crop that year; last year I raised thirty-five bales on the same land that I raised only twenty-five bales on the year before.

Q. But all the time, for four or five years past, have you not been making money?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But the schools are not as good as formerly?—A. Of course not.

Q. Then how comes it now, when the country and the people down there are more prosperous than ever before, that you have not sufficient money to keep your schools in operation?—A. I will tell you what I think; I think it must be in the handling of it, or in the collecting of it. I think there is as much money in the country, among the people, as there ever was before.

Q. Do you know of any reason, if there is any disposition to keep up the schools, why they can not be kept up?—A. No, sir; because I desire them to go on.

Q. You do not handle the money?—A. No, sir.

Q. With greater means to pay taxes, they are assessing less and paying out less for schools; is not that the fact?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You spoke about the people not voting down there at one time; what was the reason that they did not vote?—A. The reason that they did not vote was on account of not finding persons' names on the list that they had there.

Q. What was the reasons their names were not on the list?—A. That is what I have been wanting to find out ever since, but I have never found out.

Q. Who makes out the list?—A. Mr. Leonard was understood to have made out that list.

Q. Were they the names of Democrats that were left off?—A. Some of that party may have been left off, but it was the colored men's names that could not be found generally.

Q. Were the white men's names to be found generally?—A. At the polls where I was we found that white men's names were not missing so much as colored men's.

Q. You say that some of the white men's names were left off?—A. Yes, sir; some of them.

Q. Were the white men, whose names were left off, Republicans or Democrats?—A. I could not tell exactly as to all of them, but as a general thing they were men who pronounced themselves Republicans.

Q. The names of men who called themselves Republicans were left off?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The names of colored people pretty generally were left off?—A. Yes, sir; a big lot of them. I hated that particularly bad; I never will agree to such a thing as that.

Q. I should like to know all about that. There is not the slightest obstacle to your saying what you choose; there will be no trouble here, and there will be none at Shreveport—according to your testimony; so I should like to have you tell me all you know about that?—A. I speak nothing here that I would not say to any gentleman in Shreveport. I have wondered many times why the names of the colored men could not be found there on that election day. It was a mystery to me that the thing had been fixed so that we could not elect anybody.

Q. On account of the names not being on the poll-book?—A. No, sir; when their names were not on the book, we would not let them vote. Men came and wondered why in the world their names were not on the book.

Q. Men who had lived there all their lives came to vote, and found that their names were not on the polling book?—A. I won't say "all their lives," but for a great many years.

Q. Do you think Mr. Leonard left them off?—A. I do not know.

Q. Mr. Leonard is a Republican, I understood you to say.—A. I do not know what he is.

Q. Have you a sort of suspicion that Mr. Leonard is a Democrat who pretends to be a Republican, and cheated you out of your votes?—A. Mr. Leonard has always treated me well, and I never asked what his politics was.

Q. What does he call himself?—A. I consider that any man who acts with the Republicans, or is indorsed by them, ought to be of that spirit.

Q. Do you understand that these voting lists came there to the voting precinct, to the place of voting, having been made by him, under his control all the time, and the Republicans' names pretty much left off?—A. That is what I have been wanting to find out.

Q. Do you know of anybody that can tell you and me about that?—A. No, sir.

Q. Could not district attorney himself.—(Here a bystander, another witness from Shreveport, explained to the Senator who was examining the witness that the gentleman who had charge of the poll-books on the occasion referred to was not District Attorney Leonard, but another man, Mr. Fred. Leonard.)

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You have not had any cause to leave that country yourself?—A. No, sir; I think I have too much at stake to go myself. I have been pretty badly treated in some respects.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. State wherein you have been badly treated.—A. One thing kind of roused me, at one time, till I thought I would rather be anywhere else than in Louisiana. I pre-empted on a little piece of railroad land about six miles from Shreveport; I had an old man living there; I put him there to secure the land, and to prevent people from taking the timber. Some of the neighbors there accused him of stealing, which I never believed he did. By some means they removed him from there; and three days afterward I found my house burned. Then I was for a month unsettled in my mind. I thought it was a very mean thing to do. I do not think he ever stole anything, and if he did they ought not to have used me that way.

Q. How long ago was that?—A. The spring before this last.

Q. A good many colored people down there have had their minds "roused" a good deal, by one thing or another, at one time and other, have they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And some of them became so "roused" that they have gone away, have they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And others died suddenly before they got their minds settled, did they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you heard of any colored men being killed, or whipped, or wronged, or injured, down there, within ten or fifteen years past?—A. Well, if you go to talk about "hearing," sir, you can hear that almost every year.

Q. You do not know a great deal except by what you hear, do you?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you believe there was ever such a man as George Washington? —A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you have only heard of him—you never saw him?—A. No, sir.

Q. You did not see your house burn, did you?—A. I saw it after it was burned.

Q. You may have seen the dead bodies of some persons who had been killed; did you ever see anything of that kind?—A. I was sexton, and I buried a couple of bodies that were drawn out of the river.

Q. How was it about that?—A. Nothing, only they drawed them out of the river.

Q. Were they colored men?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the cause of their being in the river?—A. The coroner identified them as being two men who were drowned.

Q. That was all the record that was made by him?—A. That was all the record I ever heard.

Q. Was that coroner a white man?—A. No, sir; he was a colored man.

Q. He could not find the cause of their being drowned?—A. No, sir; no further than that they had got under water.

Q. Has there been any trouble down there about voting—any complaints, that you have heard of?—A. O, yes; there is a general complaint about voting.

Q. There are general complaints?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Even where they do not kill folks, they sometimes keep them from voting, down there, do they?—A. That is what is said, sir.

Q. Do you know of any colored man about there who has done better in the way of making money, accumulating property, than you have?—A. Yes, sir; I know of one colored man who has made more money.

Q. Do you know of more than one?—A. No; I do not know of any more. I have heard of others.

Q. What proportion of the colored men down there, take the whole parish together, own the land they live on?—A. A good many colored men own land in Shreveport.

Q. I mean, take the people out around, where there is land that colored people are working; how many own the land where they are working?—A. There is right smart of men in Caddo Parish who own little plantations.

Q. How large plantations?—A. May be fifty, or seventy-five, or a hundred acres.

Q. Is there any difficulty in their getting all the land they want there?—A. There is no difficulty in getting land, if you will take it on such conditions as it is offered to you at, to buy or rent.

Q. What is the trouble with the conditions?—A. Sometimes a man wants you to take more land than you are willing to take.

Q. At what price can you rent land down there?—A. The price of rent has risen this year. I am paying eight dollars and a half an acre this year that I rented last year for seven dollars an acre.

Q. What is such land worth to buy it?—A. It could be bought for forty dollars an acre.

Q. Do you not think if the colored people took care to save all they earn from year to year, that in the course of ten or twelve years they could own little homesteads of their own, and so escape paying rent?—A. I do not think it would take ten or twelve years, if he could get the earnings of his labor.

Q. Is it not the best way for your people to stand it awhile, earn money, save it up, and buy a piece of land, and be independent; and then if the employer is not disposed to give what he ought to for work, let him work his own land and sell his own crop?—A. There is not more than about three or four things that the colored man asks of the white people in Shreveport and I believe in Louisiana.

Q. What are they?—A. If you hire him for five dollars a month, he wants the five dollars at the end of the month. If you say you will give him so much at the end of the year, he wants his wages at the end of the year. If you tell him you will give him a certain share of the crop, he wants that share of the crop when it is made. Second, he wants his children educated; and when you promise him nine months' schooling in the year for them, he wants nine months' schooling. And when he goes to vote he wants it established as a rule that he can vote as he pleases, and be hindered by nobody. Then you won't hear of any trouble between the whites and the blacks in the South, and you will never have any Kansas movement.

Q. Then it is true that the colored men *are* cheated out of their wages, the colored children are cheated out of their schools, and the colored voters are cheated out of their ballots?—A. Well, that is the general talk, sir.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Q. Have you been cheated out of your wages, and your right to vote, and have your children been cheated out of their schooling? You have not stated that here, have you?—A. No, sir; I think I told you that in the outset. I have not, myself, individually, any complaint to make, but there is that general complaint.

Q. O, yes; you have heard talk of that kind?—A. Yes, sir.

By **Mr. BLAIR**:

Q. Do you know one Henry Adams, who lives in Shreveport or in the vicinity?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you known him?—A. Is this (indicating a colored man standing in the room) the man you mean?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. I have known him for thirteen years.

Q. Is he a good, honest, reliable man?—A. I never heard anything else of him, sir, until he advocated this Liberian question, and so on. His name has been handled pretty briefly since then.

Q. He was an honest man until he began to advise the colored people to go to Liberia?—A. I never heard of his being a bad man, or a bad adviser, until then.

Q. His word is considered good?—A. Yes, sir; I never heard anything else said of him. People have poked some fun at him as a doctor—a faith doctor.

Q. Do you think he ought to be laughed at on that ground?—A. That is as people please.

Q. He represents himself to be a "faith doctor," does he not?—A. I have known him to represent himself that way in the city where I live.

Q. Did you ever know of his practicing any?—A. I know that he practiced some on some persons who lived near me.

Q. Did you ever know of his curing anybody?—A. There is a man that I am very well acquainted with, Hudson Davis, who says that Adams cured a child of his. He belongs to the same church that I do; that is how I happened to know about it.

Q. He thinks Adams cured the child, does he?—A. Yes, sir; he thinks he saved the child's life. The child had been sick for some time, and had several physicians, who did not reach the case; but he recovered under Adams.

TESTIMONY OF W. T. FLEMING.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 10, 1880.

W. T. **FLEMING** sworn and examined.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Question. Mr. Fleming, where do you reside?—Answer. In Shreveport, Caddo Parish, Louisiana.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Ever since my childhood, with the exception or six or eight years.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am a druggist by profession.

Q. I wish you would state what the condition of things in your parish is now, between the two races, white and black.—A. There has been some rather conflicting testimony here, and I would rather answer your questions than to volunteer testimony that might not be upon the points concerning which you desire information; besides a man sometimes gets himself tangled up in these things.

Q. I will ask you, then, whether you know anything about the opportunities of employment for colored people in Shreveport and vicinity?—A. I know that they have all the opportunities in the world that they want.

Q. At what wages?—A. I have been told, twelve to fifteen dollars a month and found—board and lodging found. I am not so familiar with that subject as one or two witnesses who have testified before me.

Q. You have lived there all your life, pretty much?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you know, if anything, about the colored people's privilege of voting being interfered with?—A. My idea about that is that it is more moral intimidation than any other kind, if there is any. I think there is a tendency towards a certain kind of intimidation, but I do not really believe there is any violence done. The witness who has testified just before me has, I think, told exactly the truth in regard to that matter, as near as I can tell it. There is a good deal of talk that "the colored men better keep away from the polls," and that sort of thing; but I think it amounts to nothing more than threats; I do not think the threats are put into execution—not in the city of Shreveport.

Q. Do the people mingle together on election day, colored and white?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say you never saw any difficulty between them?—A. I never saw any difficulty in Shreveport in my life; not between the white and colored men. I have seen a little difficulty, but it did not amount to anything.

Q. When was that?—A. I think it was in 1876. It was on election day, but it was merely personal. I do not think it had anything to do with any interference between the whites and blacks.

Q. It was not a race difficulty?—A. No, sir; I suppose it would be impossible for an election to go on without there being some little misunderstanding one way or another, but I do not think it amounts to much consequence.

Q. Are you a supervisor of the census to be taken this year?—A. Yes, sir; I have been appointed.

Q. And confirmed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How about the schools down there?—A. I would rather refer you to Mr. Shepherd, who is inspector of public schools down there, and knows a great deal more on that subject than I do, and can give you full information.

Q. Have you taken some part in politics down there that you happen to be appointed supervisor of the census?—A. I do not think I can be called a politician. I have rather kept aloof from taking an active part in the politics of either party in our parish for the last two years. I have some very particular friends who are Republicans, and I have not yet got to the point where I can throw away my friendship for political purposes. I have adhered to the friendship that I entertain for these men who are Republicans. I vote sometimes for Republicans and sometimes for Democrats.

Q. You are not much of a party man, then?—A. Not by any means. I have as goods friends in the Republican party as in the Democratic party. I believe that one would do as much for me as the other.

Q. As you are going to take the census down there, you have undoubtedly been noticing things that go on down there. Are things going on well, or are they in a bad shape, and have the colored people reason for going away from there?—A. So far as regards the colored people going away, I think that no sufficient cause exists for their going. I think it is owing to the unsettled condition of their own minds more than to any real grievances, and from the dissatisfaction produced among them by the change in the State government from Republican to Democratic. They do not know what to do. They had an idea, I imagine, that as long as the Republicans were in power in our State something might occur that possibly might benefit them directly. And now since the Democratic party has got into power I think they have lost that hope. There has resulted a kind of uneasiness and dissatisfaction in their minds. I think that is the entire cause of this exodus, so far as our part of the country is concerned.

Q. Do you know of any injustice practiced on the part of employers by cheating their colored employés out of their wages, or on the part of merchants by charging too much?—A. I have heard some of what has been testified to by witnesses here. I do not know of a single instance. I think such things would not be apt to occur, unless parties were doing business with irresponsible merchants.

Q. Have you lived at Shreveport ever since the surrender?—A. No, sir; I lived at New Orleans for five years.

Q. During the years you have lived there, in Shreveport, you have never seen any trouble at election?—A. None, except a little personal difficulty, such as is common on election days in all the States. In 1878 I was acting as one of the United States supervisors of election. There was a kind of growing feeling of discontent on that day displayed; but to say that anything happened, it did not. That is the day to which the testimony referred when Mr. Leonard advised the negroes to quit the polls.

Q. Did Leonard advise the negroes to leave the polls?—A. I was told that he did.

Q. Were they being mistreated in any way?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was there any danger that they would be?—A. I think not; I think it was entirely a misapprehension on his part.

Q. He apprehended violence toward the negroes?—A. Yes, sir; there were rumors floating around the street that there were armed men in the town. I did not believe it.

Q. Who was Leonard?—A. I think he was United States district attorney; I think his term as member of the legislature had just expired.

Q. Was he a Republican member of the legislature?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There was no trouble on that occasion?—A. No, sir; the negroes had been voting up to that time, but when this advice was given they withdrew from the polls quietly.

Q. Was that one of the parishes whose vote was thrown out by the returning board that year?—A. I do not remember.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. When this rumor got generally circulated through the town, that it would not be safe for the negroes to vote——A. Excuse me; you did not understand me; I did not say there was a "rumor"; I said there was a growing feeling—a baseless fear; the negroes were talking that it might be dangerous for them to vote; I do not believe anything of the kind. You know how easily negroes' suspicions are aroused.

Q. If a negro is threatened with being hung, he begins to get suspicious?—A. No; you are rather inclined to exaggerate the circumstances of the case.

Q. You say there was not a rumor, but the negroes were talking around?—A. Well, whispering; it did not hardly amount to a rumor.

Q. Well, whatever is amounted to, the negroes, for some reason, went away and did not vote?—A. Yes, sir; they were advised to go away; their fears were aroused by the remark made by Mr. Leonard.

Q. Do you not think their fears were aroused by the rumor of armed men about to drive them from the polls?—A. No, sir; for there was no such rumor.

Q. The negroes were whispering about that armed men were going to put a stop to their voting, and withdrew quietly?—A. Whatever their whispering was about, they did withdraw quietly.

Q. If they had kept on voting do you not think there would have been a fuss?—A. I think not.

Q. They thought so?—A. I have no doubt they thought so.

Q. The negroes wished to vote, if they had thought it would have been safe for them to do so?—A. I have no doubt the negroes wished to vote.

Q. The negro values his right of suffrage as much as the white man does?—A. I think more so than white men, generally.

Q. It is natural that he should, under the circumstances?—A. Under the circumstances, yes.

TESTIMONY OF J. H. GILLILAND.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. At Shreveport.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Since 1857.

Q. What are you engaged in?—A. The newspaper business; I am city editor of the Shreveport Times.

Q. What are its politics?—A. Democratic.

Q. You may state whether you have observed the condition of things between the two races in your parish pretty closely.—A. Well, sir, from my observation of the two races, I find they are on friendly terms. There are no serious differences existing between them that I have been able to observe.

Q. Have you talked with any of them about going away?—A. Yes, sir; I have. I have been present at several of their meetings. In the spring of 1878, I attended a meeting held at Cush Park, in the suburbs of the city. It was gotten up in the interest of having some of them go to Liberia, I believe. I heard several speeches made, and those who were the principal speakers were politicians that figured most prominently about there; and I believe there was a subscription taken up to send agents to that country to select a locality and report the condition of affairs there; but I have never been able to ascertain the amount that was collected. The tenor of the speeches was about this: That the negro had no show in the South and by going there they would be on their native heath; that they could not remain where they were and labor for the white man without getting value received for it; but that soon died out. That was in the spring of 1878.

Q. Did anybody go from that agitation?—A. Well, sir, I am not able to state whether or not, but I am under the impression that they started; I am told that about six or seven hundred dollars was collected and given to these agents.

Q. Have you never known colored people driven away from the polls at Shreveport?—A. No, sir; I never have.

Q. Ever see any difficulty there?—A. Never at the polls or anywhere else on election-day.

Q. Do the colored people and the white mingle together freely on election day?—A. Yes, sir; very freely. I was a commissioner of election in 1878, with Mr. Butler, who just testified here a few moments ago; he and I were at the same boxes.

Q. You served together as commissioners?—A. Yes, sir. Early in the forenoon they were voting quite freely—it was a large Republican precinct where I was, and they were voting very freely; in a few minutes the colored people all left the polls. He, Butler, and myself and the other commissioner, inquired the cause, and were told Mr. Albert Leonard advised the colored people to go away; that they had no chance of electing their ticket and it was useless to vote; and they simply acted upon his advice; there was no demonstration.

Q. Was there any danger of violence that day?—A. I apprehended none.

Q. Have you ascertained since that there was any danger?—A. No, sir; I have not.

Q. Did he advise them that there was danger, or rather that there was no chance of electing their ticket?—A. Simply advised them that there was no chance of electing their ticket.

Q. Was it not understood that he took this course for the purpose of laying grounds to contest that election?—A. I understood it to be that; well, in fact, I think he made that remark to me himself.

Q. That he intended to contest the election?—A. He implied that anyway.

Q. There was no sign or show of intimidation as far as you saw?—A. No, sir. I was at the polls all day. There was some trouble about colored men not being able to vote, because of their names not being on the poll-books, and sometimes a great many of the colored people have two or three names; they will register in one name and go by some other name on the streets. One instance was brought to light. A colored man came to the polls and offered to vote. I think he said his name was Mac Smith; I am not sure about that; and I think Butler recognized him. We commenced hunting for his name on the list. Butler says to him: "That's not your name and you know it." He insisted it was, and afterwards admitted that he registered by one name and went by another.

Q. Well, you have a registration law, I suppose; every man to be registered has to go where the register is kept, at the registrar's office?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If a man's name is not down it is his own fault, is it not?—A. I presume it is.

Q. He has to go there and get his name registered?—A. Yes; in the precinct in which he is entitled to vote.

Q. And what if he don't do it; the name will not be found there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he will not then be able to vote?—A. That was the cause of a great many not being able to vote that had registered in one precinct and attempted to vote in another. It was also the cause with a great many white men.

Q. I was going to ask you whether the rule did not apply to white people.—A. Yes, sir; the same rule applied to them as to the colored voters.

Q. Do the colored folks move about sometimes, and in that way lose their registration?—A. They frequently move from one precinct or one parish to another.

Q. And in that way it happens, sometimes, that they lose their registration?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That would happen to men either white or black; would it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Cross examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR:

Q. This was a Congressional election, was it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State and Congressional both?—A. Yes, and municipal.

Q. What did you say was the name of the man who advised the negroes not to vote?—A. A. H. Leonard.

Q. Of Shreveport?—A. He was, I think, United States district attorney at the time; is yet.

Q. Does he live at Shreveport?—A. Yes, sir; he claims that is his home, but has been in New Orleans for the last two or three years.

Q. Where is he now?—A. In New Orleans.

Q. Now won't you explain to us about these voting precincts there? I don't quite understand it. The colored men are fully as anxious to vote as the white men down there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they all know they have got to be registered, don't they?—A. Yes, sir; I presume they do.

Q. It sometimes happens that they don't get registered?—A. I don't know anything about that.

Q. Was not the trouble in 1878 that names did not appear on the list?—A. Yes; names did not appear on the list, or may have been on other registration books, as I said just now. For instance, living in the fourth precinct, and attempting to vote in the fifth, my name would not be found.

Q. Would not a negro know enough to go to his ward or precinct to cast his ballot? If anxious to do it, would he not contrive to do it?—A. The registrar is an impartial man, and registered the colored people, and was very careful to ask the colored men where they lived.

Q. Has there been no change or jugglery about voting precincts?—A. No, sir; no changes that I know of.

Q. You cannot imagine anything to explain the fact that these colored people, being anxious to vote, and registering, were constrained from trying to vote where they had no right to?—A. Well, I would explain it that they would get in the wrong precinct.

Q. Are there no guide boards down there in that part of the country so that they can find the way to the precinct where they belonged?—A. Not to the polling precincts; there are no guide-boards to them.

Q. Well, would there be any difficulty if any body was anxious enough to register in finding the proper place to vote, unless there was some jugglery about it?—A. I cannot speak for the country. In the city we had two polling places; two or three.

Q. Well, colored men could have found those in a city of twelve thousand people?—A. It seems to me they could.

Q. Those who live in Shreveport register in Shreveport, don't they? —Yes, sir; those who live in Shreveport register in Shreveport.

Q. And if a colored man did present his vote in the wrong precinct in Shreveport, he could readily go to the next one, could he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And make the distance in half an hour?—A. Yes, I have no doubt that a great many did do it.

Q. So that there was no difficulty in voting in Shreveport, so far as precincts are concerned?—A. No.

Q. Nor in the registration?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then your theory don't amount to anything as far as Shreveport is concerned?—A. I have no theory.

Q. Well, you were explaining as to the reason they did not vote, that there was a great deal of blundering about registration and precincts? —A. I said nothing about precincts. I said the registration; if you registered in the wrong precinct it would not——

Q. Do you mean to say, instead of what you did, that the negro did not want to vote and did not register?—A. No, sir.

Q. That he does want to vote and does register?—A. Yes.

Q. And now, confining ourselves to the city of Shreveport, you say he wants to vote and he registers?—A. Yes.

Q. And there are only two voting precincts?—A. Two or three.

Q. We will suppose three, and that they are all within a city of twelve thousand people; then you have two of the conditions; the negro wants to vote more than the white man; he is registered in the city of Shreveport; there are twelve thousand people in that city, and three voting precincts at least, and time to go from one to another in half an hour, and you say that if he goes to the wrong one he can go to the next; and if that is wrong he can go to the next one, all in two hours, and cast his vote besides. Now what is the reason the negro don't vote?—A. I have no idea why.

Q. Your explanation, then, that there was trouble about registration, is no explanation of the trouble that he does not vote at all?—A. No.

Q. Well, we will take that all back then; let that go. Now you say that this man Leonard advised them not to vote; and he was United States district attorney at the time?—A. I am told he advised them not to vote.

Q. And he is a Republican?—A. I think he is; he claims to be.

Q. He is either a Republican or a Democrat?—A. Well, he was a White Leaguer in 1874.

Q. Do you think he was secretly and fraudulently working in the interest of the Democratic party, and for that reason advising negroes not to vote?—A. No, sir; I think not.

Q. You think he honestly advised them not to vote?—A. I am not prepared to say he was acting in the interest of the Democratic party in advising them not to vote.

Q. In whose interest could he have been acting?—A. Only that he would probably have grounds for contesting the election.

Q. But they did not vote after that; that parish was overwhelmingly Republican, was it not?—A. It has been counted by the returning board several times for the Republicans.

Q. Well, have you any doubt that that parish, when the vote is honestly counted, is three-fourths Republican?—A. I know at several elections it has been carried by the Democrats.

Q. I do not doubt that; and Mr. Leonard advised the Republicans not to try to cast their vote on this occasion; but I really want to know how, that being overwhelmingly a Republican parish, that acting in the interest of the Republican party he could advise Republicans not to vote?—A. I suppose he thought it was to the interest of the Republican party to advise them not to vote.

Q. Don't you think he had an impression that if they voted, either they would be subjected to a great deal of violence, or, if not that, that the men that did the counting of the vote would cheat them out of an honest count?—A. I do not think that he apprehended violence; he may possibly have thought that the men that had the counting of the votes would count them out.

Q. Very likely. That is all.

TESTIMONY OF L. E. DODEZ.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 10, 1880.

L. E. DODEZ sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. Shreveport, La.

Q. Now, Mr. Dodez, how long have you lived there?—A. I have lived there since 1869.

Q. Where did you live before that?—A. In Ohio.

Q. Are you a Northern man by birth?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And by education and training?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How came you to go to Shreveport—without going into particulars?—A. I had brothers there, in Shreveport, who had been there for a number of years, and after the surrender one of them came home, and I had just then undergone a surgical operation, and I came South with him for my health.

Q. What business are you in in Shreveport?—A. At present I am salesman and collector for the Singer Manufacturing Company, for that district comprising several parishes there.

Q. What other occupations have you followed since, there?—A. I have been acting three terms as justice of the peace and notary public; I am still notary public.

Q. What are your politics?—A. I am a Republican.

Q. Have you always been a Republican?—A. I have, ever since I voted.

Q. What part of Ohio did you come from?—A. Near Wooster, Wayne County. Mount Eaton is my native village.

Q. Now, Mr. Dodez, you have been there mixing with those people since 1869, you say. State what the condition of things is, fairly and frankly, between the whites and colored people at that point, and at this time and during the time you have been there, briefly as you can, covering the points.—A. Well, as for making a statement, I think probably, if you wish to expedite matters, you had better question me on such things as you wish to know.

Q. What is the condition of things for peace and quiet, law and order at this time there?—A. Everything is very quiet there now.

Q. Have you witnessed the elections that have taken place since you have been down there?—A. O, yes.

Q. Have you seen any trouble at the polls, that is, race troubles, growing out of collisions between whites and colored people?—A. As far as any outbreak is concerned?

Q. Yes.—A. No, sir; I never have.

Q. Say if you have witnessed any violence practiced about the polls?—A. I never have.

Q. You have been elected three times as magistrate?—A. Yes, sir; three times on the Republican ticket.

Q Did your Republican friends have free chance to vote when you were candidate?—A. As far as I know they had.

Q. Did you beat a Democrat?—A. I did.

Q. Were you personally well treated yourself by the white people there?—A. O, yes; I could not have been treated better.

Q. You could not have been treated better?—A. No, sir; I was treated as well as any person could be treated. I came there as a Republican; and I must say there was a little prejudice existing against Republicans when I came there. I came in 1869, and went to work for my brother there a year or so, and I think it was in 1872 I was asked to allow myself to become a candidate for the office of justice of the peace, to which I consented, and it was not until then that the citizens there found out my politics; although I had been taking a Republican paper, but few knew it, and as I had always made politics a matter of conscience, I did not think that I was going to suffer by it, and I let my name go out as a candidate for justice of the peace on the Republican ticket. I was nominated, and in that election there was a contest—it was a contested election, so far as parish and ward officers were concerned. I did not enter into the contest; my seat was given me, though, by decision of the supreme court. Pending this decision of the supreme court, some of the attorneys there even went so far as to withdraw cases from my court, supposing the thing was not decided; and there was a little prejudice existing, too, but after the supreme court decision I went on with my business and kept my office open. The one who claimed the seat went on also.

Q. Did you get a full share of the business?—A. Yes; I got a full share of the business, and attorneys who had withdrawn their patronage from me, I think, I did the bulk of the business—I did three-fourths of the business at that time—after the decision of the supreme court.

Q. Now, you were a Northern man, from Ohio, going down there after the war a Republican, and you say you were treated well; do I understand by that you were not socially ostracised in any way?—A. No, sir; I was not socially ostracised; just the contrary as far as—I had formed quite an acquaintance there and got into society before my politics were known; and afterwards I have never found any people of sense and education who—but I have at sometimes received cuts at the hands of parties, but generally on the part of good citizens I have never been shown any difference.

Q. Well, foolish people allow social relations to be affected by politics in other States, do they not?—A. O, yes, sir; in connection with this I will state that Captain Nutt, a prominent attorney and very strong Democrat, he said to me once, "Dodez," he says, "when you allowed your name to go forward on the Republican ticket I watched you mighty close, but I found out you was a conscientious Republican; you came from the North, and I found out you was an honest man." And since that Captain Nutt—I do not think there is an attorney at the bar in Shreveport that I have not friendly relations with, and who have all treated me with the greatest courtesy, and when I first went into the office Judge Lewis, Captain Bell, and all such men as that told me that I was—invited me to their library, and any information or anything they could do for me they would do cheerfully.

Q. Now, as a justice and notary you were thrown in contact with people a great deal there. Do you know of any abuses—if so, just let us have it—practiced on colored people as a people and because they are that people? As a matter of course there are wrongs practiced towards all people. All I am speaking of now is of their being singled out and abused of their rights either in trading or otherwise because of their color. Do you know anything of that?—A. Speaking of trading, as far as that is concerned you are probably as well aware as I am that in our part of the country everything is a little higher there than it is here.

Q. Yes.—A. And as far as trading is concerned there are men in our place, as there are everywhere, who will take advantage of ignorance and of an opportunity to make whatever they can.

Q. I have never seen the spot on earth that that did not happen.—A. When justice of the peace, petty cases of that kind would come up where a negro did not get the right change or something of that kind; they are frequent occurrences, and as far as purchases are concerned there we do pay, when we go to buy on credit—we do pay a pretty high price—sometimes an extravagant price for things.

Q. The credit system is always followed by increase of price, is it not?—A. It is; yes, sir; I know that, because seizures are brought before me—suits for seizures and bills brought up in which liens and judgments were claimed on crops for these advances; and I have examined several bills, of course, of that kind where they are purchases on credit-

Q. Do you think negroes are treated that way because they are negroes, or did not that apply to white people?—A. O, it applies to any person that purchases on credit, except by unscrupulous men, exceptional cases, where they would take advantage of ignorance in a white man just the same as with a negro.

Q. Of course any dishonest man would do in Louisiana what he would do in Ohio or Indiana.—A. Yes, sir; there are white men there who are broken up by paying exorbitant prices for advances. I know a great many who were wealthy when I came there and now they are, so to speak, worth nothing, and merchants say, when they advance, "it is make or break." They take the chances; sometimes they make a big thing, sometimes it breaks them.

Q. As the credit system always does?—A. Yes, sir; it is the same with the planters on Red River. There, if an overflow comes or the worm comes or something of that kind and they don't make a crop, they break themselves and the merchants that advance for them.

Q. You spoke of being connected with the sale of the Singer sewing-machine as agent; have you traveled much over the country and talked with colored people or in any way ascertained their school advantages? —A. School advantages? O, yes; as far as school is concerned we find schools throughout the country; there are, that is—I speak for our State; we are only eighteen miles from the Texas line and I have traveled a good deal in the bordering counties of Texas. In our State we have schools there for white and blacks, separate, and they enjoy school advantages the same as we do.

Q. How have they fared in school privileges under Mr. Sheppard here, who, I believe, succeeded, I forget now who?—A. Well, sir, as far as I know, they have fared the same as we did. Their school closed at the same time the white school closed; they closed before we left there; and as far as competency of teachers, I know some of the teachers there who are employed, and as a general thing there is a very good class of colored teachers.

Q. Where are these colored teachers educated to enable them to teach, Mr. Dodez?—A. Now, I cannot tell you, as far as the where is concerned. A majority of them are from the North; some of them are educated, I know, in Ohio; some at Oberlin; some in different parts of the country.

Q. Mr. Butler spoke of his daughter having been educated in Shreveport and teaching there?—A. Some have been educated there; since we have had the public system there we have—at first we did not have native colored teachers—that is, to my belief; I do not think they had then many; but they have made several good teachers there, from what I have learned—well, we see it in print; it is a matter of general news. Generally, when schools close they wind up with a review of all the classes, and publications are made of these things, and several of our native teachers there who have not been away at all to get an education. We have several good teachers there from the North.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. **BLAIR**:

Q. What is the population of Shreveport?—A. Shreveport has a population—an actual population—of between eight and nine thousand; it is reputed to be ten thousand.

Q. How divided between whites and colored people?—A. I could not say exactly; I think, generally speaking, about half and half.

Q. Are any of the colored people Democrats?—A. I know of several who are Democrats.

Q. Do you know twenty?—A. I could not go into numbers; I know of several, though, who are Democrats, and one especially, whom everybody knows there; always make him prominent on election day.

Q. Who is he? I don't know him.—A. O, well, the one I speak of—in fact, I forget his name; he is known by his looks.

Q. You don't know him?—A. I don't believe I know his name.

Q. The fact that he is a colored man and a Democrat and a little active makes him notorious?—A. Not exactly that; he is a very comical fellow.

Q. Is he the only colored Democrat there?—A. O, no, there are others there.

Q. That would leave nineteen.—A. I don't know about numbers.

Q. You would not be willing to swear that there are twenty?—A. I would not swear to twenty or one hundred or over or under a hundred—I would not swear either way.

Q. Would you swear that you don't believe there are twenty-five?—A. No, sir; I would not.

Q. Would you swear that you do believe there are twenty-five?—A. Well, I don't know whether I would or not. I would not swear to numbers.

Q. You don't know whether there are twenty-five or not?—A. I don't know anything about it. It is very hard to tell a man's politics, to swear whether he is a Democrat or a Republican.

Q. Why?—A. Well, simply this, you don't know what that man's opinion is, you can only tell ostensibly what he is.

Q. How ostensibly?—A. By what he says.

Q. Cannot you tell by what he votes?—A. If he will open his ticket and allow you to look at it you can tell.

Q. Well, don't they vote their ticket openly and allow you to see?—A. Sometimes they do, sometimes they do not; if a person wants to make a parade of voting they could.

Q. You mean, as a general thing, Republicans are cautious about exposing their ballots?—A. I don't say that.

Q. You say that is not so?—A. I say I do not say they are cautious.

Q. They may not be cautious, but do you mean to say you cannot tell generally how they are voting for the reason that their ballots are concealed?—A. I do not know their ballots are concealed.

Q. You seem to have infinite difficulty in knowing whether folks are Republican or Democrat down there; cannot you tell in Ohio just as well?—A. Yes, sir; we can.

Q. Why don't you tell us what you mean, Mr. Witness? Don't you know whether you believe there are twenty-five Democrats there?

The CHAIRMAN. He has stated that he would not swear to that point.

The WITNESS. As far as that is concerned, just as I told you, I don't swear to numbers at all.

Q. I did not ask you to swear to numbers.—A. I believe there are more than twenty-five negroes there that vote the Democratic ticket.

Q. Well, do you believe there are fifty?—A. Well, of late, I believe there are more than that who voted the Democratic ticket.

Q. Do you think they really believed in the Democratic faith, or that they only voted in that way for some other reason?—A. I don't know anything about that; all I know is that—in fact I have not even the knowledge of knowing positively who voted and who did not, except in a general way. Now, last election there were a great many voted the Democratic ticket—how many I don't know; if I was prepared, could look over the records to refresh my memory with these things; it is a matter that was of very little importance to me.

Q. Are you judge of police court now or police justice?—A. No, sir.

Q. How long since you have been justice there?—A. Not since January, 1879.

Q. Not since January, 1879; and you were for three or four years?—A. For three terms.

Q. And you got into Southern society from the fact that for two or three years they did not suspect you were a Republican?—A. I do not say that; I say that they did not know I was a Republican generally, until I announced my name.

Q. You kept your politics to yourself?—A. I made it known wherever it was questioned.

Q. But you did not make it known; it was not questioned then?—A. Sometimes in conversation with friends—they knew where I was from, and I would tell them if they inquired about my politics.

Q. You kept still then until put up for office; then you announced your politics?—A. I was engaged in business.

Q. Well, was it not as well, so far as business was concerned to keep your politics to yourself?—A. It did not affect my business, because I was simply a clerk.

Q. Was it as well for your employers?—A. It was for my brother I was working, and he was a rampant Democrat.

Q. Your brother was a rampant Democrat?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think it would have been of advantage to you as a business man, to make it known that you were a rampant Republican?—A. I think it would have been against my interests at that time, if I had gone into politics and made parade of my being a Republican.

Q. Why so?—A. Simply because there—a man who goes there—in the first place I was there——

Q. You were a carpet-bagger?—A. No, sir; I was not a carpet-bagger.

Q. Now, I want you to explain the difference. You are an emigrant from Ohio. I want the Southern idea of the carpet-bagger as you understand it.—A. I will tell you what I came South for, and if you know why the carpet-baggers go there, you can tell the difference.

Q. That is what I want to find out.—A. I had two brothers in the South, and one returned about the time of the surrender—was sent home disabled—and came home.

Q. He was in the army?—A. Both of them were in the Confederate army and I had a brother and two brothers-in-law in the Federal Army—right there in the war—and I would have been in the Federal Army myself if I had not been crippled. My brother came home just as I had undergone a surgical operation. I had no idea of going South, because not able. I was there with a family on my hands; with my mother and sister, whose husband had been in the Army, and I was making a support for them; and I was not able to travel or go anywhere; and I had undergone a surgical operation, and was convalescing. At that time brother came home. I was then riding over the country for an insurance company, and made my first ride after the operation had been performed. Brother returned home, and when he went South he asked me to go down with him. In the winter season I was teaching school, and in the summer I was riding for the insurance company. He asked me to go South. I told him I had a school for the winter season. He said "Well, come down, and you can return if you wish to; if you like it you can stay all winter." I agreed to come South with him, and the climate was delightful; and I found I was gaining health and strength—I was a mere shadow—and found the climate agreed with me, and I remained there during the winter. In the spring I wanted to go home. It was my intention——

Mr. **Blair**. I don't care for such minute particulars unless you think it essential. I want to know, in a general way, the difference between yourself and what would be called a carpet-bagger.

The **Witness**. My interests were in Shreveport and friends there. I went with my brother in business and staid there to make a living.

Q. Did you go to deprive yourself of the rights the citizen has in the North?—A. No, sir.

Q. And among friends, being a candidate for office and all that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now these Northern people who go down there with their money, buy lands with the idea of making homes?—A. Yes.

Q. Who being American citizens, are many of them called carpet-baggers are they?—A. If a man goes into politics and becomes a candidate for office.

Q. Then he is a carpet-bagger?—A. That class of people who come there and go into politics immediately are carpet-baggers.

Q. Do you call Governor Kellogg a carpet-bagger?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He has been there longer?—A. Yes.

Q. Is not he as much interested in Louisiana as any there?—A. I don't know.

Q. All his pecuniary interests are there?—A. I don't know.

Q. Do you know why he is called a carpet-bagger except that he is a Northern Republican or a Republican from the North?—A. I suppose because he is a politician.

Q. Do you know anything against these carpet-baggers from the North, any reason why they should not be treated as well as a native white citizen who is a candidate for office?—A. Well, some reasons—generally speaking—as far as office is concerned, I have known men there who I don't know whether you would call them carpet-baggers or what else; I don't know how long they have been there.

Q. There is such a thing as a scalawag?—A. Well, that is a later date, they come in after the carpet-bagger.

Q. A scalawag is a native Southern born man who has joined the Republican party, is he not?—A. They call a native Southern born man a scalawag, who has become a radical.

Q. Now, it is an expression of offense or an opprobrium, is it not? You don't think much of a man for being a scalawag, do you?—A. Well, I don't know; it don't affect them much either way. I don't want you to understand me to say there is not prejudice.

Q. Well, let us into that part of it?—A. I commenced by saying the time I went there there was a prejudice againt Republicans.

Q. Now let me just remind you that the resolution under which this committee is appointed provides that it shall search out the cause of what is called the exodus; that mental condition of the Southern negro or those of them who have done it, that leads them to come North?—A. Yes.

Q. What conspires to produce that state of mind that leads him to emigrate; and you say it goes back, as far as the philosophy of it may extend, before the war and since the war; what is it that tends to create this state of mind that leads him to go?—A. Speaking about carpet-baggers you asked me what is the difference between myself and a carpet-bagger; well, so far as that is concerned I have been called a carpet-bagger myself after I accepted the office of justice of the peace on the Republican ticket.

Q. It was not meant as a compliment, was it?—A. Not especially complimentary, I don't think.

Q. If a man is called a scalawag it is not a compliment, is it?—A. No; I don't think it is much of a compliment.

Q. That indicates a prejudice among the dominant classes of people there on the ground of politics?—A. In the North, before I went South, we were called "black Repuolicans," and the Democrats were called "copperheads"; just about as much of a compliment as that.

Q. Yes. You think there has been no more feeling against the Republicans down there, leading to any serious consequences, than the state of feeling between the parties North?—A. Well, I don't say that.

Q. What do you say?—A. If you will allow me to explain it, when a man goes South—you are aware a majority of the white people of Louisiana where I went to were Democrats. If I had gone there at the time and announced myself as a Republican and ready to pitch right into politics and all that, I don't think I would have been a welcome guest at all; on the contrary, I think I would have been shoved aside by the better people; now that is what I mean by a prejudice; a person going there from the North, whether he was a Republican or Democrat; at the time I went there, there were Democrats with me, even from Kentucky, and it was so recently after the surrender that everything that came from up the country a piece was called Yankee, and my Democratic friends went under the same sobriquet that I did. We were all called Yankees when we went down there, and some right from the State of Kentucky who were Democrats—we worked together there, and we were all called Yankees. While there was a prejudice existing at that time by the people at this influx of Northern men—well, on inquiring, being there that length of time, I found out why. It was so recently after the people had lost their cause, and there were a great many people of course that felt embittered, and Republicans were there from the North holding the offices, and they did not relish that much, I reckon, and if men would go there while the people were in just this condition, not ready to receive most hospitably the bitterest Republican or even any Republican; they were not particularly anxious, neither did they even at the time I went there; they looked with suspicion on Northern men, whether Democrat or Republican, and a great many Democrats coming there frequently, it was hard for them to ———, sometimes were suspicioned of being Republicans themselves. It was sometimes supposed every person coming from the North was a Republican.

Q. Is there anything of this movement called the exodus in your section?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Much of it?—A. Not much.

Q. Is it increasing?—A. There has been some a short time ago; several families from across the river and some from the lower parishes and some counties in Texas along the Sabine River where I traveled.

Q. What were their reasons for going?—A. I talked to none of them. I did not see any of the exodusters myself. I stopped one night—there is a place below us called Hogthief Pond. Night overtook me before I came to the bayou, which I found I could not cross without endangering my life, so I had to stay.

Q. Why, was your life in danger from the sudden rise in the waters?—A. Yes, sir; the bayous rise and fall very suddenly, and I stopped there with a negro man (turning to a gentleman present—Mr. Shepherd, what is his name? He is teaching there). It don't matter about his name; I stopped with him all night. He is quite an intelligent negro, and he got to talking about Kansas, and he had a book there that he showed me telling all about the State and its advantages and all that, and he was very much infatuated with it. He is about the only one I talked to on the subject.

Q. He has never gone, has he?—A. No, he has never gone; he is teaching school there.

Q. I asked you if you know what reasons any had given for going?—A. I have talked with none that have gone or returned.

Q. So far as you know there was no reason for their going?—A. Well, I don't know whether there was or not.

Q. You know something, as a matter of general information, of the movement called the exodus from there, and that it is not confined strictly to your own region, do you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You don't know personally anything of the causes?—A. No; I don't know anything of the causes.

Q. You spoke of Texas when Mr. Voorhees was questioning you with regard to school privileges in Louisiana. You confined your remarks to Louisiana though you said you frequently traveled in the adjoining counties of Texas. Do you find advantages for schools in Texas as in Louisiana?—A. No, sir; I did not, because in the border counties I traveled in——

Q. There were a good many white people?—A. Yes, sir; and there are very poor school privileges there; had very few schools in the counties I traveled through except in towns.

Q. Well, it is just as bad for white children to grow up without education as colored children?—A. Yes; it is.

Q. Are you brought in contact much with the colored children of the school age and so on up to manhood and womanhood?—A. No more than just on the streets passing and repassing them. Shreveport has been my home for a number of years.

Q. You say about half of the population are colored?—A. Yes.

Q. What occupies the colored people in Shreveport?—A. Various things, particularly making cotton in the country.

Q. But in the city?—A. Well, the men are employed as porters, as water-carriers, as draymen, as house servants and cooks, and the women as washwomen and a great many seamstresses, and we sell a great many machines to negroes.

Q. Sewing machines?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Generally industrious people, are they not?—A. Less industrious about town than in the country; when a person goes to the country he goes there to do hard work.

Q. The exodusters are mainly from the country rather than from the town?—A. I could not say, only from what we saw in the papers. Those we noted particularly were from the country.

TESTIMONY OF J. H. SHEPHERD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 10, 1880.

J. H. SHEPHERD sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Of what State are you a native?—Answer. I was born in the State of Georgia.

Q. How long have you lived in Shreveport?—A. I came to New York in 1858, with my mother, who married in New York; I went to Shreveport in 1874; that is, not to Shreveport, but to Caddo Parish.

Q. What is your occupation there?—A. I have taught school, and am now practicing law; I am also inspector of public schools of the parish of Caddo.

Q. You are inspector of public schools now?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been inspector of public schools in that parish? A. Since 1877.

Q. Is there any discrimination between the whites and the blacks in the schools in Caddo Parish?—A. None at all, sir.

Q. Is the school-money used in the same proportion for the one as for the other?—A. Yes, sir; precisely. I wish to state that when I became inspector of the schools, I found the public schools confined almost entirely to Shreveport. I will only state what I know to be a matter of fact. I went there in 1874, and began teaching a private white school. I taught in three or four localities in the parish; I became very well acquainted over the entire parish of Caddo. I taught for a while on the border of the State, on the line of Arkansas. During the years 1874, 1875, and 1876, I took occasion to go over the parish considerably. I knew of but one public colored school in the parish in 1874. After I was subpœnaed to come here, in order to refresh my memory in regard to the public school system in Caddo County, I had a memorandum made out from the records of the old school board, from that preceding the one now in existence. I notice that no schools were kept in the country parts of Caddo Parish, for either white or black, for more than three months in the year. The salaries paid teachers were very high; they were paying salaries then of eighty dollars a month to teachers. When I took charge of the schools I adopted the same system of examination which prevails in the State of New York. On the records I notice among the names of the teachers that of one McClelland, who was examined by me. I held an annual examination at the commencement of each year. I devoted one day to the examination of colored teachers, and one day to whites. In 1877 I found that the colored teachers were not up the standard of the whites; and the questions I put to those teachers were of a nature more easily answered than those I put to the whites. I do not think that any of them scarcely could pass the examination, easy as it was. Among the applicants was this man McClelland, who had been receiving eighty dollars a month for teaching school at Morningsport. On examination I found that he could not set down a sum in simple subtraction. There were others who could not write a correct sentence in grammar; nor, in fact, hardly read at all.

I changed all this as fast as I could. During 1877–'78 I secured some excellent teachers. I have one of them now, a young miss who came from Oberlin, Ohio, who passed as good an examination as any white teacher I had there. I have placed her in charge of one of our schools. Another was raised there in Shreveport; she was the daughter of a black man named Hickman; I think her father sent her to New Orleans; I am not positive about that. Throughout the country the standard was raised. I had some excellent teachers this year, but, owing to the failure of funds, I was compelled to close the schools. I think we closed the schools about the 1st of March, after five months' session. I have heard considerable here in regard to the failure of the schools. There has been no failure of the schools since the administration of the present board of directors. When the school funds were turned over to us, we found in the treasury about fourteen thousand dollars. We found that the treasurer, Mr. Antoine, who is the present lieutenant-governor, had deposited some of it in the Freedman's Bank; and it went where the other funds deposited in that bank did—if anybody knows where that is. We have not been able to recover all of it, though the attorney has threatened suit; some portion of it has been returned. So far as discrimination is concerned, I have never made any, nor seen any made, at all. I have given the people of that parish better teachers than they ever had before; and have improved the standard of education, under great difficulties. At first my efforts in this direction were received with disapprobation, but now all express themselves very well satisfied. They did not at first like my bringing in teachers from abroad, which it was necessary to do in order to have good ones.

Q. Where did you bring them from?—A. Some were from New Orleans and some from Texas. The State University has educated a number of colored people; and we sent for some of them to come and teach in the parish of Caddo. The standard of the schools in Shreveport, both white and black, has been very much improved; and in the parish outside it has been improving. As I said before, I can find scarcely any record of the condition of things before I went to the parish, as far back as 1870, except that there was occasionally a school here and there for perhaps three months in the year. Last year I divided the school funds ratably. I knew that the school funds were short, and that I should not be able to carry out the school system as I wished; I determined to give every community an equal benefit; so I ascertained what communities were able to give any assistance, such as boarding the teacher, or anything of that kind; and then I appropriated the money accordingly. In 1877 and 1878 there were more schools in the parish of Caddo than I have any record of there being in the parish since reconstruction; more schools for the colored people.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. You have been familiar with the schools there for three or four years?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the population of Caddo Parish?—A. About twenty-one thousand, I think.

Q. Is it not more than that?—A. I think not much more than that, if any.

Q. Geographically, what are its dimensions?—A. I think the parish extends in one direction, along Red River, nearly north and south about one hundred miles, and east and west about twenty miles.

Q. It is about uniform in width?—A. No, sir; it is a little wider at the southern portion than at the northern; made so by the river.

Q. What is the width at the upper end?—A. About eighteen miles; I think I said that twenty miles was about the average. It is a little wider at the lower end.

Q. How many separate schools are there?—A. Do you mean for both white and colored?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. There are eighteen colored schools and thirteen white schools, altogether.

Q. In the entire parish?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many of these are in the city of Shreveport?—A. There are three schools for each.

Q. How many teachers do they employ?—A. Three each, I think.

Q. That is, there are eighteen teachers for both white and colored schools in the city of Shreveport?—A. Let me see. I have three colored schools in which I have two teachers each, and two white schools in which I have three teachers each, and one white school in which I have but one teacher.

Q. That would make seven white teachers and six colored teachers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many pupils are there in Shreveport of both classes?—A. I could not give you an accurate statement.

Q. Give an approximate estimate, then.—A. The rule is to apportion about from forty-five to sixty to each teacher.

Q. That would be—say thirteen times fifty—about six hundred and fifty children who attend school in Shreveport—A. I think I have a little memorandum of the number of the scholastic population of the parish from the census returns.

Q. Are the census returns tolerably correct as to the present condition of the population?—A. Yes, sir; they are made by the assessor.

Q. How recently were they made?—A. In 1878.

Q. I would be glad to have it, then.—A. This is the scholastic population (reading from his memorandum): "Whites 1,767, colored 5,495."

Q. About eighteen hundred whites to fifty-five hundred colored?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That covers the entire parish?—A. Yes, sir. I am not certain whether it is quite correct as to the present number.

Q. You have no memorandum showing how many school children of each color there are in Shreveport?—A. No, sir.

Q. How many schools did you say there are in the entire parish?—A. Eighteen colored and thirteen white.

Q. Have you visited them all within the last year?—A. Yes, sir; all except four of the white schools in the north end of the parish, that I could not get to before they closed on account of the heavy rains.

Q. Of the children of school age in the parish, how many are able to read and write, and perform written operations in arithmetic such as are necessary in practical life?—A. Well, I could not give you an estimate even. I know this, that in the last three years there has been a great improvement in that respect. I think probably three-tenths of them have reached the point you mention.

Q. Have you any means of showing the average attendance?—A. We have tabular reports which I cansend you, if you desire, from the records of our board. It is not my duty to keep the records; the secretary of the board does that.

Q. What has been the amount of schooling; the time during which the schools were kept, I mean, in the city of Shreveport, during the past year?—A. Five months.

Q. What has been the time throughout the parish generally?—A. Five months.

Q. Then within the past year, in the parish of Caddo, eighteen colored schools and thirteen white schools have been in operation five months?—A. No, not all of them; they will be, during the year. In some localities I prefer, and the people prefer, to have the schools kept in the summer, especially among the colored people; because then the children can attend better. During the cotton-picking season the children can pick cotton as well as grown persons, and they are required in the field. So the parents prefer to have their schools kept open while the crop is laid by.

Q. As a matter of fact, do almost all the children attend school during some portion of the year?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. What is the condition in that regard?—A. There is not the attendance that there should be.

Q. Are you doing the best you can to remedy that evil?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you find an increasing inclination among the people to second your efforts?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. An increasing desire on the part of the parents, both white and black, to give their children the advantages of education?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How do the white children and the black children compare, under otherwise similar conditions, as to capacity to acquire knowledge?—A. I find that both learn with equal facility, up to a certain point or period, according to certain studies. I have sometimes attributed this difference in my colored schools to the fact that the teachers were not so efficient as the white teachers. The deficiency is especially noticeable in the study of mathematics. When I took charge of the schools I found that even the white children were far behind in their mathematics. I am inclined to think that the difference is not in the capacity of the races, but that it is the result of the system, as conducted down there. When I say the children are far behind in their mathematics, I mean taking the Northern school standard, where the children are kept evenly as to their studies; for instance, in the North, children able to read in the Fourth Reader are expected to have gone through the four rules; but I find that this is not the case down there. Children reading in the Fifth Reader are frequently not able to work examples in ordinary division.

Q. Do you know of any reason why the colored race has not the capacity for improvement and self-government and the performance of the duties of the American citizen?—A I see none.

Q. You seem to take a very encouraging view of the prospects of the race, if it has a chance.—A. I do. I think since 1874 I have seen a marked improvement in the colored people in various respects. In 1874, when I first went to that parish, very few colored people owned any personal property.

Q. I would like to follow up this matter of education a little more fully before leaving it. I would like to ask you in regard to the status and prospects of the white race in connection with education. We of the North used to hear a great deal concerning what are called the "poor whites" of the South; and we gained the impression that the Southern troubles grew almost as much out of a failure to educate the Southern whites as out of the condition of the colored man there. I may be wrong in regard to that, but I would like your views of the condition and prospects of the Southern whites?—A. I think it is better now than ever before.

Q. What was the actual status of the laboring white man, as compared with that of the colored man, prior to the surrender?—A. I was not in the South then; but from what I have heard, in mixing with the people since then, I do not think the Southern white—the laboring white man—was in any better condition than the colored laborer. I think, however, that now their condition is improving, now that they are taking advantage of the schools. In fact, it requires constant encouragement and effort to get them to send their children to school.

Q. Does it require more effort to get the Southern white people to send their children to school than it does the colored people?—A. About the same.

Q. They are both now anxious to learn?—A. Yes, sir; I will say this about that, however: it should be remembered that there were no public schools in the South before the war—only limited schools; not the school system which we have at present. The public-school system has grown up in the South since the war, and has grown more and more into favor everywhere. At first, from what I can gather, a great many people did not think that the public schools were a proper place to send their children; they rather considered them an inferior grade of schools; but I think that prejudice has been to a great extent overcome.

Q. The public school has taken the place of other schools, and become the school for the million?—A. Yes, sir; and that would be the case to a still greater extent if we had more funds.

Q. Why should you not have more funds?—A. The reason I received from the State superintendent of education why the apportionment was so small, was because the general assembly had appropriated the money raised by taxation to the purpose of paying the interest on the State debt, and the State government could not exceed a certain limit—it could not make an assessment of more than so many mills for such and such a purpose. Two mills on a dollar was the assessment for school purposes; that is not sufficient, though that is larger than the amount applied to any other purpose except paying the interest on the State debt, which required five mills.

Q. Do you see any reason why the white race and the colored race cannot live harmoniously there, and develop together, and occupy that country together, notwithstanding the difference of race and color?—A. None at all; I think they are living harmoniously together.

Q. And increasingly so, rather than otherwise?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF ISAAC BELL.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 10, 1880.

ISAAC BELL (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. In Shreveport, La.

Q. How old a man are you?—A. I do not know exactly; from my father's statement I must be about thirty years old.

Q. Are you a man of family?—A. No, sir.

Q. How long have you lived in Shreveport?—A. About fourteen years.

Q. That is, since the surrender?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where were you during the war, and before the war?—A. In Bienville Parish, Louisiana.

Q. Were you a free man?—A. No, sir.

Q. You became free at the surrender?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How have you got along down there since then?—A. Pretty well, sir.

Q. You have worked pretty hard?—A. Principally, sir; I have.

Q. Have you acquired any property?—A. A little.

Q. In what shape is your property?—A. In real estate, principally.

Q. You had nothing at the time of the surrender, fourteen years ago?—A. No, sir.

Q. What real estate do you own now?—A. I own about forty acres of land.

Q. What kind of land?—A. Part of it is hill land, and the other part of it is bottom land.

Q. Is it cotton land?—A. Yes, sir; I can raise cotton on some of it.

Q. How much of it do you plant to cotton?—A. I can plant about fifteen acres to cotton.

Q. Is it good cotton land?—A. Yes, sir; except that sometimes in high water it overflows. That is the great drawback on it.

Q. How much did you have to give an acre for your land?—A. I gave ten and a half dollars an acre for it.

Q. Where did you get the money?—A. I worked and made it, sir.

Q. There in Caddo Parish?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Working on a plantation?—A. No, sir; principally about town.

Q. Have you ever been mistreated because you were a colored man?—A. No, sir; not that I know of.

Q. Do you know of anybody that has taken advantage of you in trade and cheated you because you were a colored man?—A. If they did, I never knew it.

Q. Have you any learning?—A. A little, sir.

Q. Acquired since the surrender?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Can you read and write?—A. Yes, sir; some.

Q. You do your own figuring?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you get your learning by going to school down there?—A. Yes, sir; I went to school a while.

Q. To a public school or a private school?—A. I paid my own expenses when I first went to school, and afterward I went to the public school.

Q. How old were you at the time of the surrender?—A. I suppose I was fifteen or sixteen years of age from what my father says.

Q. Is your father living?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you ever been denied the right to vote?—A. Not since I have been old enough to vote.

Q. Do you vote when elections come around?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What ticket?—A. The Republican. I do not vote the Republican in full, always; but for the national and State ticket I generally vote them in full. On the city ticket I vote for the men that I think will make good officers.

Q. You ran a pretty race yourself for public administrator, did you not?—A. Yes, sir; I was beaten six votes by one of the biggest property holders in the city, and one of the oldest citizens there.

Q. Did anybody have any trouble voting for you that wanted to?—A. No, sir; it did not seem so.

Q. Have you talked with any of these folks about going to Kansas?—A. Not a great deal; I have talked with some of them.

Q. What seemed to be their idea about going to Kansas? What reason did they give for wanting to go?—A. Some said they could do better in Kansas than in the South; but I do not think they can.

Q. Are you acquainted with Alexander, and that other man, Walker?—A. No, sir; I am not acquainted with them. I have seen them.

Q. Where is your plantation, with reference to Colonel Foster's?—A. Colonel Foster's plantation is in Bossier Parish, and mine is in Caddo Parish.

Q. It is your opinion that you can do better there than to go away?—A. Yes, sir; I think it is for my interest to stay there.

Q. Do you hire some help on your plantation?—A. Yes, sir; I hire some help.

Q. How much cotton can you raise on an acre of your ground?—A. Last year my ground produced over a bale to an acre.

Q. How much is a bale of cotton worth at Shreveport?—A. It has been worth, for the past three or four years, from forty to forty-five dollars; last year it was worth from fifty to fifty five dollars. That is, this last cotton season this winter.

Q. Then your cotton this year will be worth seven or eight hundred dollars?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much hired help do you have to have in order to raise that amount of cotton?—A. One man, and, a part of the time, two; one regular hand and another to assist in cleaning and picking.

Q. Is your place stocked with horses and mules?—A. I have four good mules and one horse. I have not been farming more than about four years.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What would be the effect on the parish if the colored people should all get up in a body and move out?—A. I think the parish would be destroyed, as you might say. Everything would go to destruction if the colored people were to move out. We have to have colored labor there to work that land.

Q. How many other young men—colored men—are there in that parish who have saved up property and bought plantations, and are as well off as you are?—A. I cannot think of any others. I am pretty certain there are others there, but I do not know.

Q. There are not a great many?—A. I think not.

Q. You are rather an exception, are you not, as to your success in life?—A. I think so, from what I have seen around me.

Q. How common a thing is it for colored men, of any age, to own plantations, and manage them?—A. It is not very common.

Q. The most of the colored people down there are not nearly as well off as you are, are they?—A. No, sir; they are not.

Q. A few of the very fortunate men have been picked out and brought here as witnesses?—A. I do not know how that is.

Q. The fact that you are well off does not prove that forty other colored men down there are miserably poor, does it?—A. How?

Q. The fact that you are alive does not prove that somebody else is not dead?—A. No, sir.

TESTIMONY OF ABNER HALL.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 10, 1880.

ABNER HALL (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—A. In Shreveport, La.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I have been right in that city ever since the January after the surrender.

Q. Where were you before that?—A. I lived in De Soto Parish the biggest part of the time; I crossed the Red River in the fall of 1858 and lived there until 1863, when I went to Panola, Texas, and staid there until the war broke out.

Q. Were you your own man?—A. Not until the surrender; before that I was a slave.

Q. Have you a family?—A. I have a wife and one child.

Q. Do you live in Shreveport now?—A. Right in Shreveport.

Q. What is your age?—A. I am sixty or sixty-one years old.

Q. What have you been doing in Shreveport?—A. My occupation is pattern-making for machinery.

Q. Well, how have you got along there, Mr. Hall?—A. I have done fine; done well. I have got along there better than I could have done anywhere else.

Q. Have you been treated well?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you made some property?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What property have you now, Mr. Hall?—A. Only just the home where I live; I have got that in a good fix, though.

Q. You have enough to live on?—A. Yes, sir; I live very well, at home.

Q. Have you ever been abused in any way, or deprived of any of your privileges, or been taken advantage of because you were a man of color?—A. No, sir; never in my life.

Q. Have you ever been kept from voting whenever you wanted to vote?—A. No, sir.

Q Are you not a member of the school board?—A. Yes, sir.

Q How long have you been a member?—A. I cannot tell you exactly; I was on the board before Mr. Shepherd.

Q. It was the same organization?—A. Yes, sir; after it was turned over, I think, for two or three years; I cannot tell exactly how long.

Q. Do you find that the white people down there deny your children, the children of the colored folks, any of the rights and advantages which they have themselves, in the way of schooling?—A. No, sir; by no means.

Q. Your school advantages are just as good as theirs?—A. Yes, sir; we have just as good a chance as the whites.

Q. How many people compose the school board?—A. There are some six or seven, I believe.

Q. Are there any of your folks in it excepting you?—A. There are three colored men, and I think four or five white men, on the board.

Q. Did you get along harmoniously on that board?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you a member of any church?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Of what church?—A. Of the Methodist church.

Q. Has there ever been any interference with your rights of worship?—A. No, sir; not since I attached myself to the church.

Q. You have services—preaching?—A. Yes, sir; every Sunday, three times a day, morning, afternoon, and night; and once in the week.

Q. Mr. Hall, there has been a great deal said here about this credit business; do you think that the merchants down there take advantage of your folks under the credit system?—A. No more than of other folks who buy on credit; no more than they do of white folks that have not any money.

Q. Is it not generally the fact that a man who has to buy on credit has to pay a little more than a man who buys for cash?—A. Yes, sir; the merchants are obliged to do it.

Q. Is it not true, generally, that when a man buys on a credit, when he comes to pay, his bill is a little bigger than he expected it would be?—A. Yes, sir; that is generally the case.

Q. Do you know of any reason, except the mere right that one man has to go where he pleases, why your folks should leave Caddo Parish. If so, state it freely?—A. No, sir; I think not. I think that the best thing they can do is to stay there. In the first place, the white people cannot get along without our labor. Second, I do not think there is any class of people in the world that could come there and be so well adapted for the cultivation of the soil there, and its natural products, as the people there.

Q. Taking into consideration the natural product, cotton, the kind of soil there, the climate, and everything, if a colored man and his family buckle down to work, can he make a living there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And save money?—A. Yes, sir; not all at once, of course, but they can make money.

Q. Your folks like to look pretty well, and buy more than they need, sometimes, do they not?—A. Yes, sir; they buy a good deal; some of them want to outshine the white folks with fine clothing, and carriages, and things; that is what keeps them down.

Q. It is not so much what a man makes as what he saves that helps him to get ahead in the world?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you saved up something?—A. O, yes, sir; I have saved.

Q. You are now a member of the school board and well respected by everybody, are you not?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. **BLAIR**:

Q. You are a happy man, aren't you?—A. Yes, sir; I believe I am the happiest man there is in the world.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Q. What ticket do you vote?—A. The Democratic.

The **CHAIRMAN**. That accounts for it.

TESTIMONY OF A. E. WRIGHT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 10, 1880.

A. E. WRIGHT was sworn and examined.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. In Shreveport, La.; I have been there since last November.

Q. Where did you live before that?—A. I lived on the Red River, about ten miles below Shreveport.

Q. Are you a native of the South?—A. I am not.

Q. Of what State are you a native?—A. Of Ohio. I was born in Fairfield County, and lived there until I was ten years old; then I moved into Union County, and lived there until I was nineteen years old.

Q. How came you to go South?—A. I went on a visit to some relatives that I had residing there.

Q. Had you ever been in the South before?—A. Not except in the capacity of a soldier, during the war.

Q. When did you enlist as a soldier?—A. On the 3d day of June, 1861.

Q. How long did you remain in the army?—A. I believe until the 9th day of August, 1865.

Q. Did you hold a commission, or were you a private?—A. I was a private.

Q. Then you went South to visit some relatives, and concluded to stay there, in what year?—A. I went into Louisiana in 1869.

Q. And have been there since that time?—A. Yes, sir; I have resided in Caddo Parish ever since.

Q. Now, I want you tell us how it is about the alleged hostility of the white people toward the colored race generally.—A. Well, sir, I saw none of it; I have never myself known of a black man being whipped or being killed; I have heard of such things, but have never seen them.

Q. They were done, generally, "just over yonder," in some other place?—A. Yes, sir; it is all hearsay with me, so far as I am concerned.

Q. In observing the demeanor of the two races, have you seen any hostility or overbearing insolence on the part of the white folks toward the negroes down there?—A. I have not observed any.

Q. State whether there is any real and very great demand for negro labor down there, and whether the people are or are not very much interested in getting along amicably and kindly with them. Is not that the fact?—A. Yes, sir; that is the fact. I worked a plantation for six years on the Red River there, employing colored labor; I found it to my interest to treat them as I would be treated, and I take the view that every other planter would do the same.

Q. How is it about this credit system that there has been so much talk about; what business have you done or known in connection with that?—A. I know that we have had to pay very high prices for articles—food, &c.—that we had to use on the plantation.

Q. The South, that part of the South especially, not being a country producing the articles to which you refer, increased prices are charged for on account of their being brought from other places?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In other words, all the staple necessaries of life, at least of food, such as corn, wheat, hogs, beef, &c., are necessarily more expensive there, because your country is given up to cotton growing, and you rely upon outside markets for your food supplies?—A. Yes, sir; everything except beef.

Q. Do you raise your own beef?—A. To a great extent. A great deal of the beef in our section comes from Texas. Almost every planter on Red River, in the hilly portion of the country, has some cattle.

Q. But not corn or hogs?—A. No, sir. Old planters say that they can make more money by raising cotton, and buying the corn and hogs and other provisions, than they could by trying to raise corn and hogs, &c., on their plantations.

Q. What I want to get at is this: You go down there as a Northerner, certainly with no prejudice in favor of slavery, and no belief in the right or justice of one man defrauding another; now, I want to know whether you have observed any system on the part of the native Southern people down there by which they cheat or defraud those colored people who have to buy of them upon credit. Doubtless there are instances of that kind; it would be contrary to human nature if no rascals were to be found there, as in other places; but what I ask is, whether you know of any system or plan whereby the colored men are cheated or defrauded?—A. I have heard that complaint made by witnesses here, but I do not think that they are right.

Q. Is not that an almost universal complaint where people deal on credit anywhere?—A. Yes, sir. Our merchants, many of them, have to do a credit business; they get the articles, which they let the planter have on credit, and they expect the incoming crop to pay these debts.

By Mr. **VANCE**:

Q. If the crops fail, what becomes of them?—A. The planters lose, and the merchants lose, and the man that works the crop loses. I know that by experience.

Q. The merchant charges something—increases his price—because of the risk he runs?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They know they have to take these risks, and charge additional to cover the risk ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If a planter, or an employé, had the cash, could he get goods at lower prices than he does when the merchant has to credit him, and to take the risk of his being able to pay him ?—A. Yes, sir; he could get them at much more reasonable prices, and the black man could get them as cheap as the white man.

Q. But when the merchant's pay depends upon the success of the crop, he charges both planter and employé higher than he would if they were to pay him cash ?—A. Of course, if a merchant does a credit business he not only has to run the risks to which I have referred, but has to pay employés to keep books, and have a percentage. As he has to pay interest he must charge interest.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What are you engaged in now ?—A. I am a member of the police force in the city of Shreveport.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. What offices have you held down there ?—A. None; I have not tried to get into any office.

Q. Have you not been connected with the elections in some way ?—A. I have worked as deputy sheriff in the sheriff's office, and I acted as deputy sheriff at the polls once, and once was appointed clerk of elections, but I failed to get there in time and another man was appointed in my place.

Q. How was it about the vote at the polls ?—A. Everything went along peaceably; there was no disturbance at all.

Q. Black men and white men alike voted their honest convictions ?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You have never known of any political troubles in the parish since you have been there ?—A. I have seen none; I have heard of some, such as the Caledonia riot, for instance. I was there at Caledonia, at the upper precinct, when the riot occurred, but I knew nothing of it until twenty-four hours after it occurred. It is seven miles from there to where I lived, and I went home that evening before hearing of it.

Q. Do you believe that there have been troubles and disturbances in that section ?—A. I believe a small portion of them.

Q. You say you did not see that Caledonia riot; do you believe it ?—A. I believe this much about that riot, that it did occur.

Q. Do you really think so ?—A. I not only think so, I know so. I saw some parties that were down there, and were wounded.

Q. It does not follow that the wounds were received in that riot; they may have been received by some accident, or in some other way than in a riot ?—A. O, there is no doubt but that they were received in the riot; they told me so.

Q. Then you do believe some things on hearsay; and you do not mean, for fear something will drop out, to narrow everything down to what you have actually seen yourself ?—A. No, sir.

Q. I noticed that when I asked you if you had known of any political troubles or disturbances in the parish since you had been there, that you were very careful to say that you had not *seen* any, as if you were not going to tell anything except what you had actually seen, for fear that you might make a blunder. Have you ever heard of disturbances that you believe as much as though you had seen them, as in the case of these men that you say you know were in the riot at Caledonia? If you know of any other political disturbance or difficulties, tell us about them.—A. I know of no riot except that one.

Q. Did you never hear of any other?—A. I have heard of some in outside parishes.

Q. Do you believe that those transactions occurred?—A. Not all of them.

Q. I did not ask whether you believed all of them, all the details as given by rumor, with the attendant circumstances possibly greatly exaggerated; I asked whether you believed the main facts that you heard in regard to those other riots and difficulties?—A. I did not believe it *in toto;* I could not.

Q. You think that, on the whole, it is a very peaceable, quiet, comfortable place for Republicans, white or black, to live in, since the war?—A. Yes, sir; in my section of country.

Q. How much do you comprise in your section of country?—A. Well, Caddo Parish.

Q. How long is Caddo Parish, from one end to the other?—A. It is about one hundred miles long.

Q. How wide?—A. About twenty-five miles wide.

Q. How many times have you been over it?—A. At various times.

Q. You have not seen it all, even when you have been over it?—A. Of course, if I was in one end of the parish I could not see one hundred miles behind me.

Q. No, I should suppose not. And you could not see more than one-half the time, anyway, because it was dark. So if you confine yourself strictly to what you have yourself seen, you do not know much about Caddo Parish, do you?—A. I do not propose to tell you anything more than I know.

Q. I see you don't.—A. You seem to act as if you doubted my word.

Q. No; but you seem very careful in this regard. We do take what people have heard and understood by common report; but you testify very much as if this were a proceeding in court, and as if somebody were going to be hanged on your evidence. We do not want you to confine yourself here to what you absolutely know of your own personal observation.

Mr. VANCE. That is a very good fault in a witness.

Mr. BLAIR. Then I think the witness may as well be confined to it on the direct examination as on the cross-examination.

TESTIMONY OF HERMAN H. ZODIAC.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 10, 1880.

HERMAN H. ZODIAC sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. At present I live in Minden Webster Parish, Louisiana.

Q. How far from Shreveport?—A. About twenty-eight miles.

Q. Here are some papers which I will ask the witness to look at, and state what is their history.

Mr. BLAIR. Do those affidavits relate to the credibility of any of the witnesses?

The **CHAIRMAN**. No; there may be one there relating to our friend Mr. Adams; but that makes no difference; he is here.

(The affidavits were put in evidence, and will be found in the appendix.)

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Q. Mr. Zodiac, did you take this affidavit yourself?—A. I took it before the county clerk of the parish. It is in my handwriting.

Q. Do you know these persons whose names are signed to this paper?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you see them sign the paper?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were the papers read to them before they signed them?—A. Yes, sir; three or four times.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. A merchant.

Q. Do the colored people trade with you?—A. Yes, sir; I think I have about as large a trade among them as any in that section.

Q. Do you generally trade on credit?—A. Well, that is one thing that we have never done. We do a strictly cash business. We are the only house in that country that does a strictly cash business.

Q. Do you know of any impositions, or wrongs, or outrages, committed upon the colored people of your parish?—A. I do not; not a single instance.

Q. Are you a Southern man by birth?—A. No, sir; I was born in Europe.

Q. What countryman are you?—A. I am an Austrian-Pole.

Q. How old were you when you came to this country?—A. I was ten or twelve years old.

Q. How old are you now?—A. I am in my twenty-sixth year.

Q. Have you lived in the South ever since you came over?—A. I lived in Tennessee from 1864 to 1868; since then I have lived in Louisiana and Texas; the most of the time in Caddo Parish and Webster Parish, Louisiana.

Q. Have you heard anything of the extravagant prices charged to colored people for supplies sold them?—A. I think I can readily understand that. When merchants buy their goods, our terms are three, four, or six months, according to the class of goods we buy. Sometimes the bill reads "ten days," or "thirty days," which is considered cash, according to the distance you live from the place of purchase. We consider "thirty days" cash, because it takes nearly that length of time to get the stock home. When the bill reads "ten days," or thirty days," the words are generally added, "six off," or "four off." That is discounted because paid in cash, or what is considered the same as cash. The people down there invariably buy on twelve months' time; and the price must be advanced to an amount sufficient to cover the interest accordingly. That renders necessary a margin of from fifteen to twenty per cent. That is the least we can afford, even if we were sure of always getting our pay. But, in addition to that, we have to run the risk of loss. If a failure of crops should take place, we are necessarily compelled to carry the party over a second season, or else lose the money already invested.

Q. How is it between the country storekeeper and the employé?—A. The industrious and judicious colored people all seem to have accumulated something, and are making money.

Q. Then why are they charged more than the cash rates for supplies—I mean the negroes on a plantation?—A. I will tell you. For instance, a man comes there, and starts in—hires out on a place, a stranger; he wants to put in a crop for you. While doing this, he needs so much meat, so much flour, so much sugar, and other necessaries of life, during the season. If you take a man onto your place like that, and advance these things to him, you must be allowed something for the risk—a fair percentage for the risk. If I go to work and shave a piece of bad paper, or doubtful paper, I must pay a higher per cent. discount that if it were gilt-edged, as we call it.

Q. You mean by that that the price of supplies is increased in consequence of the delay in payment, and the risk the storekeeper runs of not getting his pay?—A. That is it precisely.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Do you think that the risk of doing business is so great there that the laboring population as a whole ought to be compelled to work for one-half a generation and come out as poor as they went in?—A. I do not know of any such instances.

Q. I did not ask you whether you knew of any such instances. But the condition of things down there is not such, and the resources of the country and the liability of the failure of the crops is not such, that the laboring population, at the end of half a generation or of fifteen years, should come out as poor as when they began?—A. I do not know as any generation should do that.

Q. You reside in Webster Parish?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How far from Shreveport?—A. About twenty-eight miles.

Q. How far is it to the line of Webster Parish?—A. About twelve miles.

Q. You say you do a cash business; do you trade with negroes—among negroes who work on plantations?—A. We have a very fair trade among the better class of negroes there.

Q. What are these negroes of a better class engaged in doing?—A. In farming.

Q. What is the character of their crops; what do they raise?—A. Corn and cotton, mostly.

Q. How much corn?—A. In some seasons a good deal, in others not.

Q. Which is the chief crop raised by those more intelligent colored men?—A. The kind of crops is the same with the intelligent and with the ignorant. You asked me what class of trade I had and I said I had considerable trade among the more intelligent class of negroes; but the one class raises about the same kind of crops the other does, so far as I know. They all raise corn and cotton, more cotton than corn, because the strong droughts we have down there have a tendency to kill corn sooner than cotton.

Q. The corn crop fails oftener there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it generally an utter, complete failure, or only partial?—A. Both.

Q. How long have you been there?—A. Nearly ten years.

Q. Have you been successful in business?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Last year you had an excellent cotton crop?—A. Yes, sir; unusually good.

Q. And the year before?—A. The year before it was not up to the average; just so-so.

Q. And the two preceding years?—A. They were not as good as the last crop.

Q. Out of ten years—the time you have observed the crops there—how many of these years has the cotton crop been a failure?—A. I think there has been, to my knowledge, a so-called failure about three times.

Q. Three years out of ten ?—A. Yes, sir. One explanation I would like to make, in order that you may thoroughly understand the matter: the price of the product has a great deal to do with making the crop in any particular year a success or a failure; a low price is included as a part of the failure; it amounts to the same in the end. We have to look at something else than mere quantity only.

Q. You do not take the matter of price into consideration when you say that the crop has failed. You say there have been three years in the last ten in which the crop would be considered a failure ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In those three years the failure was by reason of the lack in the amount produced ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In the same year when there was a minus production was there a minus price also ?—A. That I cannot tell you.

Q. In those three years, to what extent was there a failure ? What percentage of failure was there below an average crop ?—A. I could not give you any accurate statement as to that.

Q. Was there, do you suppose, seventy-five per cent. of an average crop ?—A. Seventy-five per cent. of an average crop is considered a very fair crop.

Q. An average crop is the standard with which you compare the crop when it is a failure, is it not ?—A. I do not understand the question.

Q. Last year's crop was an extraordinary crop, was it not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The best ever known in the South ?—A. Yes, sir; both in quality and price.

Q. And the year before you had a very good crop ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the year before you had an average crop ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you say that in three of the past ten years you have had what you call failures ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did the crop in these three years when you say there was a failure compare with the crops of the second and third years past ?—A. They amounted to one-third, perhaps a little over.

Q. Then, in the years that you considered failures, the planters down there made one-third the usual crop, and perhaps a little over ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And whatever crop there is is pledged to the merchant as security for his advances, is it not ?—A. I do not understand the exact routine of the business; the merchants have different styles of doing business.

Q. There must be some general rule or method; you spoke of pledging the crop ?—A. I never made any such remark that I know of.

Q. What did you mean by "security" ?—A. A man can give another security without his giving advances on the crop.

Q. Are we not talking about advances on the crop ?—A. I have not said anything about advances on the crop.

Q. What did you say about "advances" ?—A. You asked me how the merchants down there did business under the credit system, and I said that when they waited so long for their pay and risked the loss of it entirely, they necessarily had to advance—that is, increase—the price of their goods.

Q. Do you know so little of the way in which business is done down there that you do not know that the merchants make advances on the security of the crop ?—A. I am satisfied that they do, but that has not been made a part of my statement.

Q. And why did you not make it a part of your statement?—A. Because you have not asked me anything about it.

Q. You said that you could explain all this business between the negro and the merchant who does business on credit with him; and you went on to explain that. Now, do you say that you do not know whether the merchant advances on the crop or not?—A. Certainly he does.

Q. Then why should you quibble so about the character of my questions; do you not mean to be understood that the merchant who advances to the colored man on credit does so on the security of the crop?—A. Yes, sir; that is what I mean to be understood.

Q. Well, now that we have got on a common basis, let us go ahead. Has there been any year when the whole crop made by the colored man, and held as security for the advances made by the merchant, has not been sufficient to pay the advances of the merchant to the colored man? And before you answer that question let me suggest this: the cost of the crop is not made up of the advances of the merchant altogether; it includes the labor of the colored man, and other things. So it is impossible that the necessaries of life furnished by the merchant should constitute the full value of the crop. Now, the entire crop being held by the merchant as security, has there not been, in your judgment, even in those years of so-called failure, a sufficient crop to pay the advances of the merchant to the colored laborer? In other words, is not one third of an average crop all that the merchant gets out of the crop? Would his advances amount to more than the value of one-third an average crop?—A. I cannot answer that question, because I do not know.

Q. Then you are not really in a situation to say whether, even in those years when there was a failure of the crop, the white merchant is not completely secured by the security on the crop which the colored man gives?—A. Just as I tell you—I do not know whether it takes one-third of an average crop to pay the merchant for the supplies he furnishes.

Q. Then you are not able to say whether, even when there is a failure of the crop down to one-third of the average, the merchant is not still absolutely secure for all that he has advanced to the colored laborer?—A. Why, that, of course would depend upon how much the merchant has advanced to him.

Q. Suppose that it amounts to one-third an ordinary crop?—A. Then if the crop is only one-third, of course the merchant cannot get paid.

Q. Do you mean, as the sum total of your testimony here, to say that you do not know much about the matter, and cannot explain it; cannot tell whether the merchant is cheated, or the colored man is cheated? A. If you would change your phraseology a little——

Q. Perhaps the word cheated is a little too strong.—A. I want to say this: that I do not know any way in which the black men down there are treated by the merchants any differently from what they treat the white man.

Mr. **Blair**. The colored people come here and tell us that the system of doing business down there, the credit system, results in their being kept poor year after year, no matter how industrious they may work, or how economical they may be; that they are just about now as they were fifteen years ago, immediately after the surrender. You have come here to vindicate the white merchant, to explain that this style of doing business is not oppressive or unfair to the colored man. Now, if the white merchant does not advance more than one-third the value of an average crop, and I understand you to say that his advances would not amount to more than that, considering that the value of the crop is made up of the colored man's labor and various other elements, and if, even when you have what is called a failure of the crop, it still amounts to one-third the average, I want to know how a merchant ever loses anything at all? If this be the case, if really there is no danger of loss to the merchant when he has his security on the crop, I want to know what necessity there is of his charging one hundred per cent. profit on his goods. I cannot understand why he should make any advance in price at all on account of the risk of loss which he runs, when in fact there is no danger of loss at all.

The following affidavits, submitted by witness, were ordered to go into the record:

MINDEN, WEBSTER PARISH,
State of Louisiana:

We, the undersigned colored citizens of Webster Parish, do affirm and testify that during our residence in this country, that we have always voted the Republican ticket, and that we have never, in any manner or form, been troubled or interfered with in our political rights; and we furthermore affirm or swear that we have always had the same school facilities that the white people have had, and that we see no just reason of exodus on account of any ill-treatment of the white people against the colored people in Webster Parish.

his
MITCHELL + HARRIS,
mark.
Residence two miles south of Minden, La.
his
EDMUND + WARREN,
mark.
Residence four miles south of Minden, La.
his
HENRY + JONES.
mark.

STATE OF LOUISIANA,
Webster Parish:

Sworn to and subscribed before me March 27, A. D. 1880.
[SEAL.]

L. D. SPANN,
Clerk District Court.

MINDEN, WEBSTER PARISH,
State of Louisiana:

I, the undersigned colored citizen of Webster Parish, do affirm and testify that I have always voted a Republican ticket; and I furthermore affirm or swear that I have never had any one to trouble me or interfere with my political rights as a citizen. I have always had the same school facilities that the white people have had; and I furthermore affirm and swear that I see no reason of any exodus from this country on account of any ill-treatment of the white people against the colored, as the best of feelings prevails among both races.

his
HENRY + HOWARD.
mark.

Witness:
S. F. GOODE,
Justice of the Peace, Ward 4, Parish of Webster, La.

MINDEN, WEBSTER PARISH,
State of Louisiana:

I, the undersigned colored citizen of Webster Parish, do affirm and testify that I have always voted the Republican ticket, and that I have never had any one to interfere or trouble me about my political rights; and I furthermore affirm or swear that I have always had the same school facilities that the white people have had, and that I see no just reason for any exodus from this parish, as the white people and the colored are on the best of terms; and I furthermore affirm or swear that I have never heard of any ill-treatment whatever of the white people against the colored.

his
EDMOND + SAMUELS,
mark.
One and a half miles.

MINDEN, WEBSTER PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 27th of March, A. D. 1880.

L. D. SPANN,
Clerk District Court.

MINDEN, WEBSTER PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

We, the undersigned colored citizens of Webster Parish, do affirm and testify that we have always voted the Republican ticket; and furthermore affirm or swear that we have never, in any manner or form, been interfered with in our political rights or privileges as citizens; that we have always had the same school facilities as the white people had, and that we see no just reason for any exodus from this parish on account of any ill-treatment of the white people against the colored in this county.

his
STEVEN + HODGES,
mark.
Eleven miles.

his
JACKSON + TERRELL,
mark.
Two and a half miles.

THOMAS REED,
Five miles.

MINDEN, WEBSTER PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

Sworn to and subscribed before me March the 27th, A. D. 1880.

[SEAL.]

L. D. SPANN,
Clerk District Court, Webster Parish, La.

TESTIMONY OF L. D. THOMAS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 10, 1880.

L. D. THOMAS (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live ?—Answer. I live in Minden, Webster Parish, Louisiana.

Q. How long have you lived there ?—A. Three years.

Q. Where did you live before that ?—A. In Homer.

Q. How far is that from where you live now ?—A. Twenty or twenty-one miles.

Q. Were you born and raised in Louisiana ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where ?—A. In Georgia.

Q. How long have you lived in Louisiana ?—A. I lived in Georgia until I was four years of age.

Q. How old are you now, Mr. Thomas ?—A. I think I am about twenty-four years, as well as I can get at it.

Q. Are you a married man ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you do now ?—A. I am a cook, by trade.

Q. Are you following your trade now at home ?—A. Yes, sir; when I can get it to do, and am paid for it my price, rather.

Q. Well, how have you got along ?—A. Well, sir, I have done very well and have no reason at present to complain.

Q. Do you know Henry Adams ?—A. Yes, sir; I know him.

Q. Did you ever have any talk with him about going away to Kansas ?—A. I had a little talk with him—a mere sketch—passing—not any long talk with him.

Q. Was he holding out to you reasons why he thought you could do better up in Kansas than in Louisiana ?—A. Nothing more than hearsay; I suppose he was governed by—or, may be, he might have seen a good deal in travel.

Q. Yes. Well, you have had a talk with him, and perhaps others, about going to Kansas?—A. I have.

Q. And heard it talked over?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there any reason growing out of the conduct of the white people towards you—their mistreatment of you—why you want to leave Louisiana?—A. None of them have mistreated me at all that I can see. Of course, a man is as likely to have difficulties there as anywhere.

Q. Of course.—A. No Republican or Democrat would tell the colored man he would have to leave the State unless he did very wrong in his conduct or something; I never heard nothing of it.

Q. Then you are under the impression that if a colored man conducts himself properly, like other people, that he can get along down there without trouble?—A. I have, and I think most any other colored gentleman could.

Q. Yes; and you think any other colored man could who behaved himself. What ticket do you vote?—A. The Republican ticket, sir.

Q. Have you ever been molested in voting it?—A. No, sir; I never have.

Q. Have you ever been on juries?—A. No, sir.

Q. Colored men do serve on juries in your parish, do they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you acquired any property—saved up anything?—A. Yes, sir; I have a home in Homer.

Q. That you own?—A. Yes, sir; that I own.

Q. Is it paid for?—A. It is paid for.

Q. You have a wife and children?—A. I have a wife and children.

Q. How long have you been married?—A. About three years.

Q. And during that time, or before that time, was it that you saved up money to get your home?—A. Well, sir, my father gave me my house.

Q. Is your father living?—A. No, sir; he is not living now.

Q. Did he die there?—A. Yes, sir; he died in Homer—yes, sir.

Q. Had he any other children besides you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had he something to give them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was he pretty well off?—A. He was. He was the father of seventeen children by his first wife, and during slavery they got scattered out, and there is only four of us in Homer.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. **BLAIR**:

Q. Mr. Thomas, you say a colored man can get along well enough down there if he will behave?—A. I think so.

Q. These colored people who are dissatisfied and are getting away from that country are people who do not behave very well at home?—A. I don't know about anybody behaving but myself. I always try to behave myself, and do to every one as I wish to be done by.

Q. I don't find fault with you, but you say any colored man can get along as well as you do if he behaves himself?—A. Yes, sir; I suppose so.

Q. Then it would follow that those people who complain of ill-treatment and are leaving that country do not behave themselves at home.—A. I do not know what it is.

Q. But if you are right in saying if they behave themselves they can get along as well as you do, they cannot have any grievance, can they?—A. I don't know, Mr. Blair, about any of their grievances.

Q. Well, I see how you feel on that point; it embarrasses you a little. You have heard a good deal of their going—many of them?—A. Yes.

Q. There is really, very generally, a feeling of dissatisfaction, for one reason or another, among the colored folks?—A. Yes.

Q. And you have heard a good deal of that talk?—A. Yes.

Q. And a great many have gone away?—A. Yes; a great many have gone away.

Q. So much so that the white folks have got alarmed and they commenced requesting them not to go?—A. I have heard a good deal of it, and I have heard gentlemen tell them it was not necessary.

Q. And yet colored and white witnesses have been on the stand right where you sit to prove that nothing is the matter, and that the colored people do not need to go, and yet they are going?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you think it is because the colored people do not behave themselves?—A. Mr. Blair, if you will permit me a chance of saying something to you in regard to that matter——

Q. Answer the question, and go on as fully as you please. Do you think it is because the colored people do not behave themselves?—A. I cannot say.

The **CHAIRMAN**. You have asked that question four times.

Mr. **BLAIR**. Only three. I want to make the witness understand me. Now (addressing the witness), you wanted to say something to me. Go on and say it.

A. I want to say this: I cannot account for other people's conduct there, white or colored. Webster and Homer, where I have visited—my brother lives in Homer, and I am there often; we are only twenty-one miles apart—they rather love liquor through that country a good deal; it seems to be quite—well, everybody loves to stick a spoon in and taste.

Q. You think that is why they are going to Kansas, so they can get whisky easier?—A. Yes; when whisky gets the advantage of a man he will do anything.

Q. Is it your explanation, then, that these people go for drink, or because they are drunk, or what?—A. I cannot tell that.

Q Give your explanation why they go.—A. The colored people are told they can do better in Kansas than they have did in Louisiana.

Q. Can accumulate faster; can be more progressive in labor; be better treated; have more privileges, and be recognized as a community and society of people more than they have been in the South. Therefore, under these circumstances, it is that the colored people have emigrated from that country?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Thinking they would be better off?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have many sober, honest people gone?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And are still going?—A. They are.

Q. And there are men of all grades among them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Just as there are among other people?—A. Yes, sir.

Rev. J. BARRETT.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Question. Where do you live, Mr. Barrett?—Answer. In the first ward of Topeka, Kans., called North Topeka.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am a minister—pastor of the Baptist Church.

Q. Have you given this matter that we are investigating any attention?—A. Some; I have been thrown right into it from the beginning of the emigration to Kansas.

Q. Have you mixed with these people and talked with them?—A. I have.

Q. Have you attended public meetings of the citizens of Topeka upon this subject?—A. I believe two; I think only two.

Q. What were these meetings called for?—A. One was called to raise money for the relief of these people.

Q. What was the other called for?—A. It was called at the request of the citizens, that I should explain to them why we should not give any relief by a vote of the citizens.

Q. Please repeat that.—A. The first meeting was called in the Baptist Church to raise money. The second was called, at a vote of the citizens, at which they requested me to give reasons why we should not give relief. There was a difference of opinion among the people there.

Q. Well, was the relief given?—A. There was a collection taken at the first meeting. A collection had just been taken at a meeting in the opera-house, when several hundred dollars were contributed for the same purpose; they were canvassing the city at that time for the purpose.

Q. What was your position on the subject?—A. My position was that it was doing the colored people and white people great injury to afford relief under the circumstances.

Q. Well, why?—A. In the first place we had more colored and white laborers in the city and vicinity at that time than could get labor or employment; and, in the second place, if more were brought in to compete with these laborers it would reduce the amount of wages to the laborers there present, and consequently injure them.

Q. Were you of the opinion that these contributions invited others to come?—A. I so understood, and so understand yet; that they did, and do yet.

Q. That it goes down South that they are fed free and taken care of; and you think they are thereby induced to come?—A. I have talked with more than one hundred colored people that have told me that if it had not been for relief offered they would not have been there.

Q. What is generally their condition at Topeka when they arrive; are they objects of charity?—A. I should think about seven out of every ten are—those that arrive on the cars; others, that come with teams, have means.

Q. Are there some of them still about Topeka?—A. Large numbers of them.

Q. Out of employment?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Living on these contributions?—A. Well, so far as the committee will allow them in the barracks, they are; some of them can't get in. I don't know how they are living, they are without any labor.

Q. How are these barracks managed?—A. I don't think anybody knows that except the committee.

Q. Have you ever been in them?—A. I have passed through them three different times and conversed with the people living there and with the colored man that has been in charge.

Q. How are their sanitary features; cleanly and healthy?—A. As much so as could be expected under the circumstances; it is a pretty hard place.

Q. A hard place in respect to cleanliness, do you mean?—A. Yes, sir, at times; at other times it is more cleanly.

Q. Has there been any sickness and suffering among them there?—A. A great deal.

Q. What has been the death rate?—A. I have seen as many as three taken away at one time.

Q. Do you know about their being left by the car-load on the railroad for days and nights together?—A. I do, sir.

Q. Give us an instance.—A. I think it was about last June, I am not positive with regard to the time, but was present at the time—that a car-load came up in the night and was side-tracked just below the Palace Hotel. The next day I met Mr. Parks, one of the city councilmen, and he complained to me that colored people were standing in front of his house, and they attended to their natural wants there; and he objected to it, and sent word over to the committee that that car-load was there and were a nuisance; it was only about one hundred yards from the Palace Hotel where Mr. Stanton has his hotel.

Q. How long did that car-load remain there?—A. That day and the next night and during the next night; when they were side-tracked or switched, a number were lying under the car; some were mangled and I think one killed. The next day after that, I think, the committee saw that they were unloaded and taken away—or I suppose it was the committee, some men in charge came to see that they were taken away. At that time the side-track was so filthy for two hundred yards that it was impossible for a lady or almost any man that cared for himself to walk along it, the filth was so great. It was necessity that compelled the poor people that were left there without any one to take care of them. I passed along myself to see it.

Q. What has been the effect upon property where these people have collected in numbers? for instance, take the neighborhood of the barracks. I believe the barracks were torn down in one part of the city were they not?—A. I heard so. I do not know anything about it personally; I was not in the city. A citizen told me that was the case.

Q. Is there any division of public opinion in your place as to the desirability of this class of people coming there?—A. There is no division of sentiment among Democrats and Republicans, except there may be a division so far as some are concerned that think they can make some money out of it. They have always plead for it and kept the thing going.

Q. What class of people are they?—A. Well, part of them are in the building where the supplies are issued at the present time that have advocated it. They are very few—there are only just a few that advocate it.

Q. And those, such as are connected with the business?—A. In the business, sir; I meant agents in the barracks the first day of this month.

Q. Have you talked with any of them with regard to their going back?—A. I have, sir.

Q. Have you talked with any considerable number?—A. Probably thirty or forty.

Q. What do they say to you on that subject?—A. Many of them I have conversed with say if they had means to get back, and were in the condition they were when they left the South, they would go back at once; but if they were to go back as they are without anything to help themselves with, and their places filled perhaps by other parties, they do not know what they will do, so they are at a stand to know whether to go back or not. Others go back and take the risk.

Q. Some have gone back?—A. Yes, sir; I have made efforts three or four times to get their tickets to go back.

Q. What do they say about being afraid to go back?—A. I have only found one colored man who said he was afraid to go back, and he said he would not go back for the reason that he could not vote if he should go back.

Q. Could not vote?—A. He said he could not.

Q. Where did he live?—A. He told me lived in ———. I noted it down at the time because it was the only case (searching memorandum). It is in Louisiana, but I cannot make out the place.

Q. Some place in Louisiana ?—A. His name was Daniel Ward.

Q. He is the only one that expressed fear about going back ?—A. Yes, he said he could not vote if he went back.

Q. Do you know a man named John M. Brown ?—A. I know him when I see him.

Q. Is he a colored man ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he connected ——— with this business ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He is in this new building built as the headquarters, I suppose. Does he keep his headquarters there ?—A. I notice when in the city he is there almost every day—rides up there most of the time in a buggy.

Q. Did you ever have a discussion with him on this subject ?—A. No, sir; I refused to.

Q. What are your politics ?—A. I am a Republican, always have been and always expect to be.

Q. How long have you been in Kansas ?—A. Since the 10th of December, 1868; in the city of Topeka all the while I have lived there.

Q. Where did you live before that ?—A. In Rochester, Ind.

Q. Are you a native of Indiana ?—A. No, sir; I am a native of New Jersey.

Q. How long did you live in Indiana ?—A. I am not sure; perhaps twelve years.

Q. You have always voted the Republican ticket ?—A. Yes, sir.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. WINDOM:

Q. How near do you live to these headquarters, Mr. Barrett ?—A. Where the supplies are issued from ?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. The supplies are issued from about two hundred feet of my land, and my land runs nine hundred feet from that; about eleven hundred feet from my house.

Q. About how often have you been in them ?—A. I have not been in them at all, sir; I am not on very good terms with those parties; they have not treated me so that I have cared to go in. I would not be welcomed there.

Q. How do you know they are filthily kept ?—A. I am not speaking of the barracks.

Q. I am speaking of the barracks; how near do you live to the barracks ?—A. The barracks are a little over a quarter or third of a mile from my house.

Q. How often have you been there ?—A. Three times.

Q. Three times; you were in about how long ago, and how far apart were your visits ?—A. I was there about two weeks after the first wing was built.

Q. When was that ?—A. I do not remember now, some time last summer, and I was there in the beginning of the winter and again on the first day of the month—three different times.

Q. You say you refused to talk with Brown; why ?—A. I don't know that this is really what ought to come here; if you want it I will answer the question.

Q. You discussed the question with him, did you ?—A. O, I would talk with any man on the subject. It was a discussion that a Methodist minister wanted to get up between the colored man and me on the question of the exodus people coming to Topeka, and I told him I was not going to discuss that question with him; that was all of that.

Q. Did you not think they were cruelly treated that were left out on the track with the car?—A. I did pity them and did my very best with the councilmen to get relief.

Q. You thought it was all wrong?—A. I think they are ill-treated right along there—not as much done for them as might be.

Q. You say a large proportion of them are subjects of charity and in absolute need as they came there?—A. I should presume seven out of ten of them are.

Q. They would die of starvation if not helped some, would they not? —A. Well, that is owing to circumstances. I do not think they would at this time of year.

Q. Well, at the time they came there, if they had no means or food and nobody to help them, would they not die of starvation? They could not get employment you see.—A. I presume they could have been helped away. That is what we wanted to do. They could have been helped away as they came. Of course they would have died if nobody gave them anything to eat.

Q. Have you ever advocated any temporary charity for them?—A. Temporary charity, if not kept there. I offered to give as much as any other citizen according to my means to get them to the place where they came from, and where I believed they could get a living and where they said they could.

Q. But if they wanted to stay there, you would insist on their starving to death?—A. I did not insist on any such thing. They seemed to have been deceived into coming there; that is the way they talked.

Q. But if they were there with no temporary relief they would starve, would they not?—A. We differed about temporary relief.

Q. Did you advocate giving anything?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I thought you refused in your preaching?—A. I did, as a permanent thing.

Q. Did you advocate any fund for temporary relief?—A. I advocated the same thing for them for temporary relief as I would have done for anybody else passing through that needed it, and not remaining there.

Q. But were not these people passing through, stopping temporarily, going out into the country and getting homes?—A. Some were and some were not.

Q. About how many have passed through, do you think, that have been aided temporarily and gone out and got places?—A. I am not prepared to say; I suppose, from that one depot, perhaps five to six thousand on the north side.

Q. How many are there there now?—A. That is more than anybody could tell; I could not. At the barracks there is on an average two to five hundred right along.

Q. Well, that is about all now at the barracks?—A. They were looking for another car-load the day I was there.

Q. But all the five to ten thousand have been distributed except two to five hundred, have they not?—A. No, sir; they are right there among us.

Q. How many of them?—A. I cannot tell; they are so thick we can hardly count them. I wanted work done at different times, and went down and found a hundred there, but I could not find one to work for me unless I would give him twenty-five cents an hour.

Q. You have been very unfortunate?—A. I thought so.

Q. They did not like to work for you much, did they?—A. Other men went and tried the same thing, but could not get them. They do not like to work for any one.

Q. Perhaps they know something of your starvation sentiments?—

A. I do not know that. If they wanted money, I gave them money when I thought proper.

Q. How much money have you contributed?—A. Well, at different times, perhaps fifty cents to five dollars, when I thought they deserved it.

Q. Can you give an idea of the aggregate amount?—A. No, sir; I didn't keep an account.

Q. If you preached against contributing, why did you contribute in that way?—A. Because I was opposed to the relief committee making a permanent thing of it in the city, to the injury of the city and all of us.

Q. So you preferred to contribute on your own hook?—A. I always do that when I think the object worthy.

Q. You say they are so thick in Topeka that you cannot count them; is not that a little bit exaggerated for a minister? Think a moment.—A. I don't know how you could count them; they keep moving around; I could not count them.

Q. Is not that called "lying in the pulpit?" About what is the population of Topeka?—A. I believe they report it at about fourteen to fifteen thousand.

Q. Fourteen or fifteen thousand colored people had stopped there?—A. Five or six thousand stopped there.

Q. How many of the whole population that have stopped there of the exodusters, so called, are in the barracks?—A. I have inquired of the city councilmen and the officers of the city in regard to that, and they were unable to tell me. I don't know how I would know.

Q. Are they supported by this organization?—A. Some are and some are not.

Q. Do they furnish food to those that did not go to the barracks?—A. Not that I am aware of.

Q. How are they supported by this organization when loafing around town?—A. That is what we don't know.

Q. Do you know that they are supported at all?—A. I suppose they live.

Q. Do you know that they are supported by this organization at all?—A. They tell me they have no money; I don't know how they get a living.

Q. The question I asked was, do you know they are supported at all, or receive any contributions from this organization?—A. I know what some of them tell me.

Q. What is that?—A. A colored lady, some time since, passing my gate, stopped to lay a bundle off her head on my gate-post. I saw her standing there, and asked her "Where did you get that bundle?" She replied, "Well, mister, if you want to know, I'll just tell you. I went down to the relief house last Saturday, and they wanted to know if I had labor. I told them I had been laboring. They told me they would not give me anything because I was laboring; and then I concluded I would not labor for that cause; so I did not work this week. And I went down this morning and told them I hadn't anything to do and could not get anything, and I wanted some things, and they gave me all this." She opened her bundle and showed me what she had.

Q. So you think the committee preferred to keep them in idleness?—A. I think the committee was deceived.

Q. That is one case of deception, then. You do not know of any other relief going to these people outside of the association?—A. Relief?

Q. Yes.—A. I know they are giving every day to parties that do not take their things to the barracks.

Q. Do any of these people who were left off at Topeka get work?—A. Some of them.

Q. But your difficulty is they won't work?—A. Some do.

Q. What kind of work did you want them to do for twenty-five cents an hour?—A. Some posts put in and planks nailed to them.

Q. How many did you try to get to work?—A. I don't know the number; I asked where a crowd of ten or twelve of them were standing if any of them wanted to put in so many posts for a quarter of dollar.

Q. Perhaps they wanted too many put in?—A. No; as many as I myself put in by the watch in forty-two minutes, I offered to them as an hour's work.

Q. So you put them in yourself in forty-two minutes after finding you could not hire them?—A. The fence had to be put up that night.

Q. Do I understand you if these people would not go back that you would advocate letting them starve?—A. We found in Topeka that as long as they were fed they would not work.

Q. But these people could not all get work at once?—A. No; nor can white people all get work.

Q. But you say they came there without any means and nothing to eat—were destitute; that they cannot all get work at once, and you would not furnish them anything unless they would go to work; what could they do but starve?—A. White people are on the same footing; they have nothing, and we do not give them anything.

Q. White people?—A. Yes, sir; I went and tried to get relief for white people, but could not get any of any consequence; so we tried to make up the money among ourselves.

Q. Tried to get relief; where?—A. I sent a man up to the city authorities, but they said they could not do anything under the circumstances. We had to go to the county commissioner, and we sent a man over to the relief association the other side of the river. They said they could not do anything because he was a white man, and he came back without anything; so we paid the bill ourselves—seventeen dollars.

Q. What do you mean by "ourselves"?—A. Six of us paid the bills.

Q. Did not you know the fund these people were using in the relief association was contributed to take care of the refugees from the South? Do you think they could have honestly devoted it to other purposes than those designated?—A. I do not know that they were designated for colored people or refugees; if a man is going from one place to another I think there should be no distinction in affording relief as to whether he is white or black.

Q. Suppose you should find white people coming into your county that were stranded and poor, coming from Indiana for instance, would you say they should be sent back or starve?—A. That is just owing to how many came.

Q. Suppose several of them, attracted by the desirableness of Kansas, which is a desirable State, found themselves stranded; would you advocate that they should at once go back or that the people should let them starve?—A. Not starvation in any case; that is not it; but keeping permanent funds to support them and keep them in idleness is what I oppose.

Q. At any of those meetings did you advocate temporary relief? Did not you oppose all kinds of relief as a means to prevent their coming?—A. I opposed all kinds of relief in the shape of an organization; of course that would include relief.

Q. You say the first meeting was to raise money, and the second was called for you to show why relief should not be given?—A. Yes.

Q. Was not the question whether a contribution should be raised at all?—A. That was it.

Q. And you took the position that it should not be raised at all?—A. That is, to continue that work and make it permanent; not talking about a temporary thing, but a permanent institution.

Q. Was that money raised at the first meeting for permanent or temporary relief?—A. That was for temporary relief.

Q. You antagonize the meetings; the first was called, you say, to raise money, and then the second was called to show why it should not be given?—A. Our people saw there were more there then than could get employment or be cared for, and the report was through the papers that so many more hundred were on the road from Saint Louis up, and we knew we were not able to take care of them, and knew if they did keep coming they would overwhelm us and we could not do anything; what amount we had there would hardly be a mouthful apiece to give them.

Q. And therefore you thought best to let them starve?—A. I did not say any such thing.

Q. You said the people there in large numbers could not get work, were destitute, and more coming, and coming in overwhelming numbers, and you took the position in public meeting that you would not raise relief. What other alternative was there for them but they must starve?—A. Just this: if we did not keep them there and feed them they would go out and look for work.

Q. But if they did not get work what would follow?—A. No man would starve; he gets something whenever he calls for it, as a general thing.

Q. Suppose the people of Kansas had all been as generous and hospitable as you, what would have become of these people?—A. Well, sir, thousands of them in the Southern States are in good circumstances to what they are in Topeka.

Q. A good many would have been in their graves from starvation, would they not?—A. Not as many from starvation as have died since coming there from disease.

Q. You say that nobody is in favor of the exodus except the men that were making money out of it?—A. I don't say that of this relief committee. I presume they are getting a salary; they would not work for nothing.

Q. Do you know whether they are or not?—A. Not to my personal knowledge. It is stated by citizens that they are getting salaries, or they would not work that way.

Q. Do you know any one who is making money?—A. I don't know.

Q. Do you think it a proper thing to swear?—A. I believe that it is so.

Q. But that is casting the imputation upon these people that they are working there for money out of the exodus; do you think that is right; do you know it to be true?—A. It is generally believed.

Q. Would you not like to modify that before you leave the stand?—A. Only this, that the general belief is that if nothing was made out of it they would not be interested in keeping up and feeding them, if somebody did not get some pay somehow.

Q. Now whom do you cover by that remark, that they favor the exodus because they are making money out of it; what particular persons do you refer to?—A. Well, I said this, that I did nor know what they were making, or anything about it. I say it is not presumable to suppose they would be putting in all their time there unless they were getting paid.

Q. Who?—A. I refer to the Reverend S. P. Dunlap, who was at the head of the relief house in the absence of Mr. Brown.

Q. He is a Congregational minister, is he not?—A. Yes. You can find out from him whether he is getting anything. He never told me.

Q. He is not here in the city, is he?—A. No, sir; I met him in the barracks just before I left.

Q. You think he is speculating on it?—A. I do not know about his speculation.

Q. Well, you think he is making money out of it? I question you thus because it is a pretty broad assertion in reference to a charitable thing of this kind for you to charge that they are aiding it because they are making money out of it.—A. I will say this: Mr. Dunlap and I are on the very best terms so far as I know; we have always been. Of course we disagreed with regard to the work in which he was engaged.

Q. You think he is not honest, then, in believing in the exodus, do you?—A. I don't think any such thing.

Q. Why do you say he would not be favoring it unless he were making money?—A. I don't say that, if you please.

Q. You gave his name.—A. But I did not say he was for it because he was making money.

Q. You said some who were making money out of it favored the exodus, when I asked you to give the name of some. If he is favorable to it because he is making money out of it, he is a rascal.—A. I do not think he is a rascal—any such thing. I do not think a man is necessarily a rascal because he is working for a salary.

Q. Do you think it would be honest to urge these people to come that he might make money?—A. I do not know that he is urging them.

Q. Is he in favor of the exodus?—A. He was in the beginning.

Q. And you think he favored it because he was getting a salary?—A. No; I don't think he favored it because he was getting a salary.

Q. Then we have not found anybody included in this general remark—this imputation you cast upon the institution. If you cannot find anybody I will drop the subject. Am I to understand by your silence that you cannot?—A. I have not thought specially about that—in regard to that point.

TESTIMONY OF J. C. HEBBARD.

J. C. **Hebbard** sworn and examined.

By the **Chairman**:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. I live in Topeka, Kans.

Q. What connection, if any, have you had with the exodus, so called, into your State?—A. I was secretary of the Kansas Freedman's Relief Association. I was secretary of the association that was organized on the 20th of April last, and it became a corporate body on the 8th of May, known as the Kansas Freedman's Relief Association, and was its secretary until some time in the month of September last.

Q. How did you come to sever your connection with that association?—A. I resigned in common with the other directors in the early part of September. There were fifteen directors and they resigned, and their places were supplied by other men.

Q. Why did you resign, Mr. Hebbard?—A. Well, it was presumed that the business of the association proper would draw to a close, and that the exodus proper would cease measurably; but if not, that there were other men that would be connected with it, and a large portion of the directors at first desired to be relieved from their duties, and I, in common with the others, resigned; we all resigned our positions.

Q. Was there ever any application made to that organization for relief to white people who were in a suffering condition, to your knowledge?—A. Yes, sir; there were some instances.

Q. Was it afforded to them?—A. Well, scarcely at all; no, sir; not to any extent.

Q. Had that anything to do with your resigning your position as secretary?—A. No, sir; that had no particular bearing on it, sir.

Q. How is this movement affecting the condition of the colored people there; do you think they are improving their condition there in Kansas?—A. Does your question have reference to those that have come in the immediate past?

Q. O, yes; generally, Mr. Hebbard.—A. Well, there is a diversity of opinion in regard to that.

Q. Well, I am asking for your opinion?—A. I would not think that the coming of the colored people there was, on the whole, desirable to all concerned.

Q. Desirable to the colored people themselves?—A. No, sir; I would not think it was to their best interests to come there in any considerable numbers.

Q. Do you know anything about their wanting to go back?—A. Yes, sir; I have known something of it; not much; very little.

Q. Why do you think it is not desirable on the part of the colored people themselves to come to Kansas?—A. Kansas is a new State. It has been a State some nineteen years, and it is a State to which a great deal of emigration is attracted because of it, and a great many people go to Kansas because of being poor, and there is constantly a sufficiently large number of that element that would naturally come there.

Q. What are your politics?—A. I am a Republican.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. **WINDOM**:

Q. What salary did you get, Mr. Hebbard, while you were secretary?—A. I received one hundred dollars a month for a part of the time, sir.

Q. They reduced the salary about the time you changed and went out, did they not?—A. No, sir; some time before.

Q. How long before you resigned?—A. It was about two months.

Q. Then they paid since that fifty dollars to the secretary for a while, did they?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. What do they pay their secretary now?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. Do you know they are paying him anything?—A. I don't know anything about it, sir.

Q. Did not you understand, when you went into that association, that it was for freedmen's relief?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was not the money contributed by the charitable public for the relief of the freedmen?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think you could have devoted that money to any other class of people and been honest about it?—A. I do not think that would have been a legitimate use of the contribution.

By Mr. **BLAIR**:

Q. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap is connected with this association, is he?—A. He is one of the directors.

Q. Are the directors paid?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. What officers of this company or association have received compensation for their labor?—A. Well, I don't know as any officers proper except the secretary. There were persons in position that received pay.

Q. You say there were other persons?—A. Yes, sir; there were other persons.

Q. Who were they, what were their positions, and to what extent were they paid for whatever their services may have been?—A. Well, there was a man by the name of R. W. Dawson, who held a position that was called superintendent; he received pay for some months. There were persons that were assisting in distributing clothing that was sent there, and which was distributed among those persons that were needy and made application for it.

Q. So far as you know, was the money paid for services, or paid for time and services actually rendered?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You did not feel that you were doing in any sense a dishonorable thing in taking pay, to the extent you got it, for your services, did you?—A. I never had any migivings; I gave time and energy to it, and I thought the money was earned.

Q. Undoubtedly. The directors, of whom this clergyman was one, received no compensation, did they?—A. No one received any compensation.

Q. And your compensation was cut down one-half?—A. Practically.

Q. Practically, you rendered services for which you received no compensation such as you would have received for services rendered to a corporation or an individual?—A. Yes; I look at it in that way.

Q. Your objection to the colored people coming, you think, is that your State is pretty nearly full and the demand supplied?—A. Well, I know of some other localities where their labor is desired. I know while I was secretary there were applications for labor in different parts of Kansas, but I don't think that element is needed to supply it; it would be supplied if it were not there.

Q. As secretary, you must have had applications from various quarters?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. From what other States, if any?—A. From Colorado, Iowa, Nebraska, Illinois, and Western Missouri.

Q. What is your judgment, from your knowledge of the matter, as to there being an opportunity for additional colored labor in Colorado and these other States?—A. Well, there were great demands for colored labor in Colorado and in Nebraska.

Q. Beyond the supply?—A. Well, more than we could have supplied from that point at Topeka. It occurred to me as unwise to have people come to Topeka and divert them from these other States.

Q. The real difficulty is not in the exodus, but in the lack of system in its distribution?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did these people seem desirous of employment?—A. Yes, sir; that was very generally the feeling.

Q. Did they give any reasons, while there, why they left the South?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They did not seem to have come without a motive, therefore; what were the reasons which they gave?—A. They came for the purpose of bettering their condition.

Q. Yes; wherein did they wish to better it, or from what grievances, if any, did they desire to be relieved?—A. Well, they presented the matter thus: that they had been there for years and had made no accumulations, and there was no chance of obtaining any real estate there in those States from which they came, and that Kansas to them was a land of promise; that they had heard of Kansas, and supposed by going there they could get homes, and find employment, and have personal freedom.

Q. Did they, in speaking of Kansas as a place they had conceived of as a land of promise, speak of any extravagant expectations which they had?—A. Not as a rule.

Q. I was about calling your attention to these circulars, chromos, and the like. Did they seem to have come under cromo influence much?—A. I did not strike any of that class; there were some that came there with the expectation that through some chance they would have land; the government was going to do something for them in the matter of having small tracts of land, and they would have a mule and something of that sort. I heard that idea expressed by some of them.

Q. Yes; but this was only a comparatively small portion of them?—A. Not to any large extent.

Q. Well, take them as a whole, did they seem to be a rather sensible sort of people, or did they look to you like an inferior and indifferent sort of human beings?—A. Well, they average very well, sir.

Q. If they had had money you would not have seen any objection to them as immigrants?—A. No, sir; that is, a reasonable amount of it, in order to take care of themselves.

Adjourned to April 12, 1880.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH P. JOHNSON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 12, 1880.

Committee met this day at 10.30 a. m. Present, Messrs. Voorhees (chairman), Vance, Pendleton, Windom, and Blair.

JOSEPH P. JOHNSON sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live, Mr. Johnson?—Answer. In Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana.

Q. In the town of Natchitoches?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. All my life.

Q. What do you do there?—A. I have been a clerk, and for the last four years have been holding the appointment of assessor of the parish. I am now a farmer.

Q. Do you know a colored man by the name of John G. Lewis down there?—A. I do, sir.

Q. Have you read his evidence as given here?—A. I have not, sir; I saw a very short synopsis of it only.

Q. What do you know about any disturbances between the two races down there?—A. I have not heard of any there recently; there were disturbances there nearly two years ago.

Q. Of what character?—A. Well, sir, I hardly know what the character of it was. I was taken down to New Orleans and kept there six weeks, and tried as being one of them.

Q. What were you tried for?—A. They charged me with running off some of them; Lewis among others.

Q. What court were you tried in?—A. The United States court at New Orleans.

Q. Who was judge of that court?—A. Judge Woods.

Q. Who was marshal?—A. Jack Wharton.

Q. What was the result of the trial?—A. We were acquitted, sir.

Q. Well, did you run anybody off?—A. No, sir.

Q. Had anybody else, that you know of?—A. No, sir; none that I know of.

Q. What made Lewis and these men leave, if they did leave?—A. That would be hard to say, sir; I could not say; I do not know.

Q. Was there an election pending?—A. The election came off in November; this was in September, two months before the election.

Q. How many of these men left?—A. I think there were three or four of them left, sir.

Q. Three or four. Are there many black people in that parish?—A. Yes, sir; a great many.

Q. Are they getting along peaceably there now?—A. Yes, sir; just as peaceably as I ever saw them; they are all hard at work; everybody has plenty of hands.

Q. Have the hands plenty of work?—A. Yes, sir; the hands there have plenty of work.

Q. What kind of wages do they get?—A. Well, a farm-hand gets there about sixteen dollars a month.

Q. And board?—A. Yes, sir; and mechanics get larger wages than field hands.

Q. Have the colored people any school privileges down there?—A. Yes, sir, they all have schools; in almost every ward and district in the parish there is a school.

Q. Have any persons left that parish in the so-called exodus?—A. A very few, sir.

Q. A very few, you say?—A. Yes, sir; very few have left there; none that I know went to Kansas at all; some few went to the lower part of the State, and some few went to Caddo Parish; the majority of them that did come back. I have several hands working with me now that went down to the sugar country and staid there a short while and came back, being better satisfied where they were.

Q. Do you know of any complaints they have there now?—A. No, sir; none that I have known of; I have not heard a particle of complaint, and yet I see a great many negroes every day.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. Things are very salubrious there?—A. Yes, sir; every thing there is perfectly quiet.

TESTIMONY OF N. C. McFARLAND.

Washington, D. C., *April* 12, 1880.

N. C. **McFarland** sworn and examined.

By the **Chairman**:

Question. State your name and residence to the stenographer.—Answer. N. C. McFarland; Topeka, Kans.

Q. What is your occupation in life?—A. I am a lawyer.

Q. Have you been on the bench, that they call you "judge"?—A. No, sir; titles are plenty out there.

Q. It is a title of compliment. Well, state what connection, if any, you have had with this movement of colored people into your State?—A. When the organization was effected there at Topeka, called the Freedmen's Relief Association, I believe, I was one of the incorporators, and a member of the board of directors from the time of its commencement until probably about the 1st of September. A part of the time I was on what was called the executive committee; part of the time chairman of the executive committee, which was expected to do the business of the board particularly.

Q. When did you sever your connection with that board?—A. About the 1st of September; I do not remember the precise time.

Q. Well, Judge McFarland, give the committee your idea of the movement; whether it is a beneficial one for the colored people themselves or desirable upon the part of the State?—A. So far as the State is concerned, if these people would come gradually and moderately as other emigrants do, I do not suppose there would be much notice taken of it. But coming in such numbers, and in such destitution, I should say if it continues to any considerable extent it would be injurious to our State, or to those portions of it where they congregate largely.

Q. It has really become a grave question already in your State, has it not?—A. Yes, sir; a very grave question.

Q. There have been persons here who have stated that there will be a largely increased emigration during the present season perhaps into Kansas; some have estimated that at least one hundred thousand of these people will come there; do you think that is a desirable state of affairs for either race? Now, I am looking toward the humane treatment of the colored people, and of course am as desirous that they should be well treated as anybody can be?—A. Well, I do not think it, desirable for Kansas; whether it is desirable for the colored race or not not would depend very much upon their condition where they are, of which I know nothing personally.

Q. It would have to be pretty bad to be bettered by such a movement as that, would it not?—A. I think so. It has been explained that Kansas is a new State, and that our farmers do their own work.

Q. Yes; the testimony is cumulative on that point—that there is no demand for this labor in Kansas at this time to the extent that it is coming in there —A. Yes. I think that is true, to the extent that they have been coming; still places have been found for many that have come.

Q. But that has been the result of individual interest in their behalf, and not a natural adaptation of these laborers to the wants of your State?—A. It has been through the exertion of this association mainly.

Q. And but for that there would have been much suffering and want, would there not?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. How long have you lived in Kansas, Mr. McFarland?—A. I have lived there for about ten years.

Q. Of what State are you a native?—A. Of Pennsylvania.

Q. And your politics?- A. I am a Republican.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Have you heard any of the testimony concerning the average price of wages in the South—in Louisiana and Mississippi?—A. I have heard some of it.

Q. It is from twelve to sixteen dollars a month, is it not, and board found?—A. Yes, sir; I believe that is what has been stated.

Q. Can these people in Kansas really do any better than that?—A. I think that is the average wages of hands in Kansas, so far as I know, and I have been farming a little.

Cross-examination by Mr. **Blair**:

Q. I suppose that in Kansas and vicinity, if a man works for twelve or fifteen dollars a month, he gets his pay for it, does he not?—A. As a rule he does; yes, sir.

Q. If he were obliged to take pay in the necessaries of life, and were charged two or three times the real worth of the articles needed, it would be a very different state of things, would it not?—A. Undoubtedly.

Q. Do not these people, coming from the South, complain quite generally that they are obliged to take such pay, and that they are charged extravagant prices for the necessaries of life?—A. Yes, sir; I have heard such statements, and seen some original bills of that kind.

Q. Tell us some of the prices charged in these original bills that you have seen.—A. I cannot state specifically, but generally; I have seen a number of original bills, purporting to be bills of merchants in some of the places where these colored people have come from; I think I could say that all the articles would average more than double what they ought to have cost.

Q. More than double the price charged for the same articles in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; some of them higher than that still; but I think I am safe in saying that they would average more than double.

Q. And you found these people complaining also that, after having labored for a number of years, they have been unable to accumulate anything, and have left largely for that reason?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You spoke of the large numbers in which they have come, and you say it is feared that they may come in still greater numbers, and that their coming will be injurious to the State, for the reason that you cannot absorb them, perhaps, quite as rapidly as you could wish.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think it would be better for them to direct their course to some of the older and richer States?—A. I should say so; we have made efforts in that direction. When I was on this board, I went to St. Louis myself to see if we could not turn the tide away from Kansas.

Q. To the States of Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and those farther North?—A. Yes, sir; the farmers in these older States have more conveniences in the shape of accommodations, outhouses, &c., for their laboring hands; we have little room of that kind; building material is very high, and house accommodations are scarce. Some of our farmers live yet in sod houses, and they have no room in them for hands.

Q. Your farmers, many of them, live just as pioneers do in new States.—A. Yes, sir; and these people are coming mostly in families; and that makes it still worse.

Q. Now, as to the general disposition and inclination of these people to work, how do you find that?—A. I think, sir, there is not much difference in that respect between them and white people; a large majority of them want to work, and try to get work.

Q. If they had the means, then they would be just as desirable as any ordinary class of emigrants, would they not?—A. I do not see why we should make any distinction as to color in reference to the question of emigration.

TESTIMONY OF A. B. BRADISH.

A. B. **BRADISH** sworn and examined.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Question. State your name and residence to the reporter.—Answer. A. B. Bradish, Atchison, Kansas.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am in the lumber business.

Q. Do you occupy any official position in that county?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is it?—A. I am one of the county commissioners.

Q. Of Atchison county?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I want to know of you, Mr. Bradish, what amount of aid has had to be extended to these emigrants by public charity, that is, on the part of your county?—A. Well, I suppose—I did not hear the testimony—but I suppose that the other witnesses from Atchison County explained to you about the boat-load that came up there.

Q. Yes, sir; that matter was explained to us.—A. Well, we had to help them at that time to the extent of three hundred dollars; bills came in the first quarter after that to about that amount, and some of those emigrants are still left, perhaps one hundred of them, and they are the objects of some charity yet, and I suppose it has cost the county to the present time from three hundred to five hundred dollars.

Q. Did the bills come before you as a member of the board?—A. Yes, sir. They are set down in our accounts as one of the things the county has to pay for.

Q. The county pays those bills?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the general sentiment on this whole subject in your place?—A. Well the general sentiment in our community is that these people had better not come to us; that our country is an agricultural country, and the farmers are not able to use them. They have plenty of land, but they are not in a condition to hire, and so these laborers have little or nothing to do. The most of them have gone; there are very few idle ones now in our town.

Q. What are your politics?—A. Republican.

Q. You think there is no demand or desire on the part of your people for this immigration?—A. No, sir; not for that class of immigration; we would, of course, as soon have colored immigrants as any if they come with some means, and were able to go out and get a piece of land and work; I think there is no prejudice against them on account of color.

Q. You simply do not want a pauper population there?—A. No, sir; we do not want such a population.

TESTIMONY OF GREEN SMITH.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 10, 1880.

GREEN SMITH (colored) sworn and examined.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Question. Where do you live when you are at home?—Answer. I lives in Atchison, Kansas.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Ever since the first day of last May.

Q. Where did you live before that?—A. Vicksburg, Mississippi, in Warren County.

Q. Do you expect to remain in Atchison?—A. I do, sir; for a while.

Q. How are you getting along out there?—A. I am getting along pretty well.

Q. As well as you did at Vicksburg?—A. Better.

Q. You think you have done better, do you?—A. I do; whatever I work for there I get, whether it be little or much.

Q. Did you not get what you worked for at Vicksburg?—A. I got some, but of course I did not get what I thought was right according to my labor.

Q. Do you know anybody down at Vicksburg that owes you anything now?—A. No, sir; I do not say any particular one.

Q. How did you come to go to Kansas?—A. Well, we had an invitation to Kansas—that is, by papers circulating through the country—I do not know where they were from.

Q. What are you doing at Atchison for a living?—A. I works at elevators, transferring grain.

Q. How long since you have had employment there?—A. Since about the 27th of March, the day that I was subpœnaed to come here.

Q. You got employment the day you started to come here, did you?—A. I have been working ever since I have been in Atchison up to that time. I quit then to come here.

Q. Have you got your family there?—A. No, sir; my family is in Mississippi.

Q. Why did you not send for them?—A. Well, she is with her parents, and so did not care to follow me there.

Q. Did you have any trouble with her that caused you to go up there?—Not at all.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. You are glad you went to Kansas, are you?—A. In one sense I am, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN DAVIS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 12, 1880.

John Davis, sworn and examined:

Question. Your name, please?—Answer. John Davis.

Q. Where is your residence?—A. I reside at Junction City, Kansas, near Fort Riley.

Q. What is your occupation, Mr. Davis?—A. I am a farmer and the editor of a newspaper.

Q. Editor of what paper?—A. The Junction City Tribune.

Q. What is its politics?—A. Greenback.

Q. Have you had some of this emigration in your part of the State?—A. Yes, sir; we have.

Q. How much?—A. We have no means of knowing exactly—somewhere between one hundred to a hundred and fifty during the last ten or eleven months would be my estimate.

Q. Is there a demand there for them on the part of the people?—A. There is not no, sir.

Q. How did they come to migrate to your place; do you know?—A. I do not know the originating cause, but when we heard of their coming there was a sort of bravado of hospitality that ran through our community, that was friendly to their arrival, and they felt that they were welcome to our place, as well as to other parts of Kansas. We heard that they were congregating at Topeka afterwards, and our citizens were free to say that they could take care of a few. There was a company of them variously estimated at from sixty to seventy that first arrived. I first saw them when in tents near Smoky Hill River. I went down in a team to take supplies to them that were donated by citizens. On my first and second visit some ladies went with me, and we attended the funeral of one of the negroes who had died. A native minister, a colored man, perhaps a mulatto, officiated. I was down at that camp some three or four times, on various errands. before it was dissipated by their finding places in the country and otherwheres.

Q. Who were engaged in inducing these people to come to your place?—A. Prominent men who were friendly to it.

Q. Who?—A. Capt. John K. Wright, one of our capitalists there, and Martin Mullens, clerk of the district court, who has been elected treasurer of the county.

Q. Are they of the same mind still?—A. They are not, sir; they have changed their views on it.

Q. Has the matter become larger and graver than was anticipated?—A. No, I do not think that it has. There is no feature of discouragement at our place. The discouraging aspect is the disposition of the negroes to remain in the village, and not to go out into the country. There was not much difficulty in finding places for a good many of them at first, but on receiving donations of clothing and their first cash payments for their labor they invariably drifted into the towns, and did not go into the country again. I had an experience of that sort myself with a man who represented himself to me as coming from New Orleans. I hired him to chop weeds, and I paid him for seven days. He spoke of the fair treatment and good pay he received, but he left, saying that he did not want to stay in the country. W. D. Finley, a farmer about four miles from town, and Capt. W. B. Lowe, one of the residents on the same farm, a relative of Mr. Finley and a retired military man on a pension, employed a family of them. He said that they were well satisfied with them during the first month. I met them and heard their reports. They are continually reporting such things in my office in town. Mr. Finley and Captain Lowe are now of the opposite sentiment on the question. Captain Lowe is especially bitter against the colored people; he says he cannot make anything of them, because they won't remain in the country. That is the reason he gives for changing his views as to the desirability of these negroes coming there.

Q. In point of fact, Mr. Davis, are they adapted to the character of labor you have there on your farms; you farm a greal deal by machinery there?—A. They are not well adapted to our kind of work; at least, they can only do incidental work. They cannot take a leading part. They cannot do what a white man can do, but are best fitted for doing the various sorts of incidental chores, and they could find a good deal of that kind of work if they would only remain contented.

Q. What do you think the effect of this movement will be on white emigration to your State?—A. My own impression is that it tends to divert and diminish the white immigration into our State. I have talked with men on the Santa Fé road, and wtih men who live at Topeka, and with others on this point, and their impression is, and mine as I have gathered it from various sources, that this immigration of colored people tends to diminish the white immigration into our State, to prevent or diminish the flow of capital into the State, and in these respects it is a damage. I have noted down as a memorandum some points that appeared to me to be of importance in reference to this question, and if you desire it I can allude to them here.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be very glad to get your views fully as to the causes of this exodus.

The WITNESS. Well, as to the causes of the exodus, I have noted this: There was a general invitation to Kansas, arising from several reasons; and first, from the prestige and reputation of the State on the slavery question. Then by the circulars and illustrations of railroad men and land agents, stating the facts and fancies of our fine climate and rich soil. Then by speeches of the governor of the State proclaiming that the oppressed blacks of the South were especially welcome to the broad, free homesteads of Kansas. I cannot lay my hand on a single document that the governor has put his signature to this effect, but the impression is that he made speeches especially favorable to that class of emigration. I was talking with A. B. Whiting on the subject. He belonged to the employment bureau awhile, perhaps does yet, and he thought that Governor St. John "slopped over" in one of his speeches inviting them to come, saying that we had so many broad acres and wide doors of hospitality to welcome them. But, beside that, we have not specially invited them nor spent a dollar to induce them to come.

Mr. BLAIR. That is different from the State of Indiana in that respect at least.

The WITNESS. Well, I say here that the speeches of the governor, proclaiming that the oppressed blacks of the South were welcome to the broad, free homesteads of Kansas, was one of the incentives that led these people to look towards Kansas as a paradise for them. Now, the fact is that men of exceptional enterprise will go into dug-outs and make homes for themselves by their own muscles, and these are the kind of men we want. The plan is usually for men to build as cheaply as possible, to seek employment as laborers, and camp in a neighboring dug-out, and it may be months before he aspires to the dignity of a home of his own. Such homes can be made, and are made, but it requires the energy and patience of the Northern European to do it; I have not known of a single black man doing it. I know now of but one native black man, Mr. Gardner, who lives in my neighborhood. I say, also, that one of the great causes of this exodus was the cordial reception of the first arrivals by the governor and the people, and a treatment of them better than white men are treated in the same destitute condition. On this point the honorable S. N. Wood, speaker of the house of representatives of the Kansas legislature, said, in a paper published by him, something to this effect: "that if a white man comes to Topeka, in destitute circumstances, and asks for victuals, they put them to work breaking stone on the streets; but if a black man comes, he is introduced to the governor and they give him three square meals." While this is simply a pithy characterization of the subject, and is not to be taken as literal fact, yet it expresses very well the difference in the treatment of the two classes of people and serves very well as an illustration.

Now, the first results of these causes I have named were heavy arrivals of these immigrants at Atchison, Wyandotte, Lawrence, Topeka, Parsons, Emporia, and other places, and mostly at Topeka, where the formal invitation was strongest and the welcome more cordial. The arrivals at Junction City were about one hundred and fifty; that was the highest estimate I could arrive at from the sources that appeared to me to be the most reliable. There was a discouraging cause, and we mentioned it in the newspapers at the time and canvassed the matter considerably. About the time we were expecting arrivals, four of our native colored men—one of them employed in driving a delivery wagon from our mill, delivering flour to customers in the city—for some reason or other, were induced to take four barrels of flour from the warehouse. They were found in possession of the flour by the sheriff in the middle of the night. He saw some suspicious circumstances connected with the movement of the wagon and of these colored men, and he informed the marshal at once, and by daylight they had the flour and the men captured. One of the men, by some extenuating circumstances in the evidence—turning State's evidence, perhaps—was not tried; the other three were tried and sent to the penitentiary. This fact was mentioned in the papers at the time as having a tendency to cool the ardor of the emigration.

I will say as to those that came, that they generally found homes in the country, and the farmers were kind and liberal towards them; but when clothes were furnished and money payments made, the negroes left and went to the towns, and now live by occasional jobs, by charity, &c. There are no exodites on farms now, within my knowledge; and farmers having tried them once do not want them again. I spoke of Mr. Whiting as being in the employment bureau. It seems that he sent a negro, with his family, to his brother in Davis County. The negro got discontented and went back to Topeka. Mr. Whiting reprimanded him, saying that as he had been well treated he must return, and I think he did return; but if he did, I think it is the only case I have heard of.

Their present condition is that of idleness. When subpœnaed to come here I kept my eyes open, and when I landed at Topeka I stopped half a day to see what I could see there. I saw a good many negroes on the fences who seemed to be idle, and it struck me that I would make a count of them, and as the result I counted in my walk between the depot and the center of the city some thirty-one of them. Three of these appeared to be doing something; all the rest were idle; and by the time I reached the Gordon House, where I stopped, between the center of the city and the depot, I counted sixty-one or sixty-two, and all but eight of them appeared to be idle, and I counted all the colored men I saw. At our place they are usually hunting jobs or standing idle. At Emporia they may have an organization, but it does not appear to have received them very readily or to have cared for them very thoroughly. I have a short extract from the journal of that place, a Republican paper there, which says:

> The crowded condition of some of the buildings in which the Southern negroes have found lodgment is a matter worthy of the earnest consideration of the city authorities. There is no doubt that they brought with them a contagious disease resembling measles, which proved fatal to so many children, and unless some means shall be employed to relieve the crowded condition of their present quarters, and renovate them before the summer, the very worst forms of pestilential disease may germinate there and spread with fatal effects through the city. The city council should give some attention to this matter, and, if possible, adopt some precautionary measures. These places are in many cases already terribly filthy. Some citizens who live in the east part of town say that the old building on Sixth avenue, occupied by the negroes, is so offensive that they will not take that street any more in going home.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What is the date of that paper?—Q. It is the Emporia Journal of Saturday, March 27, 1880.

Now, as to our general reasons for favoring the exodus, if the committee desires to have them, I will say that they were these: That we might do a favor to a people said to be oppressed in their own land; that we might acquire a desirable and permanent class of labor; that we might add to the wealth of the State by the settlement of the wild lands by a thrifty and industrious class of people; that we might increase our population prior to the approaching census (that was spoken of especially in the papers), and thus add to our strength in the national legislature. This was said to be a Republican move, and Democrats smilingly replied that States overrun with negroes generally vote the Democratic ticket. Everybody either encouraged, or passively submitted to, the inception of the exodus. *But all have been deceived.* The negroes do not find the ease they expected, but are a burden—are not self-supporting; they shun the country, where labor is plentiest, and hang around the town. They have not changed the politics of the State, from Republican to Democratic; they do not add to the population or wealth or political power of the State, as the reputation of being overrun with a pauper population is known to materially modify and decrease the immigration of white men of means and industry; and in some places, where they have been left to themselves, by their squalor and filth they threaten the vicinage with contagious disease.

As to further results, I have recently talked with Governor St. John, with members of the employment bureau, with men who have employed exodites, and with men generally. All agree in expressing complete disgust, and are anxious to escape or remedy the burden on some sort of humanitarian grounds. Now, from my general judgment of the case, I cannot suppress the suspicion that while Kansas and other Northern States have been mourning over the Southern management of the freedmen, the South has been quietly favoring the exodus, that the Northern people might have a taste of the difficulties on hand, and that in making the selections they have not sent us their best specimens. In other words, that Kansas, and other States, have been a sort of Botany Bay for the town negroes and pauper classes of the South, while the better classes and field hands have been more kindly treated and retained. However this may be, Kansas is sick and tired of the past experiences and present aspects of the case. She sends out no further invitations, but begs most earnestly that the tide, if it must continue, may be diverted to other and wealthier States, more capable of employing and managing the class of people in question. I have touched, I believe, on all the points that seem to me to be important in the question you are now considering.

Cross examination of witness by Mr. WINDOM:

Q. How many of these immigrants have come to your place, Mr. Davis? —A. From one hundred to one hundred and fifty; about that number.

Q. Did you keep no record of them?—A. No, sir; we had no organization that kept an exact account of them. They are appearing and disappearing frequently.

Q. Well, you think you have received one hundred and fifty in all?—A. I should think one hundred and fifty would be the outside limit; yes, sir.

Q. You spoke of Governor St. John's speeches as having encouraged them; have you any recollection of what he said, in terms?—A. My best recollection of what Governor St. John said is the report that came to me through Mr. Whiting, a member of the employment bureau, and he stated that Governor St. John proclaimed that we had a large State, capable of receiving, I think he said, millions, as the number; and that the oppressed of the South were especially welcome to come to Kansas.

Q. You did not hear, and have never seen, that speech yourself, have you?—A. No, sir; I did not hear it; I have only seen reports of it in the papers. The general impression is that he delivered it; and it is the only speech on that subject he has delivered.

Q. You spoke of walking through Topeka and counting the negroes, and you said that out of sixty-one or sixty-two that you saw and counted, you only saw eight who seemed to be employed; now how many white people did you see in that walk?—A. I did not count them; they were coming and going; the negroes were usually standing around idle.

Q. Well, did you not see more white people than negroes in that walk?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the white people were coming and going and not sitting on the fence?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And so you judge they were employed at something, while the negroes were not?—A. That would be the general impression—the impression most people would gather.

Q. But you do not know whether any of them were loafing, or tramping, or that all were at work?—A. I could not say.

Q. So far as that is concerned, you do not know whether the negroes were worse, in that respect, than the white people?—A. Yes, sir; I can say positively as to that; the one class seemed to be employed, while the others did not.

Q. Is it worse to sit on a fence doing nothing or to be moving around and doing nothing. Do you think there is much difference between the two?—A. If I saw a negro in motion I would call him employed. I remember seeing one negro with a sack on his head. I counted him as one of the employed.

Q. Well, is a white tramp necessarily employed when he is moving around?—A. If he is moving on, it seems like he was willing to do something; at least, that he is working and has something to do.

Q. Now, let me ask you, Mr. Davis, what reason you have for thinking that the South really favors this exodus?—A. Well, I have heard it smilingly said, by Democrats, that the South was willing enough for this class of their population to go away. I do not think I could put my hand on a single individual who has said positively that he favored it, but the matter has been thoroughly discussed in the newspapers, and I know I made that positive charge, that I thought so.

Q. Do you really believe it?—A. I do.

Q. You really believe that the South wants the negroes to go away?—A. That class of them that have been coming up into Kansas, I do, sir. I was an old line abolitionist at the start, and I feel quite sure that the Southern men are trying to give us a taste of that class of their population that will be most distasteful to us.

Q. Is that the reason why they established an agency at Kansas City to get them to go back?—A. Certain ones, only, they will pay to induce them to go back.

Q. Do they specify particular individuals?—A. I understand that they have agents who talk with certain individual negroes, and when they find one whom they consider to be the right sort of a man for them they will pay his way back.

Q. And the worthless ones they leave behind?—A. Yes, sir; that seemed to be the reason of the selection of some and the rejection of others—at least that is my judgment about it.

Q. You think, then, that the escape of some of the negroes has had an effect on the part of some of their late employers to desire to get them back?—A. It has had a tendency that way; and no matter what the cause of their escape may be, it has shown to these planters that they will leave if they make up their minds to go, and the effect has been favorable on the minds of the planters, as is evident from the desire of some of them at least to get back the best of them.

Q. What do you think the causes of dissatisfaction among the negroes there have been?—A. Largely the same causes that make the white man discontented. We have had a panic; very hard times; and the South has felt it as well as the North; these men have been pinched there, as well as in other places where the laboring man has felt the hard times. Then, again, these circulars of railroad men, and land agents, have been very freely circulated, in Europe as well as in America, representing the State of Kansas to be a sort of haven of bliss, and that all who were so fortunate as to be able to get there would be much better off than where they were; and that has operated no doubt favorably on this movement to our State.

Q. Have you talked with any of these negroes as to the causes of their leaving the South?—A. Yes; I have talked with the man that was with me about it.

Q. Have any of them complained of ill treatment; or has the man you speak of as being with you complained of ill treatment as the cause of his leaving the South?—A. He has said to me that he heard a good deal of ill treatment of his people there, but he had not been ill treated himself. I will say that he seemed to be a sort of exceptional man among them—he had paid his own way to the North, and had money enough to go back if he wished to do so.

Q. He was the only one you talked with on that subject?—A. I have heard miscellaneous conversations on the subject by others of them at different times.

Q. From your general knowledge of the condition of the colored race at the South is that condition good or bad?—A. In some places it is not very favorable.

Q. Do not you really think that they are as a race very badly treated by the white Democrats of the South?—A. I can only judge by the reports I have seen as to that in the newspapers, and they have widely differed, you know, and both sides have expressed themselves.

Q. But what is your own judgment?—A. There are cases where they have been badly treated.

Q. Do you not think that they have been badly treated generally?—A. That may have been the case at one time, but I do not think it is the case now.

Q. Do you think that they are permitted to vote freely and fully and fairly, in Louisiana and Mississippi particularly?—A. I am inclined to think that in most places, so far as I have received what I think is reliable information, that they are honored with position and receive liberal treatment, as much so as in any other section. I understand, for instance, that they go to the legislature there, that they are on the the city and county boards, and I know that there is nothing of that sort in our State.

Q. Take Louisiana, for instance, where I think the census clearly shows that there is large colored majority, and they have three colored members of the legislature; do you think that that is illustrative of liberal treatment of them politically?—A. Well, in Kansas we have a large Republican majority, and we have no colored men in our legislature.

Q. But do you not have a majority of Republicans in your legislature?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you have a majority of negroes in Kansas, or anything like it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then the party that is in the majority is represented in Kansas, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is the party that is in the majority in Louisiana represented in the legislature there?—A. I cannot say.

Q. What is your belief about it?—A. I cannot see that it is necessary to suppose that the negro must vote the Republican ticket there.

Q. Do you not know that the negroes in the South are Republicans, if they are permitted to cast their vote fully and freely?—A. I do not know that, sir.

Q. Well, do you not think it is suggestive of some denial of their rights where a State in which the colored race has so large a majority, only three or four of the representatives in the legislature are of that race?—A. No, not necessarily; the whites are an intelligent class, and intelligence generally gains the best representation; it is so with us throughout the North. We have colored children in our schools, but we have not a single colored man on our school board, or connected in any way with the official management of the schools.

Q. But you have not very many colored men in your State, have you?—A. Quite a good many.

Q. Before this exodus?—A. Yes, sir; a good many. I have a colored man employed in my office who has been running our press for more than four years.

Q. Didn't you have a colored man on your electoral ticket in Kansas some years ago?—A. I am not sure; the matter did not come under my observation.

Q. How long have you lived in Kansas, Mr. Davis?—A. Almost eight years, sir.

Q. And you have shut your eyes to all the charges of bulldozing and whipping and all that sort of thing that has been going on in the South, and you do not believe that it has been going on there?—A. I have not said so.

Q. *Do* you believe it?—A. I claim that in some places they have been badly treated.

Q. Where are those places?—A. The places in which it has been charged that these occurrences have been most frequent and where they have assumed the worst forms.

Q. Well, are not these places in Louisiana and Mississippi?—A. Of course I cannot specify; I have read of them in the newspapers only; read of them frequently.

Q. Well, you spoke of some places; have you credited the newspaper reports that you have seen?—A. I should be willing to credit some, not all of the newspaper reports I have seen.

Q. Have you read the sworn statement of hundreds of colored witnesses that have been published in the voluminous evidence taken by committees on that subject?—A. I have read some of that evidence.

Q. What do you think it indicates as to the political treatment of the negro, when at one election the Republicans had some two or three thousand majority, and at the next election, after bulldozing had had its way, but one Republican vote was cast?—A. I think it indicates something wrong.

Q. Don't you think that that "something wrong" had something to do with the exodus?—A. I should think it had. I think there was an aggregation of causes that produced the exodus, and that was one of them.

Q. Ill treatment was one ?—A. Yes.

Q. By what party are these negroes ill-treated—not by the Republican party, are they ?—A. Well, not having travelled in the South, I do not think I ought to testify positively on that score; my judgment is that the Democrat is for his party and the Republican is for his.

Q. Do you think the bulldozing is done by the Republican party where it is done at all ?—A. The general impression is and the reports of the newspapers would indicate that it is not.

Q. Well, if these negroes are not wanted in some of the Northern States, and if their labor is needed in the South, don't you think that the best thing the Democrats of the South could do would be to stop the abuse of them and keep them at home ?—A. So far as we are concerned, yes, sir; they had better keep them at home.

Q. Would not their better treatment in the South stop the exodus ?—A. Well, I should like to have them treated fairly there as American citizens and be secure in all their rights.

Q. If they had been these, would there not be less of exodus ?—A. I think there are other causes operating to produce the exodus, causes aside from their political relations.

Q. Do you not think that the South is the best place for the negro if he is well treated there ?—A. Yes, if he could be satisfied anywhere, I think the South would be the best place for him.

Q. What do you think would be the effect of the distribution of a portion of the colored race from the thickly settled negro districts of the South into the older and richer States of the North upon the sectional troubles that now disturb the country; do you think it would tend to put a stop to these troubles ?—A. My impression is that it would have a good effect both upon the negro and upon the Northern and Southern white men. I think the exodus thus far has been productive of good in this very direction. It has effected good in three directions: It has taught and is teaching the negroes that what they read in the glowing circulars that have been scattered amongst them is not all true in fact; and that though they may have hard times in the South, when they get to Kansas it is not all paradise there; that they must work there as in other places if they would make a living, and that the climate there is not as favorable for them as at the South; and this exodus has tended and will tend to correct the impression on their minds that they will have an easy time in some other place, and to show them that they must be willing to put up with discomforts and suffer hardships from nature and society rather than to flee to some imaginary land of pictured bliss. That effect has already been produced on the negro mind.

On the Northern mind, in the second place, the effect has been to modify the views of a great many who have criticised the Southern management of the negro, by showing them that we ourselves have not understood that management, and that we have not understood the negro as the South understand him; and we have come to be better acquainted with the character of that now freed population, and in the future we will look with greater respect and liberality on the question of their treatment at the South by the Southern people.

And, thirdly, it will have the effect upon the Southern employers themselves to cause them to see that if they don't treat their labor fairly and properly they can and will flee from them, and that affects them at once in their pecuniary interest and in their questions of political economy most seriously, and they will thus find it to be to their interest and advantage in every respect to treat their laborers with the greatest liberality and fairness.

I have been talking with a number of men from the Southern States, and from their statements I am convinced that the treatment of the negro will be and has become more favorable from this very exodus, no doubt as one of the procuring causes. They say that at first the negroes were afraid they would be re-enslaved, especially if a Democratic administration came into power, and, on the other hand, their old masters were afraid that the negroes would preponderate in numbers and political power, and humiliate them in some way or other if the Republicans should come into power. And so both sides were in an uncomfortable attitude one, toward the other.

My own opinion is that the exodus thus far has been favorable in its effect upon all three of the parties concerned. For the future, I think it would be a great thing if this class of population could be properly distributed, in reasonable numbers and under the proper conditions, to the Northern towns and cities, but especially to the country places, where they could develop the land and become producers. Its tendency thus far has been to flock to the towns and villages, and thus to increase an already too large floating population in the towns and villages; and if this tendency is not corrected, and unless they can be induced to go to the unoccupied lands and be distributed under the homestead laws, their coming to the North will not be a benefit, but an injury to the North.

I think, however, that their distribution will have one general effect, and that is, to increase the homogeneity of our people, and to increase the appreciation of all classes of their rights and privileges under our common laws and free institutions.

Q. And to destroy to a great degree the sectional feelings that exist?—A. Yes, sir; if the exodus could be properly managed so as to make a proper distribution of those that come, without the concentration of them in overwhelming numbers at certain points and thus overburdening those points, the results would be good and not disastrous.

Q. What should you think of the proposition that a territory be set apart for them, where they could go by themselves and work out their own destiny in that way, if they desired to do it; what would be the effect of such a disposition of them?—A. I should not favor that; I should not think that would be best under any circumstances.

Q. Why?—A. It would be opposed to the homogeneity of our population, that we ought to secure in this country. We ought not to have here a race class independent and separate from the body-politic.

Q. But you do not want them to come to Kansas to be assimilated there?—A. We are willing to take our share of them as a burden until they can become assimilated, but not more than our just and proper share, and not more than we can naturally absorb.

Q. And you think you have more than your fair share now?—A. In some places we have; yes, sir.

A. You think that this homogeneity of which you speak can be best secured by their more equal distribution over the Northern States generally?—A. Yes; that is my idea, exactly; and I believe that many of the Northern States desire to have them, and that wherever an invitation is extended to them into States and places where they desire to have them, that desire ought to be gratified.

Q. But you think that the Southern planters have learned that they must treat their labor well or it will leave them, and that they do not desire?—A. Yes.

Q. How do you reconcile that with the theory you have stated here that they have sent their worst specimens North that we might have a taste of them and not desire any more; does that look as if they feared the loss of their labor?—A. Well, they choose their labor.

Q. But if they choose it according to their wants, that would hardly argue that the exodus would cause them to fear a loss of their labor, would it?—A. A hint of your own will answer that. Some—a few of them—they do not desire should leave to go anywhere else.

Q. You think that "a few of them" they do not want to part with?—A. I think so, undoubtedly.

Q. Well, on the whole, except that Kansas has got an oversupply, you think that the exodus is a good thing, do you?—A. I think its tendency is in the right direction, and that in the end it will cure itself so far as it is an evil.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. From what State did you move to Kansas?—A. From Illinois; I am a native of Central Illinois.

By the **Chairman**:

Q. Do you know of any Northern State in whose legislature a black man has ever been a member?—A. I have a vague impression that there is such a case; one such case now.

Q. Yes; in Ohio.—A. It may be in Ohio.

Q. Do you remember or know of any other State, with the single exception of Ohio, in which there is a colored man in the State legislature?—A. I cannot call any other to mind, sir.

Q. Do you know the fact that last fall, in Ohio, a colored man named Williams ran for the State legislature and was elected, but that he ran twenty-six hundred votes behind on his ticket, the Republican ticket?—A. Perhaps it was in Ohio; I have a vague impression that there was such a case, although I have not borne in mind cases of that sort. I know that in our place colored men do not occupy positions on the juries, or on the school boards, or as city and county officers, and yet we have the reputation of treating the colored people well.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. By your "place" you mean your town?—A. I mean our town and county and all the vicinage near by.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 12, 1880.

J. H. **Shepherd** recalled.

By the **Chairman**:

Question. It has been stated here, Mr. Shepherd, by Mr. Burch and perhaps some others, that there are only two or three or four colored members in the Louisiana legislature at this time; what do you know about that?—Answer. My impression is that there are fourteen.

Mr. **Blair**. I did not understand Mr. Burch to make that statement. He said that there were three or four colored senators; perhaps two colored senators and twelve members in the house.

The **Chairman**. I understood him to say that; while fourteen is the number, as in the published report.

Mr. **Blair**. Fourteen is the number, I think.

The **Witness**. Yes; there are fourteen colored men in all in the legislature of Louisiana.

TESTIMONY OF DR. H. T. DILLARD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 12, 1880.

H. T. DILLARD sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Doctor, where do you live?—Answer. In Louisiana, Bossier Parish, near Shreveport.

Q. What do you do as an occupation or profession?—A. I farm and practice medicine together, sir.

Q. Do you employ labor?—A. I do.

Q. To what extent?—A. Do you mean in numbers?

Q. Yes.—A. Well, really, the number of laborers I employ I could not exactly tell; I have about three hundred and fifty souls, little and big, young and old, under my control. I have a small farm above Shreveport.

Q. What is the difficulty, if any, on the part of the colored people in getting employment in your parish?—A. Indolence, I suppose, sir, is the main difficulty.

Q. Is that the only difficulty?—A. The only one that I know of, of any consequence.

Q. Can they get employment and good wages if they are willing to work?—A. So far as I have known, they can and do.

Q. Have you ever known any difficulty on their part in obtaining labor if they desired it?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. What wages do you give?—A. I give twelve to sixteen dollars a month in wages, money.

Q. And board them?—A. Yes, sir; I give them their rations in addition to that.

Q. You give them their wages and rations and a house to live in without charge?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have any of them left you for any particular point?—A. Kansas, do you mean?

Q. Yes.—A. No, sir.

Q. Did they leave your part of the country?—A. They left me in the movements round the country, "local moves," we call them; over and above that none left me.

Q. Have you ever interfered with their right to vote, doctor?—A. Not in the least, sir.

Q. Do you know of anybody in your neighborhood that has done so?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. What is the comparative population of your parish, as between the colored men and the whites?—A. Which has the largest number, do you mean?

Q. Yes.—A. I declare really I do not know; on the river, I am not very well posted; with reference to the hills, we have a very large colored population; I do not know what the division is with reference to the river bottom and the hills; but in the bottom right along the river, there is quite an overplus of darkies, but in the hills there is not; in reference to the whole parish, I could not tell you.

Q. Do the colored people hold any offices in your parish?—A. They used to, a year or so ago. I do not know in reference to that now, because I am not much of a politician; I stay at home and attend to business, and try to make a living.

Q. Do you know any of these colored candidates that have been molested in trying to run for office?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. How are they treated in the courts, doctor ?—A. So far as I know, very well, sir; equal to the white people in that respect; I know of no difference.

Q. Is not the present recorder of Bossier Parish a colored man ?—A. He is, sir.

Q. When was he elected ?—A. I could not state the time, really, because I do not remember. I know I have had several papers recorded there.

Q. What are the school privileges for colored folks in your parish ?—A. Very good; really better than the school privileges enjoyed by the whites, I think.

Q. How are they better ?—A. Well, because the white people do not want to send their children to them, and on the plantations, as in my case, I have but one child, a little cousin whom I am raising, and as a matter of course I would not send him to the school, and we have no white schools on the river bank.

Q. In other words, they have colored schools and no white schools ?—A. Not in Bossier; if they have in the hills, I am not aware of the fact.

Q. How much of the time during the year do these schools hold ?—A. I declare, I do not know that I could state positively. I will say, to be positive, six months, more or less; there may be a little more, sometimes not quite so much.

Q. About six months of the year ?—A. Yes; I understand it to be from five to nine months; I will just say six, more or less; that will cover it, I think.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Are you a native of Louisiana, doctor ?—A. Yes, sir; I was born in Louisiana.

Q. Have you always resided there ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where else have you lived ?—A. In Texas.

Q. When did you live in Texas ?—A. When I was a little bit of a boy, with my father.

Q. Well, how long has it been since you returned to Louisiana ?—A. In 1860, it was.

Q. Have you been there ever since ?—A. What time I have not been off to school, I have.

Q. What is your age now ?—A. I am now twenty-five years old, and past.

Q. You were quite young then when you returned to Louisiana to reside there ?—A. Yes, sir; I was.

Q. You speak of having three hundred and fifty people under your control ?—A. I said "souls."

Q. So you did; well, that is a pretty strong term, won't you tell us what you mean ?—A. I have the land that they occupy, and as a matter of course the parents keep their children.

Q. Well, explain the nature of your "control" of them ?—A. I rent the land to them and hire them for wages, and work them for shares.

Q. Do you consider that "controlling" people ?—A. That is what we call it in our country.

Q. And it is that sort of thing that enables you to have these people and to speak of them as "controlling" them ?—A. Well, I have the land to employ so many.

Q. Is it not a fact that those who have land can and do everywhere in the world control the people who live on it ?—A. I do not know about the whole world; I have not been all over it.

Q. Well, there is that state of things that enables you to speak in the way you have, so that you generally speak of those who live on your land as "controlling" them?—A. You Northern people may have one idea of control, and we another. My idea is, that having sufficient land to employ so many hands, I control all that are in that way under me, making in all, counting wives and children, three hundred and fifty souls that is my idea.

Q. Is not the land there usually owned by a comparatively small number of men?—A. No, sir; not usually, some of them own very little land; some own a good deal—it is just owing to the amount of money a man has got.

Q. I do not mean to say that white men all own the land; but is not the land there almost universally owned by a few individuals of the white race?—A. No, sir; I do not consider that it is; that is my opinion of it.

Q. You know of some colored men who own land?—A. I know of some who tell me they own it.

Q. Do not you know, as a matter of fact, that they own it; you see them in possession and actual control of the land, do you not?—A. Yes; they purchase it just as the whites do.

Q. How many acres have you that you occupy?—A. I have some 1,996 acres, sir.

Q. 1,996?—A. Yes, sir; more or less.

Q. Is this all in one plantation, all these 1,996 acres that you own and occupy?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who owns the adjoining plantation to yours, in either direction?—A. Well, north of me a friend of mine, who sits here, Mr. Williams, is my neighbor.

Q. How much land does Mr. Williams own?—A. There you are too hard for me, sir.

Q. Do you not know?—A. I keep posted only on my own business, not my neighbor's.

Q. Well, I will ask Mr. Williams himself (turning to that gentleman). How much land do you occupy, Mr. Williams?—A. I occupy about eight hundred and fifty acres, sir.

Q. Who is another neighbor of yours, Mr. Dillard?—A. To the south of me there is Mr. Belcher.

Q. And how much land does he own and occupy?—A. I could not say, sir, exactly.

Q. Any other neighbor?—A. Yes; Captain Vinson is another neighbor of mine.

Q. Well, how much land has Captain Vinson?—A. Indeed I could not tell you.

Q. You have not informed yourself about this?—A. No, sir; you need not ask me the amount of land, the number of acres that my neighbors own, because I don't know.

Q. Well, does Captain Vinson own as much as you, do you think?—A. Not near as much.

Q. He owns but a small tract?—A. Yes, a comparatively small amount of land; I do not suppose he uses more than five or six mules on his place, sir.

Q. Well, who else is there adjoining your land?—A. There is Mrs. M. D. C. Cain.

Q. Yes; we have heard of her plantation here; how large a plantation is that?—A. I could not tell you, sir; I have no idea at all, because she did own a great deal of land, but she has sold it off on mortgages,

&c.; I really do not know how much she now owns; and it is much the same way, I think, with Captain Vinson's property there.

Q. How many colored men do you know, Dr. Dillard, that own land there in your neighborhood?—A. I would have to go to thinking over it to answer that question, and add them up; I could not really tell you as to how many own land there.

Q. Do most all of them own land?—A. O, no, sir; they do not, by any means.

Q. One in a hundred, do you think?—A. Well, that is owing to where you take them. For the whole parish I could not give you an estimate, because I don't know anything about it; if I was to give you an estimate under oath I should want it to be correct.

Q. Certainly; I should expect you to be correct in all your statements of fact; I wanted simply to get at an estimate of the amount of lands owned by the two classes, if possible?—A. Well, I cannot give estimates that would be accurate.

Q. Have you been an owner there for a considerable time?—A. No, sir; you see I have only been in the farming interest a short time, since the death of my father, only; and prior to that time I was off to school all the while, and when I came home I went to the practice of medicine, and since his death I have had control of the plantation I now occupy.

Q. How long has that been?—A. My father died in the year 1877, it has been since that.

Q. A question about the schools. Is there a school on your plantation?—A. Not right now, sir.

Q. How long since there has been one there?—A. There was one there last year.

Q. Who kept it; who taught the school?—A. I could not tell you; I never went there.

Q. You have been on the plantation three years, then?—A. O, I have been on the plantation ever since I was a little bit of a shaver; I was a boy there, sir.

Q. And you have three hundred and fifty souls there under your "control"; do you not know about the schools or the teachers that have been on that plantation?—A. I do not know who the school teachers are.

Q. You have paid no attention to the school or to the teachers?—A. That is not my mission or my business.

Q. I did not say that it was; I was merely asking for the facts.—A. Well, I don't know about the school.

Q. Did you ever go into the school there in your life?—A. No, sir; I have passed it often.

Q. You passed by on the other side?—A. I dedicated the land to them for a school and a church and they have utilized it for those purposes, I know.

Q. But you did not consider it your business to look after the schools, to see whether the children growing up around you on that large plantation of three hundred and fifty souls were getting an education or not?—A. Well, sir, I have said what my connection with that matter was.

Q. Would it not have been a good idea when you had three hundred and fifty souls under your care, that you were in a sense responsible for, to have taken a little interest in their education?—A. But I did not think it a good idea to ask the children about that.

Q. But would it not have been well to go inside of the school house once in a while, where the business of education of those children was going on, and to have taken a little interest in that?—A. I suppose it would, sir.

Q. Are there any other schools in that vicinity?—A. I have understood that there is one other, but I have not been in it myself.

Q. You know there is another school there?—A. I understand that they are scattered throughout the county, wherever there are churches.

Q. You have only a general idea, then, that there are schools around, but you do not know personally—you have not been in them?—A. I only know from what I hear—from hearsay.

Adjourned to April 13, 1880.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES V. PORTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 13, 1880.

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m. Present, Messrs. Voorhees (chairman), Vance, Pendleton, Windom, and Blair.

CHARLES V. PORTER sworn and examined.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Question. Please give to the stenographer your name in full.—Answer. Charles V. Porter.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Porter?—A. I live in the town of Natchitoches, La.

Q. The town of Natchitoches?—A. Yes, sir; in the town of Natchitoches, and the parish of Natchitoches.

Q. What do you do there?—A. I am a clerk.

Q. Clerk at what?—A. Clerk in a dry goods house—doing a retail and wholesale grocery and dry goods business.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I have lived there nearly all my life, with the exception of five years. I went there when I was five years old, and have been away to school a little; but I have lived there, you may say, all my life—not right in Natchitoches, but close to Natchitoches.

Q. You are a clerk in a dry goods store?—A. Yes, sir; a dry goods and grocery house; we do a large business there.

Q. Do the colored people trade at your place?—A. Yes, sir; we do a large business with the colored people.

Q. You say you do a large business?—A. Yes, sir; a large business for that place.

Q. Explain to us, if you please, how you trade with the colored people there, and whether they are wronged or robbed by the credit system, and whether they are charged more for what they buy than simply the increased price that is charged to all people who trade on credit?—A. Well, sir, as a matter of course they are not charged any higher for goods than white people have to pay when they have the cash; and within the last year, fortunately, some of them have had the cash. We sell them goods at, I should suppose, ten per cent. of the cost price. I know, myself, that not long ago my employer brought a colored man to me and told me that he wanted to buy a bill of goods, some fifty dollars worth, I believe, and he told me to let him have them at five per per cent. on the cost price—that is, the price marked, laid down, you know.

Q. Yes.—A. He said that this colored man wanted to pay cash for the goods, and that he was a good man, and he wanted him to have them at five per cent. of the cost price, and we sold them to him.

Q. Well, that was an exceptional case, of course?—A. Yes, sir; that is not the rule, of course; for a bill of a few dollars, we charge more; but we always let a colored man have his goods as cheap as a white man, if he has the money; if he has to buy on credit, we have standard prices for goods bought on time. But we charge white men the same as we charge negroes.

Q. Is that the general system that prevails with the merchants there? —A. Certainly, sir.

Q. Or do you know of any system of dealing or any understanding among the merchants there, by which they charge the negroes more for their goods than they charge the white people?—A. Not at all. Of course there are in our town, as I suppose there are in all other places, some dishonest merchants—but not first-class merchants, some little hucksters—that charge exorbitant prices, and that in this way take advantage of the colored people sometimes, but not because they are colored.

Q. No; but because they want their money?—A. Yes, sir, exactly; because they want their money, and nothing else.

Q. They don't care what his color is, so that they can make a big profit off of him?—A. O, no, sir; they don't care whether he is a black man or an Indian or what he is, so far as that is concerned.

Q. But this is not general; it applies to only a few there?—A. It is not general, of course. I will say that I suppose we have in our place as fine a business system as we have in any town in Louisiana.

Q. How large a place is Natchitoches?—A. I think it has about three thousand actual inhabitants.

Q. It is on Red River, several hundred miles above New Orleans?—A. Yes, sir; it is situated between New Orleans and Shreveport.

Q. What do you know about any troubles there at election time—race troubles—at election or any other time?—A. Well, sir, our last election, our last two elections there have been very peaceable indeed.

Q. What ticket do the colored people there vote; that is, the majority of them?—A. The negroes to a great extent voted the Democratic ticket—the State ticket, that is—and some of them voted the National Republican ticket; but the elections were characterized by good-will on both sides.

Q. Have you ever had any trouble there at elections?—A. Well, no, sir; no trouble. I do not know that we have ever had any trouble at all at elections. I do not think we have ever had a riot or trouble at election year in our town; I am certain not.

Q. Were the negroes who voted the National Republican ticket at any time interfered with any more when they voted that ticket than when they voted the Democratic State ticket?—A. No, sir; but five or six years ago a negro man that was a Democrat was interfered with a great deal more by Republican negroes than a negro who was a Republican was ever interfered with by Democrats—a great deal more.

Q. They are ostracised, and abused, and intimidated by their own color much more than people think they are?—A. Yes, sir; a Democratic negro is thus treated by his own people, the Republicans of them. Not now, however; that was in the olden times—I mean seven or eight years ago, before we succeeded in establishing the reign of law and order in our community.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. WINDOM:

Q. About what time do you date the commencement of this reign of law and order in your community?—A. Well, within the last six years, I should say; perhaps the last four years. At the end of the war our country was, I suppose, in the condition that every country finds itself in immediately after a war. We had a great many people there, and the times were generally characterized by a disregard for law and order—a state of things which I suppose is incident to such a period.

Q. Well, law and order came, you think, when the Democratic party came into power?—A. Well, yes, sir.

Q. That is what you call the reign of law and order, when the Democrats got into power?—A. Well, not exactly the Democrats, but good men.

Q. But the good men are all Democrats down there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that when the Democratic party got into power there good men got control of everything, and that restored law and order?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How was it in 1868, when two or three hundred colored men were murdered in Bossier Parish; was that the reign of law and order?—A. I never heard of that occurrence.

Q. You never heard of anybody being murdered for political reasons, did you?—A. I have heard of such things.

Q. Where?—A. In every State in the Union.

Q. In Minnesota, for instance?—A. I cannot call to mind any particular case; but I have heard of such things in the different States, sir.

Q. Did you ever hear of any such cases in Vermont or New Hampshire?—A. Well, I suppose there never was a government in the world where such things did not occur.

Q. You have heard, you say, of political murders in every State of the Union?—A. Yes, sir; I have read of them in the newspapers.

Q. Tell us of any such case you have read of.—A. I cannot call any specific case to mind.

Q. Did you ever hear of any murders in a Northern State on account of political preferences?—A. I think I have, but I cannot recall to mind just now any particular cases; but I have certainly heard and read of such occurrences.

Q. But you cannot remember any to name them?—A. No, sir; I cannot.

Q. Do you know of, or can you remember having heard of any murders for political reasons in Louisiana?—A. I cannot.

Q. You do not believe that there have ever been such occurrences, do you?—A. Perhaps there have been.

Q. But you do not believe that there have been, for you never heard of any?—A. I do not think any murders have been committed for political reasons.

Q. Did you ever hear of any negroes being whipped for political reasons?—A. No, sir; I did not.

Q. So you don't believe there have ever been any murders or whippings of the negroes in Louisiana for political reasons?—A. O, I don't say I don't believe there ever have been, but I say I can't call to mind any such cases that I would ascribe to political reasons as the cause. I know we have had troubles, and riots sometimes, and violence.

Q. But to the best of your knowledge, and you have lived there all your life, you say you do not believe that there have ever been five negroes that were killed for political reasons in Louisiana; is that what you would have us understand?—A. What do you call "political reasons?"

Q. Because they were Radicals?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have never known of five?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you ever known of one?—A. None that I know of; and I don't think there ever have been any.

TESTIMONY OF R. L. FAULKNER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 13, 1880.

R. L. FAULKNER (colored) sworn and examined:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Faulkner, where do you live?—Answer. On the Cane River, in Natchitoches Parish.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Well, sir, I have been living in the parish of Natchitoches for the last twenty years.

Q. Where did you live before that?—A. Well, sir, I have lived in different parts of Louisiana for the last thirty-odd years.

Q. Where did you live before that; where were you born?—A. I was born in South Carolina, sir.

Q. Were you a free man before the war?—A. Yes, sir; I was a free man.

Q. And you have lived in Natchitoches Parish for some twenty-odd years?—A. Twenty years; yes, sir.

Q. On Cane River all that time?—A. I did not altogether live there; I have been living on Cane River for the last twelve years.

Q. What did you do there?—A. Farming, sir, has been my occupation there.

Q. You are a farmer?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you own property? —A. Well, movable.

Q. You are not a holder of real estate, then?—A. No, sir; I do not own any land.

Q. Are you connected with the school board of your parish?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In what capacity?—A. As a school director, sir; I have served in that capacity.

Q. How long have you been a school director in your parish?—A. Well, I was appointed by Nicholls.

Q. By Governor Nicholls, the present governor?—A. No; the present governor is Wiltz.

Q. Yes; there has been a change. Are you still holding the position as school director?—A. Yes, sir; I still hold a commission as school director there.

Q. How are the colored people in your parish treated with respect to school privileges?—A. Well, sir; I cannot say anything against their treatment in that respect. But there is one thing: the appropriations have been so small when divided up into the different wards, that they could not operate the schools for any longer than two or three months, which amounted you may say to nothing, in the parish; but otherwise the people have the full privilege of schools for a limited time.

Q. But this want of money affected the white people just as much as it did the colored people, did it not?—A. O, yes, sir; of course.

Q. There is no distinction made on account of color?—A. No, sir but of course the people do not desire mixed schools.

Q. No.—A. No, sir; they do not want mixed schools.

Q. You have your own schools?—A. Precisely.

Q. Do you have white teachers sometimes for your colored schools?—A. Any, sir, that is competent; there are some white teachers that teaches colored schools in the different wards.

Q. Now about the courts; do you find any distinction as against the people of your race in the courts, in trials and the like?—A. Well, no, sir; but there is one thing: you know that as a class our people are rather ignorant; they are on the list of jurors, but they are in the minority; for why? because they need somebody to dictate their way through.

Q. As a class, your people having labored under the privations and disabilities of slavery, they are not, of course, as well educated and able to take the lead, you mean; and in that sense are in the minority?—A. Yes, sir; of course they are not able to compete with the white man.

Q. They cannot compete with the white man, as you term it, but they are empaneled on juries?—A. O, yes, sir; they sit on juries in the courts.

Q. Have you yourself ever sat upon any jury?—A. No, sir; I never has been on a jury. I have been a member of the police jury of the parish.

Q. You are not much about the court-house, I suppose?—A. No, sir; I lives about four miles out of town, and I don't place myself into public places, because I don't like to be called on to be disturbed.

Q. Your police court is your county court, is it?—A. Yes, sir; of the parish there.

Q. In the North we use the word county; you call it parish in your State?—A. Yes. sir.

Q. Now, Mr. Faulkner, you are an elderly man, and have had a good deal of experience, and you are of course attached to the interests of your people; do you know of any reason why your people ought to go away from there and hunt other homes?—A. Well, sir, I can put it up in this way: that the people has been misinformed by tramps through the country, and, in common words, sore head politicians; that's just the sum total of it; that has excited the prejudice of that class of people.

Q. Tramps and sore-head politicians?—A. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. A good combination.

Mr. VANCE. According to the eternal fitness of things?

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is the best description we have had.

Q. Well, Mr. Faulkner, you say that these tramps and sore-head politicians have stirred up discontent among your people?—A. Yes, sir. Now, on my way here, there were two or three colored females I met. They were on a visit to the city of New Orleans, and from the lower part of the parish, and I made inquiries of them as to the discontents of our people, and where they got their information from that made them so; and one of them said to me that it was these third-class peddlers that was urging them and so on, and knowing the questions of the times, they kept leading them to believe, those that left, that if they did not leave the parish they would all become slaves; and that's what's the matter, she said. And another old lady on the boat, she said: "O, I'm watching the movements of the old-time free people; whenever they leave I know it's time for me to leave"; and I thought that was good sense.

Q. You have had hard times down there as well as they have had at other places, have you not?—A. Certainly; through life we have had.

Q. I mean in the prices of cotton and sugar—things have been down in price and the crops short, I mean?—A. Certainly; just in a manner they change that way, but there has no money been in cotton since '69.

Q. But things are looking up now, are they not?—A. Everybody is in good spirits now.

Q. More prosperous?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know any of these people that have been misled by these tramps and sore-head politicians off to Kansas or any other place?—A. No, sir; they are on the extreme north end of Cane River; but I have known several families of my neighborhood exchange from one parish to another by inducement of better wages and so on, which has induced many families from the town of Natchitoches and some of my close neighbors to leave, so that I am altogether left alone in my section on Cane River; the nearest neighbor I have now is one mile.

Q. So that you have not seen and talked with them much?—A. No, sir; the information I has received of those that left for Kansas—I never particularly ascertained who they were;—but I were informed by natives, creoles, of the place that were on a visit to New Orleans, which we happened in company together, that I made the inquiry.

Q. Have you taken some part in politics with your folks, Mr. Faulkner?—A. I did at one time, sir; but I discovered that the party had become so badly conducted that I saw they were doomed, and I withdrew.

Q. What party was that?—A. The Republican party, sir. But I claim my principles as being Republican, and I simply votes the Presidential ticket, and go with the people at home.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. On State matters you go with your people?—A. Yes, sir. I supported the Wiltz ticket as well as I did the Nichols ticket.

Q. But on the Presidential ticket, you vote Republican?—A. Yes: I voted for Hayes.

Q. Yes; and you thought the State was managed so badly by the Republican party that you would go with your folks there?—A. I knowed the Republican party was doomed.

Q. And you got ashamed of their conduct?—A. Yes, sir; I got ashamed of the party, because in the first two or three years in politics the respectable class of colored people all participated, but after there became so many strangers among them and then the ignorant class of people—simply the ignorant class of people—they were partial to get in the lead, so that the respectable class has withdrew and took no part; that I have seen, such days when there would be speaking, when I would know we would have the best men in the place marshals during a procession you know, sir, but in the last days it was just bird of a feather.

Q. Where did these strangers come from that got in the lead?—A. Well, different parts. Some were soldiers in the Union Army that was left here and there; they scattered throughout.

Q. Northern men?—A. Yes, sir; God knows where. Some were from Canada under the British. John G. Lewis, I believe, is a Canadian.

Q. Did you ever hear it stated, or was the impression ever produced upon the minds of the colored people in your parish, in any election, that if the Democrats got into power they would put all the negroes back into slavery?—A. Well, sir, such has been talked to the ignorant class of people; as politicians will do, you know, to secure their election.

Q. Yes; some of them will.—A. Such has been talked to that class of people there, but when an honest man was put up for election they just voted for him—the respectable class of people that did not believe the politicians. But I will tell you I do not participate in politics at all, but I am a close watcher, and I will keep posted and I takes a local paper and whenever I can get hold of a New Orleans paper, simply for my personal benefit you know, sir, but I don't take any action in politics at all.

Q. Have you any riots and killings in your parish now?—A. No, sir; none.

Q. Have you ever had any?—A. Well, there has been the like, you know, in the first of politics.

Q. Can you state how that started, Mr. Faulkner?—A. That is more than I can tell. These people were disguised and you could not tell them. I was myself called on by a pa'cel of people and I could simply suspect, you know, sir, because I was better treated than some.

Q. I know, but do you know how that was started; what was the excuse for it?—A. O, well, I suppose politics.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. When was that?—A. 1868.

Q. Has there been any of it since in your parish?—A. Well, not as I know of, sir.

Q. None since 1868?—A. No, sir.

Q. Well, when the Democrats got into power they didn't put the colored people all back into slavery, did they?—A. (Laughing.) You make me laugh. Why, sir, the people never would have known the change if nobody hadn't told them.

Q. They never would have known the change from one party government to another?—A. No, sir; but prejudice has been so much excited against the Democrats that the word Democrat and rattlesnake—why, they didn't know each one apart.

Q. They didn't know the difference between a Democrat and a rattlesnake?—A. The one name was like the other to them, but I excused the people through their ignorance.

Q. Is that feeling of hostility now passing away?—A. Yes, sir; it is dying away gradually.

Q. Do the white folks treat the colored folks kindly now?—A. Yes, sir; they treats them kindly; the only thing that has kept the people mostly behind is this gambling in cotton; these vouchers and so on has kept the people poor, but last year's crop has caused many a pleasant face throughout the parish.

Q. It has caused many a pleasant face because of the prosperity it brings with it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The price of sugar has gone up too?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. Are your people doing any better—accumulating property?—A. Yes, some few; you find some lazy inclined ones that don't care to work longer than from Monday to Friday night, and Saturday they must promenade about town.

Q. As a general thing your people work very well, do they?—A. Yes, sir; as a general thing they do.

Q. Is it not one reason why they do not accumulate property, that they are not thrifty?—A. Yes, sir; that is it; the sum total of it.

Q. As soon as they get anything they spend it?—A. Yes, sir; and to prove it to you I will tell you: the division of corn, you know, is previous to the division of cotton.

Q. Yes; that comes first.—A. Well then they are every week going to town, and they will not work, but live upon their own expense, and spend their corn, and at the winding up on the expiration of the year, well then they will come to you and say "Do you wish to employ me?" and the employer will ask, "Can you bread yourself?" "No." "Well I can't bread you;" and they will have to go where they can, or do without.

Q. You mean they spend all they make, and then have nothing to go on for the next year?—A. Yes; they spend it all and then have nothing left to live on.

Q. Have you talked with any of the colored people that have gone to Kansas and returned?—A. Yes, sir; I have met some of them at the cities and round by the public places.

Q. Well, from all you have heard, from what they have told you, do you think the colored people can do any better out there than they can at home?—A. Well, I suppose the thrifty ones can succeed 'most anywheres, you know.

Q. Certainly.—A. But there is a certain class of people that I pronounce that the change of climate is too much for them, and there will be many of them that will go up.

Q. They cannot stand the climate, you mean; it is too severe for them?—A. Yes, sir; and they have not sufficient means to clad themselves with in that cold climate, and they will go up.

Q. And you think if they were industrious and would work as they ought to work, and save what they make, they could do better in Louisiana than they could in Kansas?—A. O, such people will make a living anywhere. There is plenty of good lands there in Louisiana; these lovely lands there affords a bale of cotton to the acre.

Q. You can raise a bale of cotton to the acre there?—A. Yes, sir; a bale to the acre.

Q. Now, these lands that yield a bale of cotton to the acre rent for how much?—A. Some people asks for them five dollars an acre, and again others require a fourth and a fifth of the crop as the rent.

Q. And take their pay in kind?—A. Yes; and if there is a short crop one-fourth pays it; and if there is a big crop, it is better to the landlord.

Q. And better for the tenant too, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir, of course, better for him too.

Q. How many acres of that cotton land can one man attend to?—A. Well, fifteen acres is about the average for one man.

Q. One man, then, could produce fifteen bales of cotton?—A. O, but you must allow for his corn and potato patches, &c.

Q. Well, he could cultivate ten acres out of the fifteen in cotton, could'nt he?—A. Well, nine.

Q. And corn and potatoes in proportion?—A. Yes, sir; fifteen acres would be as much as a man could well wag along with.

Q. What is the general run of wages when a man hires field labor?—A. There are some, sir, pays ten to twelve dollars a month; but mostly labor is one-half; some gets one-third and provision found.

Q. They get a share of the crop instead of money?—A. Yes, sir; they gets part of the crop instead of money; when they work for half, if in advance, they advance them, and pay for their provision at the expiration of the crop.

Q. Exactly; do you know anything about this advancing to them for provisions, what prices are charged?—A. O, well, they perhaps pays about twenty per cent. on the dollar.

Q. Twenty per cent.?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why do they charge more on time than they do for cash?—A. Because they has to wait during the crop.

Q. The employer has to take the risk of the crop?—A. Yes, sir; he has to wait on the crop.

Q. And if the crop fails they get no pay at all?—A. Well, they look at you, and if you are a man of honor, they will know that you will work out the crop, and they will trust you if you are that class of people. If a man is a man of honor he will pay his way through life; but there is a good many who will just simply work and then jump off and go to another parish.

Q. And just leave the landlord in the lurch?—A. Yes; just leave him without warning.

Q. Have you a homestead law in your State, do you know?—A. Yes, sir; I believe so.

Q. How much property do they allow a man to retain; property that cannot be sold under execution for his debts; how much real estate?—A. Eighty to eighty-five.

Q. Is it in dollars or in property, in personal effects?—A. I disremember what they allow a man; I thought you were alluding to real estate.

Q. Well to both; there is a homestead law both for personalty and real estate, is there not?—A. I disremember; I am not prepared to answer that question.

Q. The amount of personal property that a man is allowed to have that the law cannot take is a good deal more than most of the colored men own, is it not?—A. I cannot say exactly; there is a good many of the colored people that are probably worth three to five thousand and two thousand dollars.

Q. From two to five thousand dollars?—A. Yes, sir; a good many worth that much.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Were you ever a slave, Mr. Faulkner?—A. I was born a slave, as I was informed.

Q. How old were you when you became free?—A. Well, my parents has bought their time when I was a boy.

Q. Did you ever own any slaves yourself?—A. No, sir; I never did own none myself.

Q. How long have you lived in Natchitoches, Mr. Faulkner?—A. Twenty years—thereabouts.

Q. You say that the colored people have schools the same as the white people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Public schools?—A. They do not have no schools but what they pay for themselves.

Q. Separate schools, private schools, you mean?—A. Yes, sir; private schools that they pay for themselves.

Q. I refer to public schools?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long do the public schools keep?—A. Generally according to the appropriations; it was not sufficient to continue the schools not more than three months in a year.

Q. How many such schools do they have in your parish?—A. Well, I cannot say now; I am a resident of the first ward, and I disremember how many schools there is in the parish.

Q. How many schools are there in your own ward?—A. I knew of three schools there.

Q. In that one ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are they in existence now?—A. No, sir.

Q. When did they go out of existence? When was the one last kept there?—A. Well, I don't know of any school that has been there this year, sir.

Q. Was there one last year?—A. Yes, sir; some time towards fall last year there was.

Q. Was there any public school there in 1879—last year?—A. O, yes, sir; there was.

Q. For colored people?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. How many schools were there that year in your ward?—A. I simply know of three.

Q. In your ward last year?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But none this year?—A. No, sir; none as I knows of this year at all.

Q. What is the relative proportion of the colored and white population in Natchitoches Parish, if you know?—A. Well, sir, the colored people are in the majority there; but the funds when they are proportioned into the different wards, you know, sir, there are some can carry the school longer than others, because some parishes are smaller in number, that the funds would last longer.

Q. I am not speaking of the schools now; I only want to know now how many more colored people there are than white people in Natchitoches Parish?—A. I cannot exactly state, but I know there is a large difference; I am not prepared now to answer that question.

Q. But you know that the colored people are in the majority there?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. How many colored people do you know that prefer to vote the Democratic ticket?—A. Well, sir, I cannot say how many, but I know a good many that do vote the Democratic ticket.

Q. About how many?—A. O, well, probably there may be two or three hundred.

Q. Probably two or three hundred, you say, but how many of them do you know prefer to vote the Democratic ticket? I do not ask you if you know everybody that votes that ticket, but how many do you know that prefer to vote and that do vote the Democratic ticket?—A. I can simply state for them around Natchitoches there.

Q. Well, how many around the city of Natchitoches do you know?—A. I suppose some seventy or eighty right around Natchitoches town there.

Q. Well, let us see how many you can name?—A. O, to name them, you put me to my trumps.

Q. You cannot name any of them?—A. Well, not by name, I don't know them, all of them.

Q. Can you name one of them?—A. Yes; I knew a fellow they called Bill Shearborn.

Q. Any other?—A. Then again there was twins there, and one of them, unfortunately for him, has gone to the penitentiary; he voted the Democratic ticket.

Q. He voted the Democratic ticket before he went, did he?—A. Yes, sir; he did previous.

Q. Any others?—A. Now you put me to my trumps to remember them by their names.

Q. You cannot remember but two men, and one of them went to the penitentiary?—A. If I reflect a moment maybe I can; you excite me some, that I am a little embarrassed.

Q. I do not want to do that.—A. To tell you exactly is a little too much for me; I cannot reflect in a moment.

Q. No, of course not; but this occurs to me: that if you could swear to there being seventy to eighty men you know that vote the Democratic ticket, you ought to be able to tell me the names of more than two of them, one of whom you have given, and the other that you say has gone to the penitentiary?—A. Well, they are in the place, and I am perfectly well acquainted with them, but their names are not so familiar to me; and, secondly, that I never takes such consideration, being in advanced years myself and my memory becoming short. (Pausing.) Well, I can tell you a little more now; there is Shadrach Brown.

Q. That's three.—A. And John Hudson.

Q. That's four.—A. Well, there's another man that lives out four miles that I can call his name (reflecting)—well, I could, of course, with a little study, but I can't think of his name this minute, and I can't think right now of many others, but I could with a little study.

Q. Well, that will do. Your courts are all right down there, are they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You do not have any trouble in the courts in getting justice done, do you?—A. No, sir; no trouble.

Q. How many men were on the jury last year, when you knew anything about it?—A. Probably five or six were on the jury when I knew about it.

Q. Last year?—A. Yes.

Q. Were you at the court, that you know this to be so?—A. No, sir; I simply took the announcement of the jurymen as I seen it in the newspaper.

Q. I only wanted to know how you knew about it?—A. No; I goes to Natchitoches only on business; I live only four miles from there, and I take a local paper of the place, so that I can know everything that is going on.

Q. Did not the election last year in that parish go largely Democratic?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How do you account for that when, as you say, there is a large colored majority in the parish, and so few of the colored people voted the Democratic ticket?—A. In the old times?

Q. No; last year. (Witness silent.)

Q. Did not the parish go Democratic in the election last year?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know by how large a majority?—A. No, sir; I disremember now; but there was the Republican ticket and the Greenbackers, but really the tickets were in such a manner that a man could not exactly comprehend it, and the best way is to take the best ticket there.

Q. Have you not found it the best and safest way, generally, for you to vote the Democratic ticket?—A. Well, yes, sir; I generally do vote that way.

Q. Why?—A. Because I am not opposed to a man for his politics at all.

Q. But you think it is safer for the colored people to vote the Democratic ticket?—A. Certainly; as the old saying is, "When in Rome do as Rome does."

Q. And Rome does Democratic in your parish, does it?—A. O, yes, sir; (laughing.)

Q. How does that happen when the Republicans are in the majority?—A. But the Republicans has beat themselves, and consequently they must take the will for the deed.

Q. Do you remember anything that happened in the election in 1878, in that parish?—A. In '78?

Q. Yes; in '78?—A. O, well, I didn't behold it with these eyes, sir; but I heard of what was transpiring there at that time, the election of '78—I heard of it.

Q. What did you hear?—A. Well, the people had ris' in a mass, you know, sir; they wouldn't stand the leaders of the party, that they had gone to such extremes that they wouldn't stand it.

Q. What people arose in mass?—A. Well, the citizens, the people, not the party; there were several officials that the people asked to resign, by a mass meeting.

Q. What kind of politics was that mass-meeting?—A. One and another. The Democrats said taxation was very high.

Q. Did not the Democrats break up a Republican convention that was being held there at the same time?—A. Not a convention, sir; I understand there was speaking there in the lower part of the town during the convention of the Democratic party. I was in town then, but I took no interest in it.

Q. Did the Republicans have the impudence to hold a meeting in the lower part of the town when the Democrats were having their convention in Natchitoches?—A. Well, they did do it.

Q. Well, their meeting was broken up, wasn't it?—A. Yes, sir. I believe it was broken up.

Q. What for?—A. Well, God knows what; it was the extreme in politics.

Q. It was "extreme" for the Republicans to start a meeting in the lower part of the town when the Democrats were holding a convention in Natchitoches. It was extreme impudence on their part. Are you sure that they dared do it?—A. Yes, sir; I am sure of that part.

Q. You are sure it was broken up, are you?—A. Yes, sir; I am sure of that, too.

Q. What became of it after it was broken up?—A. Well, so I suppose—I suppose it was broken up; that is what I heard. I did not behold it with these eyes. I was simply down there engaged at the blacksmith shop, to have my plows fixed, and then I went home.

Q. Did you hear that the leaders in that Republican meeting, or anybody that was connected with it, were run off to the county for taking part in it?—A. O, yes; I heard so, but I could not state it was so.

Q. Were you on the Democratic side of this question?—A. I am a Republican, but I support the State ticket.

Q. You are a Republican, but you vote the Democratic State ticket in order to "do as Rome does," and to be safer down there; is that it?—A. I feel—(hesitating)——

Q. You feel that you must just "do as Rome does"?—A. I feel it is my duty to do so, because I never was nohow prejudiced against the peeple, regardless——

Q. You dropped a remark a little while ago, Mr. Faulkner, that you yourself were "called upon" by somebody?—A. Yes; I said something about that.

Q. Had you been an active Republican?—A. I was.

Q. And after you were "called upon" you thought best not to be so active?—A. Well, it was the first of politics, and there was no protection from the midnight assassin, because "a combination beats the world," you know. I moved then from my ward to Natchitoches, and after I was elected police juror, and the people found I was honest, they have always appreciated me, and I am regarded this day as a Republican, but an honest one.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Q. And you vote the Democratic ticket?—A. The State Democratic ticket; yes, sir.

Q. But not the national Democratic ticket?—A. No, sir; the Republican national ticket.

By Mr. **WINDOM**:

Q. You vote the national ticket as you think best, but you vote the Democratic ticket for State officers because you think it is safer down at home to do that?—A. I could not use that word of being "safer" to do it, but I regard it that it is nothing more than right to go with my people.

Q. But you didn't go as your people do, because you say that the majority of your people are Republicans there?—A. O, at home?

Q. Yes; I am speaking of that?—A. (Hesitating.)

Q. A majority of your people, the colored people at your home, are Republicans?—A. Yes; they are.

Q. Why do you not go with the majority of your people?—A. Because—why—well, they are not intelligent; they become in the minority because they are not intelligent, and I would not risk myself with them.

Q. But they are not in a "minority," as you call it. You have just said that they were in the majority.—A. Well, they are in the minority as regards to education and intelligence.

Q. But not as to numbers and votes?—A. No, sir.

Q. Why, then, do you not go with the majority of votes of your people?—A. I would not risk myself with that class of people, because you cannot rely upon them.

Q. And you vote the Democratic ticket for that reason?—A. I do, and take no part in politics aside from that—just voting, and no more.

Q. The white people there treat you better, because you just vote the Democratic ticket, and take no other part in politics?—A. No better than they used to treat me; they treat me well because I am honest.

Q. After that they did not "call upon" you as they had done before?—A. They never called upon me but once, sir; the one I alluded to before.

Q. Tell me something of the nature of that "call." What was it like? Tell us all about it.—A. It was in '68, the year previous to Grant's election. I was the commissioner of election in my ward.

Q. Very well; go on.—A. Well, there was a party of people called on me that night, when I was in my home, and I was taken out and blindfolded and questioned, and so on.

Q. What did they question you about; what did they say?—A. Well, I was told to go home, after they had taken me out, and say nothing about it.

Q. But what did they say to you; what did they question you about?—A. Very well, sir; they said to me that I had issued tickets into De Soto Parish.

Q. What kind of tickets?—A. Republican tickets.

Q. Go on.—A. Well, I acknowledged everything that was facts to them——

Q. What did they do then?—A. I suppose they may have been parties that did know me, and I was considered an honest man by the people, except (laughing) according to my politics.

Q. But that does not give us a very good idea of that pleasant little interview, Mr. Faulkner; tell us more about it?—A. Well, I had these tickets to issue in De Soto Parish, I acknowledged to that.

Q. So they just blindfolded you in order to ask you the polite and courteous little question as to where you got your tickets, &c.?—A. I did not know what their intentions were.

Q. Was that all that was said?—A. That was about all that was said, sir.

Q. What did they do to you when you acknowledged this?—A. They left me in the road, and let me walk to the woods, when I was released.

Q. You ran to the woods, did you?—A. No; they took me to the woods, but I took the road.

Q. And made your way back home?—A. Yes.

Q. What did you do further about that election; did you go on issuing tickets?—A. No, sir; nothing.

Q. Had you sent tickets out?—A. Yes.

Q. You had been active before?—A. Yes.

Q. And that modest little questioning, and so forth, made you vote the Democratic ticket after that?—A. But I did not stop all at once.

Q. You did stop, however?—A. I think so.

Q. You think so?—A. I do.

Q. What happened further?—A. Well, there was a minister that was killed at that time.

Q. What had he been?—A. President of the club.

Q. Of a Republican club?—A. Yes.

Q. Well?—A. And I was engaged at his interment, his burial. I was engaged at the day of the election. General McLawton, he came up that day, and requested to see me; afterwards I took no part.

Q. You did not vote?—A. No; you see, secondly, my registration papers that I had was destructed.

Q. Who destroyed them?—A. Those people.

Q. The party that made you that little visit?—A. Yes, sir; the party that called upon me.

Q. They took your voting papers?—A. Yes, sir; you see, whenever there is any calls to be made upon people, there are always some characters there that is going off in this way for themselves, and they took the contents of my pocket-book, my registration papers, and one thing or another.

Q. O, they took the contents of your pocket-book, when they blindfolded you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They did something more, then, than ask you a polite question or two, in that courteous way?—A. Well, they took my pocket-book, too.

Q. And your registration papers were in it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that you could not vote?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. They were Republicans who took your pocket-book and papers weren't they?—A. How do I know who done it, when they were all disguised? I couldn't tell 'em apart.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Do you think they were Republicans who did this?—A. I have no right to think at all.

Q. Tell us now, honestly, you claim to be an honest man, didn't you think they were Democrats who did this to you?—A. Well, of course, I thought so.

Q. But do you not know they were Democrats?—A. I should think they were, of course.

Q. Had you no idea at the time whether they were Democrats or not?—A. It was hard for me to say, for they was disguised, as I told you, and how could I know?

Q. What motive do you think Republicans could have to blindfold you and call you to account in that way for distributing Republican tickets?—A. O, of course, I knowed they were not Republicans.

Q. Why then did you not say so, frankly and directly?—A. Well, I did not *know*, I simply *thought* they were not Republicans; when a man is disguised, I don't know who he is.

Q. Could you not judge by their conversation with you in that little interview?—A. I do not know.

Q. You were a Republican?—A. Yes.

Q. And you regarded them as friends, and you thought that was a little friendly interview they wanted with you when they called you out, and blindfolded you, and run you off and took your pocket-book?—A. Well, they had no other conversation, and they just spoke in a low tone, in order that I could not detect their voice, or something to that effect, really that I didn't know what they said.

Q. Did they make any threats to you, that you had better stop that sort of thing you had been engaged in—issuing Republican tickets, &c.?—A. Well, I was advised, of course, to resign my commission that I held.

Q. In what terms did they give you the advice?—A. Well, that I could remain and keep my school that I had, but that I must withdraw from politics.

Q. You would have thought them strange Republicans if they had told you to remain there and refrain from politics, and they knowing that you were a Republican, would you not?—A. Of course I would have thought it strange for them to be Republicans, but I could not identify the men; I could not tell who they was.

Q. I know that; but I want to know whether you had any idea at all that these masked men who called upon you and had this conversation in a low tone, and took your pocket-book and your registration papers and so on, were Democrats or Republicans. Now what was your idea about that?—A. Well, I know, of course, they were not Republicans, but they said to me that they were Texans.

Q. Texans?—A. Yes; that's what they said.

Q. Well, there are Democrats in Texas, are there not?—A. Of course; but I could not form any idea from that who they were.

Q. I didn't ask you who they were, but whether there was a particle of doubt in your mind as to whether they were Democrats or Republicans?—A. O, well——

Q. Now did or did not you *believe* they were Democrats?—A. I don't really know.

Q. You say you knew they were not Republicans?—A. Well, I thought they were not.

Q. Had you done anything to offend the Republicans?—A. No, sir; nothing at all.

Q. Were you not a Republican official?—A. Yes.

Q. Chairman of the Republican committee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you simply thought they were not Republicans who took you out of your house and blindfolded you and took your pocket-book and your registration papers?—A. That was at first——

Q. Yes; but you were a Republican then?—A. Yes.

Q. And yet you do not know whether they were Republicans or not?

—A. I supposed they were not Republicans, but I could not swear to it; it requires me to know if I should swear to their being Republicans.

Q. I want to know of you if you can imagine any reason for Republicans doing that?—A. No, sir.

Q. Can you imagine any reasons for a Democrat doing it?—A. That is a point I cannot say, because I was honest before the people.

Q. Yes; and you should be so now.—A. I am before you and any other gentlemen; I am too old a man to sacrifice myself.

Q. And yet you are willing to swear that you are not quite certain whether it was Democrats or Republicans that robbed you?—A. I don't say they were Republicans; I say that they were midnight robbers.

Mr. VANCE. Robbers; yes, that is it.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. But was not the reason they gave you for that visit that you had been distributing Republican tickets?—A. I say they simply asked me did I forward those tickets into De Soto.

Q. And you were told not to do so any more?—A. Of course, I owned positively that I did forward the tickets, because I was honest. They wanted to know who did I receive them of. Well, Major Cromey was an active member of the executive committee at that time of the State.

Q. What time of night did those people come there to your house?—A. I suppose it was eleven to twelve o'clock in the night—about that time—that they came there.

Q. How long did they keep you out?—A. They kept me out about an hour, sir.

Q. How far did they take you from your house?—A. Probably two or three hundred yards.

Q. What did they say to you when they came to your house to take you out?—A. Well, they called for me to come out.

Q. How many of them were there?—A. Probably around the house about forty or fifty of them—such a matter.

Q. How were they dressed?—A. Well, I didn't get to see them all, because the moment I was taken I was blindfolded.

Q. How many of them did you see?—A. Two or three of them only that blindfolded me.

Q. How were they dressed?—A. O, they were disguised to me—in a a mask, I presume.

Q. What sort of a mask?—A. Well, false faces; something of that kind, sir.

Q. What were they made of?—A. Pasteboard, or something as they usually makes them of.

Q. Had they any other masks, any about their clothes?—A. Well, yes; they seemed strange to me in appearance, for the month of November.

Q. What kind of strangeness was it?—A. Well, they looked to be in their shirt-sleeves, or something of that kind.

Q. As if their coat-sleeves were turned inside out?—A. It showed a light appearance for the season.

Q. Were the sleeves only light, or was it the whole coat that looked light?—A. Well, what I saw looked light.

Q. And all whom you saw before the scene closed in on your eyes were dressed in that way?—A. Yes, sir; two or three that I seen that came into the house when the doors were thrown open.

Q. Did you vote at that election?—A. No, sir; it was necessary for me to have my registration papers to vote.

Q. And they stole your registration papers?—A. Yes; it was in my purse at the time.

Q. Have you voted the State Republican ticket since then?—A. Yes, sir, I have.

Q. Whom did you vote for?—A. Governor Kellogg.

Q. Tell me how many votes were cast for the Republican ticket in Natchitoches Parish in 1868, at the time of this little interview with you, when you had that escort of forty?—A. As I quit the polls, I do not remember.

Q. Don't you remember what the vote was that year?—A. No, sir; I do not remember.

Q. Do you know whether the negroes voted generally that year?—A. I suppose they did, generally.

Q. But you staid at home?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you were chairman of the executive committee?—A. O, that is 'way back in 1872. I said I was commissioner of election.

Q. When was this call made, in 1868 or 1872?—A. It was made in '68; that is what I say.

Q. But when you spoke of being chairman of the Republican executive committee, was not that the year when they called upon you?—A. No, sir; that was in 1872.

Q. Were you not chairman of the Republican organization in 1868?—A. No, sir; I was simply——

Q. An active Republican?—A. That is all.

Q. Do you know of anybody else in your neighborhood who in 1868 was honored by a midnight call from forty masked men and escorted out anywhere?—A. Alfred Hayson.

Q. Had he been an active Republican?—A. Yes; but he was not intelligent, sir.

Q. But you were?—A. Not very much.

Q. How intelligent were you?—A. Well, I knew how to take care of myself, sir; I knew that.

Q. But he was not able to take care of himself, and they killed him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had he been an active Republican?—A. No; he was simply vice-president of a Republican club.

Q. Did they honor the president of the Republican club with a call at that time?—A. Yes, sir; and that was the last of him.

Q. What became of him?—A. He was instantly shot, and killed on the spot, sir.

Q. He discovered some of the men, and they shot him?—A. Yes, sir; I believe he made a discovery by knowing the parties, and he was killed at the time.

Q. Who killed him?—A. Some two or three of them.

Q. Was he the minister you spoke of a while ago?—A. Yes, sir; he was the minister that I was at the burial.

Q. Of what denomination was he?—A. Methodist.

Q. Had he been guilty of anything except that he was president of a Republican club?—A. We knew he was pronounced to be a good man, and was, I believe.

Q. Did they shoot anybody else in your parish?—A. No; they shot him on his gallery; the moon shined very bright, and he knowed some of them, and he was in the act of calling their names when he was shot and killed instantly.

Q. So far as we can get at it, from you, he was the president of a Republican club and was shot by these men and instantly killed?—A. No, sir; I was president of the Republican club.

Q. I thought you said this minister was?—A. No; I said he was vice-president of the club.

Q. You said a moment ago that you did not hold any office?—A. To be president of a club, do you call that holding an office; I did not mean that was an office.

Q. Well, I understood you that you were chairman of the Republican committee?—A. Yes, I was chairman of the committee in 1872.

Q. But you were president of the Republican club in 1868?—A. Yes, sir; I was president of the club then.

Q. Now, we have got that; and we know what they did to the president of this Republican club.

Q. And who was vice-president?—A. The minister.

Q. Mr. Hayson, that was shot?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. We know now what they did with the president and the vice-president. What club were you president of?—A. I was president of the Republican club in the fifth ward of Natchitoches.

Q. And Mr. Hayson was vice-president of the same club, was he?—A. Yes, sir, he was.

Q. And he was shot?—A. Yes.

Q. What other man was taken out and shot?—A. That is the man I allude to, this minister.

Q. And he was not very "intelligent"?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you not mention another man beside the minister and yourself that had been visited by these midnight robbers and assassins?—A. No, sir; no other one that I mentioned.

Q. Then all they did that year was to shoot the vice-president of a Republican club, and take the president of the club out and reason with him, blindfold him, steal his pocket-book and registration papers?—A. Yes, sir; that is what occurred.

Q. What did they do with other Republicans there?—A. Not anything that I know of.

Q. Did they not ride around the parish making calls?—A. Not as I know of, sir.

Q. How many of these riders were there?—A. Probably more than forty of them.

Q. Well, forty to fifty was your estimate; don't you know how many more were in that band?—A. No, sir; but nobody was disturbed throughout the parish.

Q. Didn't they ride around the parish threatening and intimidating the people?—A. That part I cannot say.

Q. Don't you know that that was understood by the negroes?—A. Not in my parts.

Q. Don't you know that that was the reason why you did not vote yourself?—A. No; I don't know that was the reason why I did not vote myself; as I foretold you, my registration papers were taken in my purse.

Q. You don't know how many did vote that year in Natchitoches Parish?—A. No; I took no pride any more in it.

Q. I should think not; you took no pride in voting after that year, when they led you out blindfolded and stole your pocket-book and registration papers?—A. I did take pride in politics after that.

Q. Was that the time when you became ashamed of the Republican party?—A. No, sir; it was the splitting in the party during the ex-Governor Warmouth time.

Q. And you didn't cast your vote at that time because they stole your registration papers?—A. I was not ashamed of it at that time, but I was ashamed of the action of the leaders since, because I sat in the convention to nominate Governor Kellogg; I was in that convention, and I was in the State convention to nominate delegates to Philadelphia which renominated President Grant. I took a bold part, but I was simply honest in it; and when I discovered that it required to be shifted about with the wind, and so much combination, and one thing or other, that I thought I was too old a man, and so withdrew from politics.

Q. Then you withdrew for another reason, not because you thought you ought to "do in Rome as Rome does"?—A. Yes, for another reason.

Q. Well, what was that?—A. I have foretold you what it was.

Q. You have given two reasons; one that when in Rome you must do as Rome does, and the other was the reason about shifting about with the wind; now what other reason had you?—A. That is when at home I thought I would do as Rome does, and I went along pretty well with the Democrats.

Q. Well, was it "Rome" that took you out from your house at midnight and stole your pocket-book, &c.?—A. I don't call that "Rome," because it is not a general thing.

Q. Well, that seemed' to be pretty general?—A. No; it simply happened there, and I havent known no other occasion.

Q. You have known no other occasion of the kind since that?—A. No; not in Natchitoches.

Q. Were there not troubles of this kind in Natchitoches Parish in 1878?—A. Not to my knowing.

Q. Were there not some men run out of the parish then, because they were Republicans?—A. I understood that citizens, I suppose, done it.

Q. White citizens?—A. I suppose so, of course.

Q. Did colored citizens generally run the leaders and others out of the parish at that time?—A. I cannot tell you. The Republicans had a meeting at the lower end of the suburbs of Natchitoches, and the Democrats held a nominating convention at the court-house, while I was simply in there to the blacksmith shop and got my plows fixed all right and went home. I paid no attention to it, and didn't inquire into it.

Q. Didn't you know that some time after that the leaders of the negroes, those that had been driven out by the "citizens," as you call them, were hiding in the woods afraid to return to their homes?—A. Well, the reason of it was that a good many of them has been misled.

Q. I am asking you for the facts now; you can give your reasons afterwards?—A. I cannot state facts that I don't know.

Q. Didn't you hear about that?—A. O, I did hear, if you are speaking of that; I can tell you what I heard.

Q. Well, didn't you hear that these negro leaders were hiding in the woods, not daring to come to their homes?—A. Well, there is a good many reasons why, as you are talking of hearsay. When they heard of what had occurred, a good many rose in arms——

Q. A good many what?—A. Colored people to protect their leaders. Well, of course, to combat with that class of people, you understand, with an intelligent class of people, is pretty bad.

Q. The colored people were not strong enough?—A. Yes, sir; not strong enough; and something else was lacking.

Q. What was that?—A. Why, they lack over there means. They may have spunk enough, but no means whatever; because it would be thought strange for a colored man to have over at least a couple of pounds of buckshot in the house, may be, to shoot a little venison, or so on; but, for a man to buy six pounds of buckshot, why, everybody would wonder what use he would have for that. Consequently, it was foolishness for people to do it; and they got scared afterwards; and some, I suppose, too much talk, remarks, you know, sir, has excited the people.

Q. Were the white people armed?—A. I did not see.

By Mr. **Vance**:

Q. Tell us what you heard.

By Mr. **Windom**:

Q. Don't you know that the white people were armed?—A. In the town of Natchitoches you see country people coming into the towns, and it is a customary thing to find them armed.

Q. Both white and colored people?—A. Yes; coming in from the country you see them armed.

Q. Does the law allow them to carry arms?—A. The law don't allow them to carry arms secretly, and they carry them publicly. That is nothing strange to see a man armed; and nobody can tell what people will do when they are combined.

Q. But the colored people got very much frightened about it?—A. Some got frightened, but some went too far; they went to very great extremes.

Q. What do you call great extremes; arming themselves to defend their leaders; do you call that going to very great extremes?—A. For that class of people it was, sir.

Q. If they had the right to do it?—A. What is the use if a man has the right and can't appreciate it, and don't know how to defend it?

Q. Well, there isn't much use.—A. No; he'd better come away.

Q. I think so.

Redirect examination of witness by Mr. **Vance**:

Q. Tell us something about that meeting. Mr. Windom never would let you fully explain it; how came the colored men to rise in arms, as you say they did?—A. Well, sir, a certain class of people there belongs to the Baptist denomination, and Blount was a Baptist preacher.

Q. Was he a white man or a black man?—A. He was a colored man, sir, and a preacher.

Q. Well?—A. When they heard that the people had riz against Blount, they would not tolerate their politics any more in the place; they had made themselves become obnoxious to the people, and, consequently, there was a pa'cel came to release Blount, and they were met at the outer edge of town.

Q. Was Blount arrested or imprisoned?—A. He was simply arrested by the people, and not put in prision, but taken to the court-house.

Q. And the black people came to release him?—A. Yes, sir; they came to release him.

Q. Did they bring arms with them?—A. They had arms with them, as I learned, otherwise they would not probably have gone so far.

Q. If they had not had arms they would not have done as they did?—A. No, sir; they would not.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. If they had not brought arms with them they would not have attempted to release Mr. Blount?—A. Well, you see they were excited, you know, sir; and they not knowing the nature of these things, I excused them through ignorance.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Well, now, that was the cause of the riot; what was the cause of the arrest of Blount; what did the citizens take him up for?—A. Well, because he was a man that was very ambitious, though I must say that, through ignorance, he has been misled.

Q. Well, suppose he was misled; what was he doing that made them want to attack him?—A. Nothing more than remarks upon the people in stumping the parish and going to such extremes.

Q. What were these remarks?—A. Well, it became personal; I cannot recollect what was said.

Q. They were abusive of the white people?—A. Yes, sir; why the very best white men we used to have in the Republican party took no part—John R. Williams, once senator, Sam Parsons, and L. H. Burdick.

Q. What did they do?—A. They simply withdrew from the party because they became disgusted.

Q. Exactly. Didn't you have some trouble in that county that led to this opposition of the white people—your school fund stolen and a great many corrupt officials who were robbing the people?—A. That's what the matter was, the Republican party just beat itself in that way.

Q. Exactly; and as a general thing throughout the State they had become defaulters?—A. Yes, sir; as a general thing they became defaulters throughout the State, and could not be trusted at all.

Q. They robbed the people of their money?—A. Yes, of these school funds, sir, they did.

Q. Yes.—A. And the citizens rose at one time, sir, and caused several of them to resign.

Q. Demanded the resignation of these dishonest officials?—A. Yes, sir; exactly so.

Q. The people did this?—A. Yes; by the people, because the police jurors—they were called at that time commissioners; there was five to represent the parish. Well, there would probably be three of them ignorant men and two capable to conduct business, and simply they were controlled by leading parties, and they had gone to such extremes that the taxes became so enormous that the people rose in mass, and they appointed a committee of seventy, and I, as a citizen, was at this meeting and was placed on this committee of seventy, and right then a good many of the Republicans took it for capital, and to excite the Republicans against me, and they said; "Don't you see, he is a Democrat; his name is on this committee of seventy," and there's where I lost a fine side-saddle mule.

Q. You lost it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who took it?—A. It was taken out of the pasture, and drowned in the river.

Q. Who did it?—A. I suspect my good friends in the neighborhood done it; this prejudice was raised against me.

Q. They thought you were on that committee?—A. Yes; it was not political, but they thought it was.

Q. It was not for political reasons, but simply because you acted on that committee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, how much money did you lose in that pocket-book?—A. I lost eighty odd dollars in scrip and some little silver and greenbacks—I disremember how much.

Q. What was your mule worth that they drowned?—A. That mule I refused one hundred and seventy-five dollars for.

Q. The Republicans, then, stole more from you than the Democrats?

—A. O, that mule, if you cast it in that way, there was where I lost the most.

Q. You lost more by people of your own color, and Republicans, than you did by the others?—A. Exactly.

Q. The one took your pocket-book and registration papers, and the other drowned your mule?—A. The biggest loss was the last.

Q. Exactly; and you cannot state who they were that did it?—A. Some of my good neighbors.

Q. Did you ever incur the enmity of the colored people, because you voted the State Democratic ticket?—A. No, sir; and during the split in the party I was in the Republican party, and the present leaders that represent the Republican party now they were under the influence of Governor Warmoth, which was liberal; well, Governor Warmoth, I must certainly say I didn't blame him; I heard the remark about the corruption and ignorance of the colored people in his speech; he bought a whole lot of them to go with him.

Q. He bought them?—A. Yes, sir; and when they discovered that the Republican party was growing in the parish so strong that they were bound to defeat him, Mr. Myers despatched Blount to meet Governor Kellogg at Coushatta, Red River, to inform him not to go for him. They held a secret meeting in Mr. Myers's house; so much so, that the committee of reception could not find speakers when it was needed for him; that Attorney-General Fields said he didn't know whether he had one mile or five miles to walk. I was made president of the meeting that day, and I knew nothing of the combination of the meeting until when I introduced this gentleman to the people, Jim Lewis of New Orleans, a colored man, he rose and said his friend Mr. Blount wanted to make a few remarks; he simply got up and said he opposed Governor Kellogg for the reason he did not support the civil rights bill. And after that we fought the matter, until finally the Friday evening previous to the election, when I saw the drift of things, I just dropped things right there. There was one or two of the candidates on the tickets gave up to these fellows because they meant rule or ruin.

Q. Now let us come to the election of '78. This was in '72, wasn't it?—A. Yes.

Q. Well, come to '78?—A. Yes, to 78.

Q. Now, after this little skirmish in the town, was the election held that fall?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did the colored people in Natchitoches vote at that election?—A. Yes, sir; of course they did.

Q. And voted the Republican ticket?—A. Well, there was no Republican ticket, to my certain knowledge, at that time.

Q. No Republican ticket?—A. Not at that time.

Q. There was no State election, then; it was an election for members of Congress. Who was the Democratic member of Congress from that district; Mr. Hunt or Mr. Gibson?—A. No; that was not the name.

Q. Mr. Elam?—A. Yes; Elam.

Q. Did he have no opposition?—A. I disremember whether he had any opposition or not; there may have been, but I can't think just now; I have heard some name talked about as against him.

Q. Was not a man by the name of J. Madison Wells running against him?—A. O, yes; Madison Wells, from Alexandria.

Q. I don't know where he is from; I know where he is going to when he dies. He was the Republican candidate?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did not the Republicans vote for him at that time?—A. That part I cannot tell you, as I never participated in it.

Q. You heard the result of the election in your parish?—A. I know he was considered bought.

Q. He was bought, you say; but he got some votes?—A. Of course he got some votes.

Q. Did you go to the polls?—A. Perhaps I did, perhaps not; I can't say; I know sometimes I didn't vote, as there was plenty without me.

Q. Supposing you voted; was there any trouble at the polls that fall? —A. Nothing of the kind.

Q. Was there any trouble at the last election, the election of 1879, when Governor Wiltz was elected and the State officers?—A. No trouble at all, sir, in '79.

Q. No trouble; no drowning of mules or taking of pocket-books?—A. Not that I know of.

Q. Nothing of that sort?—A. There is a man here now, I see, in the city of Washington, William Ward, that was generally known as Captain Ward, that hailed from Louisiana, and he were round through the country in favor of the governor previous, the ex-governor.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. The Democratic governor?—A. Yes, sir; they all became disgusted, and used their exertions for the benefit of the Nicholls government—Jere Hall and others.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You spoke of a particular time when they became disgusted; when was that?—A. That was previous to the Nicholls administration, sir, that the Republicans 'came disgusted.

Q. At the time the Packard government went down and the Nicholls government came into power?—A. Yes, sir; the people, you know, a good many of them, became disgusted during the Kellogg administration.

Mr. VANCE. I think so.

The WITNESS. A good many that supported him, and I for one, supported Kellogg in the convention, but, of course, I was no office-seeker, and never had pronounced myself a politician, and I found the only use they had for a man was simply for your influence, and that was simply about the sum total of it, and I thought I was too old a man to sacrifice myself in that way.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What is your age?—A. I was sixty-three last November; I was born in 1816.

Q. What is your business?—A. Farming, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN N. HICKS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 13, 1880.

JOHN N. HICKS sworn and examined.

By Mr. VANCE:

Question. Where is your residence, Mr. Hicks?—Answer. In Shreveport, La., sir.

Q. What is your profession?—A. I am an attorney-at-law, sir.

Q. How long have you been living at Shreveport?—A. Since June, 1866, sir.

Q. Where did you come from when you went to Shreveport?—A. From Eastern Texas.

Q. Of what State are you a native?—A. I was born in the State of Texas, sir.

Q. What do you know of the causes of this exodus of colored people from your State, or of the situation of the colored people in Shreveport, and the condition and relation of the two races there? Just state without further questioning, what you know about it.—A. Well, I scarcely know anything about it. I was at one time a member of the Republican club in Shreveport. Mr. Adams here was president of the club; I was only a member for a short while, however; I am an independent man.

Q. How long were you a member of that club?—A. About three weeks, I believe.

Q. Three weeks?—A. I think about that time, sir.

Q. How came you to leave it?—A. Well, I became disgusted at the way things were going on.

Q. When was that?—A. In 1876.

Q. What was it disgusted you?—A. Well, the way they acted in the club; they were the most ignorant set of men I ever saw, without exception; they carried on ridiculously.

Q. Who composed the club?—A. Well, young men; five of us young men there joined, and five others joined at the same time, and they all quit but two or three of us, I believe.

Q. Well, state if you know, whether there have been any disturbances between the races at Shreveport.—A. I have heard of some, but I have no particular knowledge of a single instance of the sort; and I think I know the neighborhood there pretty well. I am in partnership with my father, and we have, I reckon, the largest practice among the colored people there, both criminal and civil, of any one in the vicinity. They frequently come to me for advice on different subjects; not altogether on law; and I always advise them what I think is best for them.

Q. Have you heard any of them speak of the exodus, or about going off to Kansas?—A. Yes; I have heard a good many of them speak of the exodus and about their people going.

Q. What reasons have they given for their going?—A. Some of them have said to me: "This place don't suit me; there is no chance here; don't you see, we can't vote?" "No, I don't"; I would reply, "I see you *can* vote." I will tell you what that comes from. I do not meddle much in politics; generally go to the polls and vote, and return. In 1878 one of the commissioners of elections came after me, and seemed to be considerable troubled to find the names on the poll-books, both white and colored. I am notary public, and I was sent for to go there and administer oaths to those who said they were registered, but whose names could not be found.

Q. Did the law allow that?—A. I never examined the election law; I did it, though.

Q. You made out affidavits of parties who said that their names had been registered, and should be there, but could not be found there?—A. Yes, sir; I did it; very few would do it.

Q. Was that the reason they gave why they could not vote, because their names could not be found on the register, although they had registered them?—A. That is the only reason they gave me. They said they thought there was some swindling about it, their names not being found; but I could not see it in that light, from the fact that if they would take the oath they were permitted to vote. White men did it, as well as colored men.

Q. They were put to some little trouble about it, but they could vote, nevertheless?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you prepare that oath for any colored men?—A. Yes, sir; for two of them, I believe.

Q. Did they vote upon that oath?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was there any other cause of trouble?—A. I saw no other, whatever. There was, I may state, one man who came to me. He said he had been badly treated by a man who lives out of the parish—a man whom I knew very well. He said he could not get a settlement with him; that he had been farming on his place, and he would not show him his account, but just told him it was so much, and gave him so much money, and said that was all that was coming to him.

Q. Did you bring a suit for him?—A. I told him I would do it if he insisted on it.

Q. Did he urge it?—A. He said he had no money. I told him that if he would deposit five dollars with the clerk, as required by the law there, I would bring the suit for him.

Q. And have a settlement?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you proceed in the matter?—A. No; he went away and never came back to see me about it.

Q. Did you investigate the matter any?—A. No, sir.

Q. Had you any reason to believe from what he said that he had been cheated?—A. No; he could not tell me anything that was of the nature of fact or evidence. He counted some few things over to me that he had got during the year, and made his account fall short some forty dollars; but he had kept no memorandum, and said he had not, but he just kept it in his head.

Q. From your observation as a lawyer down there, is it not a very common thing for a man who does not keep books, and who cannot read and write, to imagine that his account is wrong?—A. Yes, sir; nearly always.

Q. With both cases, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And sometimes with men who can read and write?—A. O, yes, sir; it is a very common thing.

Q. And especially a man's tobacco account is bigger than he thinks it ought to be?—A. O, yes, sir; and his whisky account.

Q. Give us some idea, if you are acquainted with it, of the manner of working down there; of how the colored people rent and get their supplies, and how their products are sold, and so on.—A. Well, I am not very well acquainted with that—not familiar with it at all. My impression, however, is that they work in different ways; some work for wages, others work for shares in the crops. If the planter furnishes his teams, &c., of course he gets the greater proportion of the crop, and the hands get a less proportion. And sometimes the planter advances to the hands for supplies, and sometimes the merchants make the advances—it matters not which or to whom, white or colored hands—and of course they charge considerably more for advances than they do for cash.

Q. If they advance on credit of the crop they charge more?—A. Yes, sir; for the risk, &c.

Q. What security do they have?—A. They take liens on the crop, and record them.

Q. You say this is universal, and applies to both white and black?—A. Yes, sir. Several years ago I was in what we call there the recorder's office—county clerk, perhaps, you call it in some States—and he had a great deal of that kind of work to do—that is, drawing of these contracts, although it was more then with the whites than it was with the blacks; and several of the merchants have ruined themselves by it, too. One of them, not long since, who was reputed to be very wealthy, broke; he had a very large amount of claims out of that kind. If there is a failure of the crop, of course they cannot get anything out of which to meet these advances.

Q. Have you any race troubles or any troubles in your parish now, or have you had lately, between the whites and the blacks?—A. I know of no instance, of my own knowledge; I have heard some rumors, but I have no knowledge of any.

Q. If there had been any disturbance in your parish you would have heard of it, would you not?—A. I heard of a disturbance that happened at a place called Caledonia.

Q. When?—A. In '78, I reckon.

Q. What was that as you heard it?—A. I will tell you how I got the information. It was from the—I believe he was the—deputy sheriff, named McNeil. When he came back he was wounded. I asked him how it occurred. He said it was reported that the negroes had arms there, and ammunition, and he and some others went to see about it, and they were fired on, and one man was terribly shot in his face; he got well, however.

Q. Well, did they fire back; was anybody killed?—A. I don't remember whether he said anybody was killed or not, then; but there was a general row there, and it was reported that several were killed about that time, whether on that day or the next I do not remember.

Q. It was election day, was it?—A. Yes. We heard in town that there was considerable excitement down there, and I believe a party of me went down to assist the posse; I don't know it however; I was told so.

Q. How long did the disturbance last—any longer than the day of the election?—A., Yes, sir; till the next day.

Q. Until the next day?—A. And another party started down and i stopped, and there was no more trouble there; it ceased; and in ou town we had no difficulty whatever.

Q. And that is the account you got from the deputy sheriff as to the way it began?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He went down there simply to see if the colored people had arms, and he and his party were fired on?—A. Yes, sir; that was about his statement of the matter.

Q. What was the politics of this deputy sheriff?—A. He was a Re-publican, sir.

Q. Was the sheriff of the parish a Republican, too?—A. No, sir; no the sheriff.

Q. Not?—A. O, yes, sir; I am mistaken, the sheriff at that time wa Republican, too.

Q. Did you ever hear anything afterwards that led you to believe tha that was not a true account of the Caledonia affair, as the deputy sherif gave it to you?—A. No, sir; I believe it was the true account.

Q. You believe it was a true account?—A. Yes, sir; I know the me very well.

Q. How are the colored people doing down there in your neighborhoo now; are they accumulating some property and getting along?—A Yes, sir; some of them are well to do; a good many of them.

Q. I mean as a class; are they advancing as a class; do you think?— I think they are, sir.

Q. Accumulating some property?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are they advancing in intelligence—taking advantage of their school privileges?—A. Yes, sir; I think they are. I think myself that they are doing excellently now.

Q. As well as the whites there—the same class of white people?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. And this improvement, you think, characterizes them as a class? —A. Well, if you take the better class of them and talk with them, they are doing very well; most of them are Republicans—at least they say they are—and they say they don't want to leave; there is just a few leaders of a certain class of them that are stirring up dissatisfaction.

Q. Now there has been something said here in the course of this examination about peonage, and getting the colored men in debt to the white men, and keeping them always in debt, &c.; will you state what that homestead exemption and personal property exemption is in Louisiana? —A. It is two thousand dollars in the parish; I do not say it is that in the cities.

Q. Two thousand dollars?—A. Well, not in the cities; town lots are not exempt—only farming property.

Q. Does the two thousand dollars include both real and personal property?—A. Both real and personal.

Q. Have you had suits of that kind?—A. I have frequently been consulted in them. For instance, a man would have a couple of horses, and would be brought out in debt at the end of the year and he would come to me about it. I would tell him, "You don't need to trouble about that; the landlord cannot take them from you."

Q. The creditor could not take it?—A. No, sir.

Q. So that the colored man as well as the white man can accumulate two thousand dollars' worth of property in defiance of his creditor's claims, can he?- A. Yes, sir.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. WINDOM:

Q. How is that homstead exemption divided up as to real and personal property?—A. Under the old constitution he was allowed, for instance, two horses and a wagon, one hundred and sixty acres of land, so much corn, so much fodder, so much meat, and so on.

Q. How is that not?—A. I have not examined it closely; I could not state, sir.

Q. Have they changed the amount exempted?—A. No, sir; it is still two thousand dollars.

Q. Is it not nearly all real estate that is exempt?—A. No, sir; it is both.

Q. Under the new constitution the exemption in city lots, &c., is just the same?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have a homestead exemption now, just as before?—A. O, yes, sir; although I have not examined all its provisions.

Q. Is it not usual when a colored renter makes a contract, to include his personal property as security for the rent?—A. Yes, sir; it is bound for the rent; everything on the place is bound for the rent.

Q. So that if they draw these contracts, they come in ahead of the homestead exemption?—A. But that is on the crops. Do you mean for rent, or for supplies?

Q. I mean for everthing.—A. Well, for the rent, everything is bound on the place, sir.

Q. The bed, bedstead, wearing apparel, &c.; these are bound for the rent?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that if the crop fails, the negro under the contract would lose his personal property?—A. He might do it.

Q. So that the homestead exemption is, under the contract laws, rendered practically invalid and of no use?—A. For the rent it is; yes, sir.

Q. Is it not very seldom the case that the colored man owns the land?—A. O, no, sir; a good many of them own the land and work it.

Q. What proportion of them, do you think?—A. Well, I really cannot answer that accurately.

Q. I don't care for exact information; but can you not give me some information about it, that I may have an idea of what percentage of the colored population own land?—A. I suppose about one-tenth.

Q. Ten per cent., you think?—A. Yes, sir; there are a great many of them on government land there; they build their houses and clear the land and cultivate it.

Q. How long did you say you have resided in Shreveport?—A. Since June, 1866.

Q. Tell us a little more about that Caledonia affair, Mr. Hicks. You say that deputy sheriff went down there from Shreveport. What did he go down for?—A. He went in charge of the boxes, the ballot-boxes; I think he was sworn in for that purpose; he was not the regular deputy sheriff.

Q. He was sworn in for the purpose of distributing the ballot-boxes?—A. He had them in charge; he had to carry them there, and bring them back after the election.

Q. How did it happen that they shot him?—A. I don't know how they came to shoot him. He went there to investigate the matter about the people being armed; I don't know; it is the supposition that they thought probably they were coming there to take them away from them.

Q. Don't you know that they tried to get into the negroes cabins to disarm them?—A. No, I don't know that.

Q. You don't know that it is not so, do you?—A. No, I do not know that, sir.

Q. You do not know any reason why the negroes' should shoot him, any provocation for their shooting, do you?—A. No, sir.

Q, You do not know of the circumstances that led to the shooting?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you not know that a large number of negroes was killed for two or three days after the shooting of this man?—A. No, sir; I have only heard that some were killed.

Q. How many negroes do you think were killed, from what you have heard of that transaction, at the time or since?—A. I do not think I heard; let me see—that over eight or ten of them were killed.

Q. Were any white men ranging around there for some time after that, have you heard?—A. I don't know that there were, sir; it strikes me that it was the next day that the whole thing was stopped.

Q. White men went down from Shreveport to assist in stopping it?—A. I was told that.

Q. They went armed?—A. I suppose they did. It looks like it would have been very foolish to go without arms.

Q. You didn't hear of any other white men being hurt?—A. I don't believe I did.

Q. Did you ever hear of anybody being punished for shooting anybody there?—A. I know they carried some of the men down to New Orleans to be tried; but I don't believe they have been tried yet.

Q. Not punished?—A. They have not had a trial yet. I think they are under bond now.

By Mr. **VANCE**:

Q. Make that matter of the homestead exemption a little plainer, Mr. Hicks. Did I understand you that the claim for rent covers everything on the place?—A. Yes, sir; that is my understanding of it.

Q. In spite of the homestead exemption law that you referred to?—A. Yes, sir; so I understand.

Q. But as to supplies outside, the exemption can be pleaded?—A. Yes, sir; so I understand.

By Mr. **WINDOM**:

Q. Can they get supplies without giving security?—A. No, sir; they get supplies by giving a lien on the crop, and it is a pledge—of the nature of a pledge—made so by the act of 1874, that is secondary to the landlords' lien.

Q. It is equal in some senses, but it does not cover as much, is that it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is not so broad?—A. No, sir.

Q. The landlord's lien covers the whole—the landlord's and tenant's interest?—A. Yes.

Q. It includes all the property on the leased premises?—A. Yes, sir; all the property on the place.

Q. Whatever that property may be—of whatever kind or description?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Tell me, then, what is the merchant's lien; it covers simply the interest of the tenant in the prospective crop?—A. Yes, sir; that is my nderstanding of it.

Q. So that the merchant's lien is really secondary?—A. That is my idea of it.

That is all, Mr. Hicks.

Adjourned to April 14, 1880.

TESTIMONY OF DR. J. B. LAMB.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 14, 1880.

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m. Present, Messrs. Voorhees, chairman, Vance, Windom, and Blair.

Dr. J. B. **LAMB** sworn and examined.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Question. Doctor, you may state where you live.—Answer. I live in Parsons, Labette County, Kansas.

Q. How long have lived there?—A. I have lived in the city of Parsons since six years.

Q. And your profession—what is it?—A. Well, my present occupation is publishing a newspaper.

Q. The editor or publisher of what newspaper?—A. The Parsons Eclipse, sir.

Q. I believe that is a Democratic paper, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; the announcement that we make concerning the newspaper is that we are Independent Democrat.

Q. What railroads center at Parsons?—A. Well, there are three arms of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas; one coming down from Junction City, and continuing on to Denison, Tex.; then there is a branch that goes to Sedalia, Mo., and connects with Saint Louis.

Q. That makes it quite a railroad center?—A. And there is still another; a narrow-gauge that runs east—a little north of east. Yes, sir; Parsons is quite a railroad center.

Q. What is the population of your place?—A. I suppose it is about five thousand.

Q. You have about five thousand people there?—A. That is what I would estimate them at. I think the next census will show about five thousand, this spring.

Q. What proportion of that population is white and what proportion colored?—A. Well, before the exodus there was estimated to be about sixty-five negro votes when they were all out; that, on the ordinary basis, would make something over three hundred colored population.

Q. Has there been an influx at that point?—A. Of the exodus, do you mean?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. To what extent, doctor?—A. How many, do you mean?

Q. Yes.—A. Variously estimated at from fifteen hundred to twenty-five hundred, which have been coming and going all winter, ever since last September, and they, of course, occupy the old rookeries and cheap places about town, and there ain't room for over seven or eight hundred or a thousand to get shelter at any one time.

Q. Will you repeat that, please?—A. The number that had landed and remained awhile through the winter and fall was estimated from fifteen hundred to twenty-five hundred; but that there was no possible accommodation where they could get into houses or anything that resembled houses to exceed a thousand at one time if they had been coming and going.

Q. Where have they scattered out to?—A. Well, there is a few of them scattered out on Timber or Neosho River, and it is said some of them have gone into the country, and some to other towns; but, from the best information I can get, the most of those that have left there have gone back to the South.

Q. Have you talked with them much, doctor?—A. Well, when the exodus commenced last fall it was stated by the Republican papers of the State, as a general proposition, that the reason why they came there was to avoid murder and robbery, and every other species of abuse, which was being heaped upon them in the South.

Q. Yes; that was what they said they came for?—A. Of course I don't know whether that was a lie or not; but I believed it was, and as soon as they commenced arriving I commenced going right down among them, and inquiring what the reasons were that had brought them there, and what their condition was where they left, and what their condition was in the South; and I subjected them to very close examination in order to bring out the facts, as this was a matter of discussion between me and other newspaper men, and I wanted to know what the facts were in the case for my own gratification and for my own advantage, and I have kept up a steady inquisition, inquiring among these people as to what their condition was and what their immediate cause of coming to Kansas was. All through the fall and winter, at every opportunity, when I would meet any one, when I would come upon him, I would ply him with questions, and I don't know how better to convey the idea to this committee than to state as nearly verbatim as I can the answers given by a part of them, and then lump the whole of the balance together.

Q. Adopt your own method. I shall be glad to hear you.—A. Well, when they first landed I went down to the old dilapidated church building that the negroes use as a church that was stowed full of them. I wanted a man to work for me next day. It was Sunday evening, and I went down there to get him. They very courteously invited me in, and a very old colored gentleman there—I called him a gentleman because he had the appearance of being a gentleman—got up, gave me his chair, and invited me to sit down, and he commenced to entertain me in the regular old Virginia style. I told him after a little talk what my errand was, and he said he could supply me with a hand, and after a little more talk I turned to him and said: "Uncle, I suppose they treated you very badly down South there, didn't they?" He turned and looked me right in the face and said: "Bless your soul, massa, nobody ever mistreated me in my life. I was raised in Virginia, and my old master taught me how to conduct myself; that people would respect me and would not abuse me if I conducted myself properly; and nobody ever has in my life abused me or mistreated me." I thought that was a pretty broad statement in relation to how he got along in the world, and he had introduced a problem that I would consider in the future and see whether it was true or not. But in relation to what brought him to Kansas, he "thought, probably, the boys might do better there." I thought that was his reason.

Q. Yes.—A. The next man, a very old colored man, who said he was seventy years old, came up into the office one day, sat down and went to crying. I said, "Uncle, what's the matter?" He replied, "I tell you, massa, I am in a condition of great sufferance." Sufferance was the old man's word for suffering, I suppose. He said, "Yesterday I was thrown out o' doors, and he and my old lady, we made up a bed to sleep out doors last night; it commenced raining at midnight and rained hard the balance of the night." And he told me the name of one of the neighbors down there, saying that "they let me take my bed into the stable, and I slept in there. And now," he says, "I am out of house and home and friends, and everything else. I am in great sufferance, and the people of Parsons would do a good thing if they would only give me ten cents apiece all round and let me go back to my old plantation." "Uncle, what was your condition down there that caused you to come up here?" "The Lord bless you, massa," he said, "I was just as happy as a man could be, and just as well off." "What brought you up here, then?" "O, they sent down circulars and letters exciting the negroes down there, telling us we just had to take hold of the trees and shake them and the dollars would come rattling down; and got the boys in the notion of coming; and finally the old woman got the notion of coming, and then there was no stopping. I never did want to come and I wants the means to go back just as quick as I can go back."

Q. Did he ever go back?—A. He had not gone back when I came away.

"Well," I says, "you seem to have got along with those men down there pretty well. You were a slave, I suppose?" "Yes." "What kind of master had you?" "I tell you my ole massa was the best man the Lord ever made."

Q. Where was he from?—A. I believe he said his master was from Texas.

Well, the next lot of men I will mention that I examined was a company of about five that I came on to, collected up on the sunny side of a building one cold day, and there was nobody around to interfere; for I always made it a point not to examine them when other people were around, and generally that they should not know who I was or what my business was. I thought I could come nearer getting a plain statement of the facts. The first man I asked in relation to the matter—I put the question to him what his condition was down there; and he told me that he and his father owned one hundred and ninety acres of good cotton land; that they made thirty-five bales of cotton last year; that they had, I think, six head of mules and four head of horses and quite a stock of hogs and other cattle and stock. He said he made some corn; and made on the whole a crop that I estimated to be worth about two thousand dollars. I said to him: "Sir, I don't believe any farmer in Labette County made that much money last year. What in the name of common sense brought you up here then," I asked? Well, he didn't like to say just what brought him. Said I, "Did they allow you to vote there?" "Yes, sir; I voted whenever I pleased at election." "Did anybody interfere with you in marketing your crops?" "No, sir." "Anybody rob you in anyway or shape?" "No, sir." "Were you badly treated by your white neighbors?" "No, sir." "Well," said I, "It don't appear that you had anything on earth to complain of in that place?" "No, sir." "Well," I repeated, "I would not give one hundred and ninety acres of cotton land for the best farm in this county; and my advice is for you to get back as soon as you can."

The next man I talked to owned ninety acres, and he owned mules, and horses and stock; his circumstances were similar.

The next owned horses and stock; and all owned land, every one of them, and seemed to be men of good practical ability; and they did not seem to care what brought them there—any one of that crowd; but they all admitted that they had one grievance to complain of there.

Q. Had they sold their farms before they left?—A. No, sir; their farms were abandoned. I told them, "You have abandoned better and more profitable farms than we have in this county."

Q. What became of these men of whom you speak?—A. They would not tell me why they would not go back; but we commenced talking about corn planting, and farming, and they just literally sneered at the idea of corn farming; and I gathered the idea that they would not take a corn farm if given to them. But I missed them. I suppose if you were to hunt for them on the farms you would find them there, for my advice to them was to get back as quick as they could.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Were these men out of money at the time you talked with them?—A. I don't think they stated to me whether they were out of money or not. If they did, I do not remember it. But on questioning these negroes I have been surprised that so large a number of them owned land, and did their own farming, and had their own stock, a great many more of them than I anticipated owned land, and there was ten times the amount of property among them that I had anticipated. Some of them that did not own land owned their stock, and were able to farm by renting the land.

Q. What proportion of those that landed in your place have gone back, in your judgment?—A. Well, I think that there is probably seven hundred remaining there. Now, from small circumstances, from hints and from what I know of their going back, and from what others have told me, I judge that very nearly all that have left Parsons have gone back, except a few that have scattered around the immediate neighborhood of Parsons.

Q. You think that two thousand or twenty-five hundred have landed there?—A. Yes, sir. I was going to make a continued statement of this thing clear through, if you have time to listen to me.

Q. O, yes.—A. The next man I examined was an old man sixty-five years old, he told me. He was evidently a pretty strong politician. He did not seem to like to answer me at first; he did not seem to want to talk about it. And I asked him his age, and where he lived, &c., and then what his condition was there. He told me that he owned his own land and his own stock, and did his own farming, and said he took care of himself. He didn't bother nobody, and nobody didn't bother him; and he came to Kansas just because he had a right to go where he pleased. I said, "What have the colored people to complain of mostly down there; what is their greatest grievance?" "Well," he said, "I don't think they can get their just dues before the courts." I said, "Can you give me any circumstances—point to any case? Did you ever have a case in court?" He said, "I did. A white man borrowed two bales of cotton of me and would not pay it, and I sued him." "Did you get beat?" "Yes; I got beat." "Well," I said, "how? What were the facts in the case?" "Well, the white man hired my nigger witnesses to lie about it." "Well, if the testimony was against you you certainly could not complain of the court and jury in that case." Although there was a general impression among them and belief that they could not get their just dues in court, I inquired carefully, and he was the only one of the lot that had had a case in court; and, as a rule, in asking whether they had got a case in court, they did not seem to have any reason to go into court, and from their own statements they never had had any reason to go into court.

Q. Did any of them detail to you any personal violence that they had had inflicted upon themselves or had seen inflicted on others?—A. I will come to that directly. The woman that I hired to work in the house—she was a very smart, bright mulatto woman, not more than one-fourth of negro blood, and an exceedingly capable woman—she came there complaining that she was very near ruined, suffering with cold and hunger since coming to Kansas. She said she had never been used to deprivations in her life; she had always had whatever she wanted, and did not know what hardship was, and said until she came to Kansas she had never had any trouble in the world; that she and her husband were getting on well; they did not own land, but stock, and had some money ahead when they came. They were able to cultivate rented land without getting in debt; they had some stock. And one thing that some complained of was that they thought they were cheated in their settlements; and I investigated them carefully on that; I asked her about it. She said she believed that they dealt honestly with them; they had no fault to find; they never did complain about their deal. She said there were some on the same plantation that were always complaining about it, and from what she knew about them she thought they were always ready to trade and never very ready or willing to work; and she did not have much confidence in the matter of their cheating them. I asked her what brought her up there. She was a very smart woman—no education at all. She said it was these letters and papers from Governor St. John that had brought them and nothing else, for they would not have believed ordinary reports; but when the thing came recommended by the governor of the State she thought they were entitled to believe it, and had an idea they could better themselves by coming. But, she said, they had ruined themselves, and she did not believe they would ever get to be as well off again as when they started; she did not think they would ever get up to that point again.

That much in relation to the detailed statements. Now I will state in gross that I talked with and examined a great number of these colored men, and there was a pretty large class of them that would answer about like this: "Well, you are one of the Texas men, are you?" "Yeth, sah, yeth sah." "I suppose they treated you very badly down there, didn't they?" "Yeth sah, yeth sah." "And would not let you vote?" "No sah; O, no sah, no sah, would not let me vote." "Followed you with shot-guns, and all that kind of thing?" "Yeth sah, yeth sah." "You could not live among them at all?" "No, sah, no, sah; could not live among them at all." "Now," I said, "I think you are the man I have been wanting; for I want a man that can give me a full account of all this bulldozing business. I want to know what it consists in. Now you answer my questions, just as I give them. Tell me all you know yourself; not what you hear. Did you ever vote down there?" "O, yeth sah, yeth sah; I voted." "Well, did anybody forbid your voting?" "No sah, O, no shah, nobody every forbid me voting." "Was there any disturbance, anybody posted at the polls? Did you see anybody around with shot-guns?" "O, no sah, no sah; well they didn't jess do it jus' whar I were." "They didn't do it where you were?" "They let me vote there." "They let you vote did they? You say they would not let them vote?" "Well, jus' where I was—in other counties I heard about it." "They would not let them vote there?" "No sah they would not let them vote there." "Well, did anybody ever come to you and forbid your voting?" "No sah; O no no." "Did anybody ever follow you with a shot-gun? Were you ever taken out and whipped?" "O, no sah, no sah." "Were you ever abused in any way yourself, individually—were you ever abused in any way?" "No sah; no sah. Well, they didn't jus' do it right thar, but every year they did it; I hear about it." "You heard about it, then, yourself, personally, of your own knowledge, did not know anything about it?" "No sah; no sah I didn't know nothing about it. I never see nothing and didn't know, I jus' hear about it, but I know they done it, they said they done it—killed niggers, shot 'em every year thar." "Well, what county?" "I don't jus' remember what county it was, but they tole me about it." "Now come right down to facts. I want to ask you about the white man you worked for—the man you came from—the immediate place you came from when you came up here; would you be afraid to go back there for fear they would kill you?" "No sah, no sah; ole Massa Joe is the best man you ever saw; he wouldn't kill nobody." "He would not kill anybody. Well, as a matter of fact, were you afraid of the white men in that neighborhood?" "O, no sah, no sah." "They are good men, are they?" "O, yeth sah; good men, good men." "And you would not be afraid to go back at all?" "No sah, no sah; I would not be afraid to go back at all; not at all afraid." "Then these white men down there that bulldoze the negroes, and kill them and shoot them and all that, you are not acquainted with them?" "O, no; I jus' heard about them; not acquainted with them; don't know them." "You don't know them?" "I am not a bit afraid of the white men down there." "One more question: These stories about the bulldozers down there, do you believe them?" "Well, sah, I don't know." It appear edpretty plain in the end that, as a matter of fact, he did not believe a word of it. I just give that as a sample of strict and close examination of a great many there—more than half; maybe a little more or a little less. If you go to them and ask them the question in general, "Do they abuse you down South; do they let you vote?" their reply is, "O, no, sir; they won't let us vote; they abuse us; we can't get along with them at all"; and when you bring them down to direct detail of what they know about it, and all the facts in the case, they will give you a story about like that I have told you. And, although I have been energetically at work among them to find out a solitary case of this bulldozing, as it is called among that population that may amount to twenty-five hundred, I think I have got facts enough to warrant me in saying it would be a representative opinion of the whole mass of them; and I will state here, upon oath, that according to the best of my ability, without any prejudice to anybody, that I have not been able to find a man that ever saw anything of it or knows anything about it whatever. I have not found a man that would be at all afraid, according to his own testimony, to go back where he came from; and in half the cases they told me that when they wanted to go back, they had only to write to them and they would send them money to go back with. "Well," I would say, "why don't you go?" Well, they did not just like to go, and very few of them would admit that they ever intended to go back at all; but our girl, Betty, explained that it was the understanding with the negroes that unless they told a pretty good story about this thing, and declared they never would go back if they died in Kansas, she said it was understood with them that they could not draw any of the old clothes that were being given out. And I found that my old negro man that was so badly distressed, the next day came back and declared that he intended to go back to visit Texas, but not to stay. He and his old lady were going down to visit their people, to see them, but he liked Kansas, and was going to stay there. Of course I knew what that meant. Now, this is in relation to what brought those negroes there—the almost unanimous reply in relation to these questions among them, if you will ask them when they first arrive, and when they first find out what their condition is—that it was these St. John letters and circulars that brought them there.

Q. Now describe these St. John letters and circulars.—A. I will tell you in relation to that what the Rev. Mr. Duncan told me. He is a Methodist minister, a colored man; probably the most intelligent colored man there. He had been engaged in this exodus business last summer, and he told me that about June, he thought, of last year, two white men from Topeka, loaded down with these circulars, were distributing them among the colored people—appeared in Texas, at Houston, I think, or near there, and commenced lecturing and speaking to the people and distributing these circulars. And his description of the circular was about like this: that it promised to the negroes one hundred and sixty acres of land and the teams and other things to cultivate it with; supplies for six months and some money, and some other valuable considerations which he was unable to describe, and were signed at the bottom "John P. St. John."

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Where does this man Duncan live?—A. In Parsons.

Q. What is his first name?—A. Rev. T. D. is the name he goes by.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Did you ever see any of these circulars yourself?—A. No, sir; I tried energetically to get them, but somebody told me there were some here; but the existence of those circulars down there, very near as Duncan described them to me, was proved by the balance of the population beyond the shadow of a doubt. This colored woman of mine told me she knew they were circulated down there, and she thought she could get one, and got pen and ink to write down there; she thought she could get one. She knew they were circulated there. I told the old man I spoke of, who said it was the St. John circulars and letters, "Why, St. John said he never did send any." "O, but he lies; he did send them; they were scattered all around there." Mr. Duncan told me that about June they commenced circulating them there, and I notice by the Repuplican papers of Kansas that just about that time, as near as I could guess at it, they stated, "There would be an exodus from Texas this fall of the negroes that could not stand it any longer." As it went on along through the summer these papers were calling to mind the fact that there would be a pretty large exodus from Texas, and along towards fall I think they had got their estimates as high as forty thousand. Now, when the Republican papers first commenced stating that there would be a negro exodus from Texas, according to the best information I could get from the negroes, there were no negroes at all had any anticipation of coming to Kansas, and I don't know any way they had of knowing there would be an exodus, except that they intended to get one up. Mr. Duncan told me he worked in this negro exodus until the first large arrival in Kansas came on; and almost simultaneously with the largest arrival that came there, when the town was literally full of them, and the thing was in very bad odor among the people generally, without regard to politics, Mr. St. John came there to deliver a temperance lecture in the hall. I went up and looked in; I did not go in. It was pretty densely packed with colored people, and I understood from them that they went up there expecting that St. John would make the arrangements about that farm and those mules and that money that they had come there for, and that when they got there Governor St. John openly, before the people generally, stated that he had discouraged the thing all he could. Mr. Duncan told me that he was at a meeting of colored men exclusively in which St. John made some remarks that were exactly contrary to that, and he said he had the best colored men in Parsons to prove it by. He said St. John said entirely different from what he stated to the people openly—that he had discouraged the exodus.

Now, Mr. Duncan stated that when this large arrival came, and the men engaged there that had been favoring it perceived that it was exceedingly unpopular with the people, that then they just shoved the whole responsibility of it on to him. They trumped up some charges against him, arrested him, and sent him to jail.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Who.—A. Duncan, preacher as he was; they held him ten days in jail and he could not get a Republican to bail him out. And he said some leading one came to him and told him if he would give them fifty dollars they would get him clear.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What did they charge him with that they put him in jail?—A. Duncan had been in Texas and had been operating as agent in forwarding the goods of some of these men that came up; and they accused him of some dishonesty in relation to it. Duncan was in jail and laid there and had a trial and was acquitted. Now, how much he was guilty of I don't know, but in regard to the statements that he made, I believed them, simply because it was the exact opinion I had of it.

Q. He stood trial and was acquitted?—A. Yes.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. But in his statement he attributed falsehood to Governor St. John and that you believe anyway?—A. I do.

Q. I think we had better call Governor St. John here, as he is lying under this accusation.

The CHAIRMAN. He is better off than many in New Hampshire and Indiana. He has been tried and acquitted.

Mr. BLAIR. The witness himself talks as though he was not quite clear that Duncan was not guilty.

The WITNESS. I know that Governor St. John—about the time that the first negroes landed in Kansas, the State officers of Kansas, including him—the whole of them formed themselves into a board, and I don't just remember what was it they called that—the Freedmen's Relief Association, for the relief of the freedmen; and they issued a circular. I think the purport of it was about like this: that these people were there helpless under their charge and were still coming, and that they deplored the matter, and that their ill-treatment in the South had compelled them to flee from that country in self protection. I think that is about the statement he made. Now this committee had subcommittees scattered around throughout the State of Kansas in different parts; they were the State officers, and the fact that I wish to call your attention to is that they had stated that these negroes came to Kansas of their own accord because they had been so badly treated in the country they came from that they could not live there; that they had fled for their life. I am satisfied that was the purport and meaning of the statements they made, and the Republican papers throughout the State echoed it and stated it to the people of Kansas as the reason why the negroes of the South had come to Kansas; and that stood among them as their excuse for coming to Kansas.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Let me see if I understand you. You say after the negroes came they formed a charitable organization there and issued an address calling for charity, and stated as among the reasons why these people were there, that they were suffering abuse at the South—and what do you say further?—A. I say the Republican papers of the State took that up as a standard doctrine on the matter; and that was what I wanted to find out; how much truth there was about it. I wanted to see if that was true or not, because that is a terrible accusation against the white people of the South, if you will only stop to consider it—it is a terrible accusation—and I believed that there were some facts connected with it, and that there must, as a matter of course, be something to base it upon.

Q. Well, ultimately, you came to the conclusion that there was not?—A. I was going to state to you that, having examined carefully those negroes that have arrived in Parsons, and gathered all the testimony that I could find upon the subject, that, so far as the negroes in Texas were concerned, there is not one particle or scintilla of truth in the statement whatever. It is an infamous falsehood; that's what it is. I stated to the secretary——

Mr. VANCE. You mean that the falsehood consists in the fact that they were unable to live down there on account of bad treatment?

The WITNESS. That they were murdered, robbed, ill-treated in every possible way. Now that goes as standard doctrine in Kansas; I know the doctrine, and I get thirty or forty Republican papers all the time, I think. Now, I state from careful examination of these people, extending over a space of six months, and taking their own statements for it, that there is not one scintilla of truth in it. There is nothing at all to found it on, and I cannot find a solitary man to substantiate it on, not one. And so far as the reasons of their coming here are concerned, I do accuse Governor St. John and that committee of getting up these circulars and working up that exodus of their own free will and accord.

Mr. WINDOM. You do that under oath?

The WITNESS. I do. And I told the secretary of that committee, last night, if they denied the fact and wanted me to prove it, I was satisfied, with the knowledge I had in my possession, that I could prove it and could do it easily.

Mr. WINDOM. I would like you to prove it now.

Mr. VANCE. Let him give his statement-in-chief.

The WITNESS. I have stated the proof I have; that these men all told me that the papers and recommendations about Kansas that they received and on which they based their reliance were signed with St. John's name. Now, this testimony they have given me to a very large extent. Latterly, some of them, when asked, would not seem to be quite so clear; they would remember something about papers, but could not recollect the names on them, and there was an abundance that did profess to know and know positively. Now, I knew through the summer it was the standard report that such papers purporting to come from St. John were circulated through Texas among the negroes. I heard of it long before the exodus began; and if Governor St. John had intended to disclaim that and wanted to set the negro population of Texas right on the record, he could have written forty lines to any Texas paper in relation to that, stating that he had issued no such papers, and that no such facts were true; that the negroes could not get any such thing in Kansas, and just asking the Texas papers to copy that, and carry the information over the country, and it would have flopped the whole thing in a minute.

Mr. VANCE. He could not publish it in a Kansas paper?

The WITNESS, Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Let me ask you if I understand the portion of your testimony in reference to the charge that this exodus was worked up in Kansas. I understand you to say that from the time when the negroes in Texas began to talk of coming, to the time when these newspapers in Kansas began to publish reports and predictions that there would be a very heavy exodus that fall, that you judged that they had no means of knowing there would be an exodus, except as the result of their own efforts?—A. Taking the testimony of the Texas immigrants that have come—taking their testimony and at the time when they first began to say there would be a Texas immigration there, there was no negro population in Texas that had any intention of coming to Kansas.

Q. At the time they first predicted this exodus?—A. At the time they first began to talk about it; and they had no earthly means of knowing there would be any exodus, except that they knew they intended to work one up.

Q. Is there any other matter you want to state in your examination in chief?—A. Well, I will state that from the number of men that I have talked with and their admissions upon the subject, it seems to be almost unanimously admitted by them that in relation to coming to Kansas they were lied to and deceived, and that somebody did it willfully and intentionally. There ain't any of them that have judgment in relation to business at all, that pretend they could do better in Kansas than in Texas. I have not seen one of them, I don't think a man of them, I have stated under oath, that made any pretension that he could do better in Kansas than in Texas; and they would not have come to

Kansas had not these statements been made to them; and they have been made to believe a matter that was a gross falsehood.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Where were you born?—A. State of Maine, and raised there.

Q. How long have you lived in Kansas?—A. About fourteen years.

Q. All the while at Parsons?—A. I lived all the while in that neighborhood. I lived at Osage Mission, fourteen miles from Parsons.

Q. How far is Parsons from the Texas line?—A. The Texas line?

Q. O, rather the Indian Territory line?—A. Twenty-five miles.

Q. Which part of Kansas—Eastern, Western, or Central?—A. Labette County is in the second tier of counties, the extreme county south, and the extreme county east, except one.

Q. In the southeast corner of Kansas, within twenty-five miles of the Indian Territory?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have lived there pretty much all the time?—A. Six years; the balance of the time at Osage Mission, fourteen miles west.

Q. You know that country pretty thoroughly, don't you?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever been in Texas?—A. No.

Q. Or Indian Territory?—A. Yes.

Q. How far south?—A. I have been to Fort Gibson.

Q. How far south is that?—A. About one hundred miles.

Q. How many times have you been to Fort Gibson?—A. Never but once.

Q. How long did you stay there?—A. I believe I stayed two days or about that long.

Q. How long ago?—A. Seven or eight years ago.

Q. Have you been in Kansas all the time since?—A. O, I have been out of the State once or twice, to Chicago and Saint Louis.

Q. Did you make any particular stop?—A. No.

Q. Your residence, then, has been in the State of Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You call yourself an independent Democrat?—A. Yes; I am an independent Democrat.

Q. Not strong enough to be called a Democrat pure and simple, but a little independent—rather high-toned; you are neither Republican nor Democrat, but one of those men who occupy a medium position, a little aloof from each and a little holier than either?—A. No, sir; I mean to say I am in perfect accord with the Democratic party on most all important political questions.

Q. What?—A. Yes; most of them; and if they put any candidates before me that I know are unworthy of support, I won't support them.

Q. How many Democratic candidates have you refused to support while you have been an independent Democrat in that part of Kansas?—A. Well, some of them I have not voted for, sir.

Q. The point is, you give us your status as an independent Democrat; that you are without prejudice, without guile in this matter; and you mean to give us the impression that your opinion and judgment are characterized by extreme fairness and impartiality—more so than if you were a Republican or Democrat purely.—A. That is what you say. I was an old-time Abolitionist and Republican.

Q. You are not much of an Abolitionist now?—A. The same as I always was.

Q. But an independent Democrat?

Mr. VANCE. He said he was a Republican, and you stopped him just as he was about to explain.

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; I voted for Abraham Lincoln, in a slav State, too.

Q. That was some time ago—more than fourteen years ago?—A. Yes that was before the war.

Q. Did you vote for him during the war?—A. No; I did not vote fo him during the war.

Q. You never were in Texas, it seems, then?—A. No, sir.

Q. How do you know outrages or abuses of colored people were no permitted?—A. I have not pretended to know.

Q. I think you stated the whole thing was a sham and a humbug that it had no existence?—A. I stated what these men told me.

Q. Did you not mean the thing was a sham and pretext, and that n outrage or abuse of colored people in the State of Texas, has bee known?—A. I stated what I founded my opinion on.

Q. I ask you if you did not state as a fact that that was the concl sion you had come to?—A. Yes; that was the conclusion I had come t

Q. You go further, and say there was no talk of the exodus, and no di satisfaction in Texas out of which the exodus grew, until the circulatio of certain documents—the St. John letters and circulars?—A. Tha seems to be evidence in the case, so far as I could get at it.

Q. You don't pretend to know except from such information as yo got from the negroes?—A. That is the information they gave me; an that is what I rely upon.

Q. That is what you rely upon entirely?—A. That is the evidenc I am giving here.

Q. O, you don't mean to express your personal opinion, but you a simply reflecting the current of talk with these colored people in the inquisitions, as you call them? I ask you if you designed to be unde stood as expressing an opinion of your own or only giving us the benef of the conversations you had with these colored people?—A. Let m state my particular understanding in relation to that.

Q. You do not understand my question.—A. I will give it to you.

Q. We don't want to discuss; we want you to answer the question.- A. Please state the question again.

Q. I want to know whether you wish to be understood as giving facts and opinions of your own, or as simply reflecting to us the co versation you had with these colored people?—A. I reflect to you t conversation I have had with the colored people, and opinions as d rived from them.

Q. You don't mean to put in as fact these grievances and irritatio with which you undertook to relate the conversation of these color people?—A. I aimed to give you an exact a daguerreotype of what saw, as near as possible.

Q. Exactly; but this performance you went through with, giving t lingo, and accent, and the like of the negro, that was not the sta ment of any particular negro, was it, or the manner of any one part ular negro?—A. I gave you that as a stereotype examination of a go many cases that did not occur, all of them, exactly in those words, b were very similar.

Q. Did they put their fingers to their heads in this way, as you ha done? I noticed you portrayed the manner in which they express an idea by the tapping of the head and lisp of the negro, and all th did you mean that as a perfect imitation?—A. Tapping the head! don't remember about that.

Q. You put it in as part of your testimony?—A. I guess I tapped own head accidentally.

Q. I took it that you were representing the negro.—A. I did not intend it so.

Q. At the same time you accompanied it with the negro method of pronunciation, very much like what we often see in the performance of minstrels. That is something put on in your own way, to set off and to give a dramatic effect to your testimony, is it?—A. I aimed in that to give you an exact daguerreotype picture, as near as I could do it.

Q. A picture—a sort of —— of the thing as it was?—A. Yes, for that would convey an accurate idea, I think, that is very near exact.

Q. Now, these colored people began by telling you that they were outraged and abused down there, did they not?—A. On the general charges they would nearly always sustain them all.

Q. Did they ever back out of the general charges that were the common report through the State there, that they were in some way deprived of the ballot through intimidation, force, or false count—did they ever back out?—A. They had no general statement.

Q. And they all adhered to that, even when they said they had not been robbed of the ballot themselves?—A. Some of them said they had heard of it, but most of them in Kansas as soon as they got there.

Q. They never heard of it before they started?—A. Never in their lives.

Q. Then they did not give the existence of such a report in Texas as the reason they had left?—A. No.

Q. But it was something they learned in Kansas?—A. I never had one man give that as his reason for coming to Kansas of all the men I asked this winter.

Q. Have you never known one to give that as his reason why he came to Kansas?—A. Not one gave that as a reason why he came to Kansas.

Q. Have you ever heard any one give the existence of such a report as the reason why he came there?—A. No, sir.

Q. But all say that there was a general impression among the colored people that they were being abused or injured?—A. They did not even say that.

Q. Or rumors of it?—A. They had heard of it.

Q. How many have you examined?—A. Perhaps I talked with and examined more than this committee has.

Q. We have examined, I suppose, one hundred and fifty. You have talked with one hundred and fifty?—A. I have been engaged in finding them out and plying them with questions.

Q. And this is the result of the examination you made? They began to complain of general abuse, and you questioned them down specifically, and none of them knew anything about it, personally?—A. I stated that that would cover about half of them; I think about one-half did not lay any claim whatever that they left Texas on account of abuse.

Q. Or any reported abuse?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. O, yes; came up with the idea of bettering themselves in Kansas?—A. Simply because they thought they had such evidence that they could trust in that they could better their condition in Kansas.

Q. And that evidence was exclusively the letter and circular of St. John?—A. Most all referred to the St. John circulars.

Q. You stated at the time the exodus started there were no causes influencing these colored people in Texas to make the exodus, and no exodus was thought of?—A. According to their own statement.

Q. O, I thought you made this as a sworn charge against Governor St. John?—A. Yes; according to the statement of these men I saw.

Q. O, yes! You put it entirely upon that. You say you had no personal knowledge yourself?—A. Of course not; I never pretended to have any.

Q. You know nothing of the status of the thing in Texas, only that you fished it out of these blacks, of whom you say more than one-half have gone back again?—A. That is my opinion.

Q. And have told this double story upon themselves?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, you stated to us that Governor St. John disavowed the authorship of any of these letters or circulars?—A. Yes, sir; I think he does.

Q. Have you any reason to disbelieve him?—A. Yes, sir; I have. I don't pretend to say that St. John issued that circular or signed it; but I say that it issued from that headquarters there. I am satisfied that it issued from that headquarters, and that he knew it was issued.

Q. Is not that issuing it?—A. You can construe it that way if you please.

Q. Did not you mean to be so understood?—A. You can so construe it.

Q. Do you mean to avoid the responsibility of the direct charge you make here by saying he got somebody to do it?—A. I do not aim to avoid any responsibility at all. I charged Governor St. John with it, and the leading Republicans of Kansas with having lied to the negroes, and then lied to the people of Kansas about the exodus, willfully, intentionally, and knowingly.

Q. You charge it yourself, personally?—A. Yes, sir; and based upon good reasons.

Q. In other words, you charge Governor St. John with falsehood when he declares that he did not issue any such circulars or letters as you have described here; and when he disavows that authorship you charge him with falsehood?—A. I do, and believe I can prove it.

Q. And you charge the Republican party and the administration of Kansas with getting up, through means you have described, this exodus from the State of Texas to Kansas, do you?—A. Yes, sir; I do distinctly charge them with it.

Q. Well, that is what I understood you to do in the first place?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, have you any evidence of it whatever, except such as you have given?—A. Well, I think I have given pretty near enough.

Q. You think you have substantiated the charge, do you?—A. I have given enough, I think; but think I could produce a good deal more evidence if called into court and required to do it. It would not be at all astonishing if you got more evidence here before you get through.

Q. I don't know what evidence will come here. Do you know of any other evidence in support of the charges you have made, excepting what you have given here?—A. Well, I have nothing only the evidence of these people and my belief in the evidence they can produce, or that can be brought from that country.

Q. It has not been brought to your knowledge?—A. No, sir; I have never seen any of those circulars.

Q. Suppose one of those circulars was produced here to day, how would you know it had ever been in Texas?—A. I have never seen the circular.

Q. You would not know whether it had ever been in Texas?—A. I would not know.

Q. And you have never seen one of them?—A. I have never seen one.

Q. You don't know the contents of it?—A. I have abundance of secondary evidence.

Q. What secondary evidence?—A. These people told me they had seen the papers.

Q. They have not told you that they have seen papers that have come from Texas?—A. I have told you Mr. Duncan is a minister; is that not proof enough he is right?

Mr. VANCE. A colored minister at that.—A. He told me colored men came down there and first started it, when there was no talk of an exodus in Texas.

Q. Do you know anything about that minister?—A. He has lived there a year.

Q. Don't you know that in the adjustment he paid back the six hundred dollars of the funds of these people?—A. I don't know anything about it.

Q. And you assume that because he is a clergyman he was all right?—A. Just as much as I have a right to assume from a man's position.

Q. If it turned out that this man was dishonest in squandering and cheating the colored people of Texas, and lied to you, you would feel possibly mistaken about the same testimony about the circulars?—A. Perhaps if he had been the only man that testified about it I might.

Q. You quote him as your chief reliance?—A. No, I have better witnesses than he is.

Q. You take him and them on one story?—A. Yes.

Q. They saw the circulars in Texas, did they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Governor St. John and others knew about the circulars, for they got them up, and they disclaim any knowledge of them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they were falsehoods on their face, were they not?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, how, from the testimony of these people to you, do you know the authorship of these circulars was with Governor St. John and his friends?—A. I have told you where I traced the authorship to.

Q. I do not understand that you have told us anything of its authorship.—A. To that committee and St. John.

Q. These people told you they knew of circulars in existence in Texas—printed circulars?—A. O, yes, purporting to be signed by Governor St. John.

Q. Yes, and they believed in them, because they appeared to be signed by the governor of the State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And these were transparent falsehoods——

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. They contained transparent falsehoods?—A. Yes.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. That is all these people said to you; that they saw the falsehoods in circulation in the State of Texas; that is what they said to you?—A. That they were circulated generally all through there?

Q. Yes; a wide general circulation, they say, of them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, that is all they told you, is it? Did they tell you where these circulars came from?—A. Yes; I told you they told me.

Q. Mind my question. Did they tell you that they knew where the circulars came from?—A. Yes, sir; they knew where the circulars came from direct. The negro politicians were circulating them around; and as I told you, Mr. Duncan told me that two men from Topeka came down and started the thing.

Q. Were they negro politicians from Topeka?—A. No; white men, so he said.

Q. Did he give you their names; we could find them; but he did not remember them just then.

Q. You had no further knowledge of these two men?—A. No.

Q. Your only knowledge is what this minister said?—A. That is all.

Q. You have no other evidence that these two men circulated the documents in Texas?—A. No other on that point.

Q. Don't you think that a trifle weak as testimony?—A. It might possibly be so.

Q. You would not want to charge a public official with falsehood and breach of public trust on such testimony as that, would you?—A. I should not charge it, though I might believe it.

Q. You might believe it, but it would be as well to keep your belief to yourself unless you could prove the charges against the man?—A. In court.

Q. You are stating the fact; if you were swearing to a suspicion, you might state it differently, might you not?—A. I am not swearing to anything but what I know.

Q. Well, do you think you know that Governor St. John did it?—A. I am satisfied he did issue them, and knew all about it.

Q. Now, take your testimony: The negro told you that two men came down from Topeka with these circulars, that were false on the face of them?—A. Yes.

Q. Does that connect Governor St. John with them?—A. No; not certainly.

Q. If the two men started at Topeka, they must have known they were falsehoods?—A. They probably did.

Q. Do you think Governor St. John would have issued such circulars and placed them in the hands of these men for political or other purposes?—A. I have no right to think.

Q. Have you a right, then, to make such charges in your testimony from what you heard?—A. I believe they were issued from headquarters with Governor St. John's knowledge.

Q. And you have stated all your reasons for knowing that he knew anything about it?—A. Yes; I have stated the reasons in the main.

Q. Is he known in Kansas as a liar and a complete fool besides, to tell a lie of that sort?—A. I will tell you in relation to these Kansas politicians——

Q. I am not asking about any but just Governor St. John.—A. I am not personally acquainted with his private character.

Q. You are not?—A. He lives some eighty or one hundred miles from me. I simply know him as a politician.

Q. You simply know him as a politician, and your rule is to separate the character of the man from his character as a politician?—A. I have, as a rule, to do that.

Q. You think a man in Kansas will lie about politics, when he will not about other matters?—A. He undoubtedly will.

Q. As an independent Democrat, would you do it? (Laughter.)—A. My understanding is, that I am not obliged to implicate myself.

Q. You need not answer the question, since you decline on that ground. You are at liberty to avail yourself of that defense?—A. Nobody knows what he might do under certain circumstances.

Q. On a moment's reflection, you might say what you have done under certain circumstances, but you cannot tell what you might do as a Democrat?—A. Kansas politicians will say they let the Republican politicians have the undivided vote on a single question there, and they have got to talking too much there; and if what they say is true, they are the most outrageous set of scamps ever lived in our country.

Q. Do you think it true?—A. For the first time in my life, I believe every word they say.

Q. About each other?—A. Yes.

Q. They ought to be good authority about regular Democrats—I don't mean independents.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Do you know where these circulars were printed?—A. The first that I saw them was pretty early last season, in the summer. This evidence in relation to them, from the Rev. Mr. Duncan, takes them back to about June, and along through the summer, generally. I used to hear a word or two—I do not know, maybe from Democratic, maybe from Republican papers, and maybe by word of mouth—I could not say where I heard it, that such circulars were circulated in Texas.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. But you believed it?—A. Yes, sir; of course I did.

Q. And that the contents were just what the Rev. Mr. Duncan said they were—false; and that Governor St. John issued them?—A. Yes; issued at that headquarters there.

Q. You met a certain flock of these colored people who did not seem inclined to answer your questions; how many in that body of men who fought shy of your inquisition, and you could not get much out of them?—A. That was, in answering certain questions.

Q. What questions would they talk with you about?—A. About the condition of their neighborhoods, and their condition as it existed among themselves and the white people.

Q. They would tell you about that, would they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. On your direct testimony did not you say they would not talk with you about such questions?—A. I told you all they said about it. I told you in answer to the question as to what brought them to Kansas, they either did not seem to know exactly, or else did not care to tell.

Q. But they were sensible, bright fellows, were they not?—A. Yes, sir; I took them to be very smart men for colored men.

Q. But they would not give a reason for coming? Don't you suppose they were just a trifle suspicious of you as an independent Democrat, and put you to one side with the idea that they would not talk with you?—A. They did not seem to be.

Q. Well, can you think of any reason why they would not tell you of the cause of their coming?—A. I can very easily think of one.

Q. Let us hear it.—A. Well, they had been gulled, fooled, made asses of, and did not care to acknowledge it.

Q. Not before an independent Democrat?—A. It looked to me to be a very reasonable excuse.

Q. Did any of them tell you on the sly that that was the reason they would not talk to you?—A. Which reason?

Q. Could not you get into the confidence of anybody so that he would own that they were fooled?—A. It is almost universally admitted. I don't know that any one denies it.

Q. I am speaking about that bright lot who told you how they were; and yet, you say, they tried to conceal the fact that they had been fooled somewhat.—A. I did not say they tried to conceal it. I said in answer to the question what they came for, they did not seem to know, or else did not care to give any particular reason.

Q. Did you ask them whether they did not come on account of the St. John circular?—A. I don't remember.

Q. You spoke of circulars as the cause of these people emigrating?—Yes, I spoke of circulars as the cause of their emigrating.

Q. Is not your mind rather ready, prolific, suggestive? Did it not occur to you to ask them if they had not come on account of these circulars?—A. Possibly I may have done so.

Q. Don't you remember exactly?—A. I cannot.

Q. Now, here is a body of very intelligent colored people, and they cease to be communicative at a certain point, while on all others they seemed to be communicative. I should have thought this point would have made an impression on your mind, and you would have brought yourself squarely to question them, and that you would have asked them if they had not been fooled by these letters of Governor St. John. —A. I cannot remember that I asked them; I may have done so, but do not specifically remember to have done so.

Q. You must have made a very superficial examination of that party then.—A. No; there were four or five of them, you will understand, and as a matter of course I did not examine them by asking each one as many questions as I would have asked a single one.

Q. Were they all in hearing?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Generally a party of them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There are forty people in this room, perhaps; can they all hear what is going on?—A. Yes.

Q. All these colored people heard all your questions?—A. Yes.

Q. And you heard their answers?—A. Yes.

Q. Your talk was neutral?—A. It was and became loud, too.

Q. Don't you think you did ask them?—A. For a fact I don't believe I did. I did not ask that question in all cases.

Q. But in this case I should have thought you would particularly. You were determined to find out if there were abuses in Texas?—A. That is what I was hunting for.

Q. And when you came to interview a little party and do not ask them the main question if Governor St. John had not fooled them?—A. I may have made a mistake; but I don't remember asking them.

Q. These people were comfortably well to do?—A. According to their statements they were well off.

Q. Do you know their politics?—A. I did not ask them, but took for granted they were Republicans.

Q. Most of these people from Texas are Republicans, are they not?—A. They hardly ever talked politics.

Q. What is your opinion—your suspicion?—A. My suspicion is that the negro is generally a Republican.

Q. Well, I have a faint suspicion of that kind too.—A. Generally a Republican.

Q. That is about as definite as you can make answers with regard to politics?—A. Yes, sir; I did not examine them in relation to that.

Q. Do you suppose they got the impression in any way that you were an independent Democrat?—A. I always made it a point in questioning negroes to get them as soon as possible after arriving there, and to come down upon them when they did not know who I was or what my business was or anything about me.

Q. A sort of God-send they did not anticipate?—A. You said that; I did not say that.

Q. What was your reason for that; your extreme anxiety for the truth, pure and simple?—A. I know the nature of the colored man very

Q. How did you find that out by the way; you are a Northern man?—A. I have lived in Kansas and been in Chicago and Saint Louis; I have had a good deal of acquaintance with colored men.

Q. Yes, that you found in Kansas?—A. I was four years in the South in the Army.

Q. Exactly.—A. And was in the midst of negroes all the time, most.

Q. Could you not safely say that he is a Republican as a rule; not merely that you have suspicions of it?—A. No, I could not safely say so; I would not run the risk of saying that every negro is a Republican, because they are not. Once in a while there are Democratic negroes; I have seen a few.

Mr. VANCE. You asked him why he approached the negroes without letting them know who he was.

Mr. BLAIR. I understand he did that in the interest of truth.

The WITNESS. I thought—I do not say I know—I thought they were leading Republican politicians in Parsons, there; that if it should come to them and they were to know I was making these examinations, they would put the negroes on their guard not to tell me about it. There might not have been such men there, but there might have been.

Q. You have no such evidence of that as would justify you in saying so?—A. No, sir.

Q. You don't mean that the negroes are trained to lie by the Republican politicians of Parsons to give false testimony as to the state of things where they came from? How do you want me to understand it—that I believe that the Republicans of Parsons would not advise them to give false testimony?—A. You can express yourself on that as you please and as far as you please.

Mr. VANCE. It is not a question of falsehood; he believed they would warn them not to talk with him.

Mr. BLAIR. My question was, did they train the negroes to give you false testimony as to the condition of affairs in Texas?—A. I think I testified on that point some time ago. I told you that my colored woman in my house told me that it was the general impression among the negroes that if they intimated any willingness to go back and did not give a pretty good account of these horrors down there they would not get any old clothes.

Q. Now, we will question you a moment as to those general statements they did give. You say they gave you most extravagant accounts of the butcheries, outrages, deprivation of rights, and all that. That was in the way of general statements?—A. That was the platform on which they moved.

Q. Yes. As a rule, they said that the colored man was subjected frequently to murder in the South?—A. Murder.

Q. Without the punishment of the murderers?—A. No law to protect him whatever.

Q. And this insecurity of life extended to their property and rights generally?—A. Yes.

Q. How about school privileges?—A. They said they had no school privileges.

Q. What?—A. They said they had no school privileges.

Q. Or did they say it was reported that they had none?—A. Well, in this matter of outrage, and intimidation, and murder, and robbery, I said that was the reason as put forth in Kansas by Republican politicians why these negroes were coming to Kansas.

Q. Yes, you said that; and did not you say, too, that the negroes told you universally that which we have been speaking of, the outrage and abuse they were subjected to; that it was universally reported through Texas that that was the case, and when you came to examine them specifically, whether anybody suffered abuse, they said they had not, but had heard of it all around them ?—A. I don't know that I comprehend your question.

Q. Well, I will ask you another question which has been the subject matter of your answers. Did these negroes give any reasons for leaving the South ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Don't you think at least half of them spoke of having been outraged, abused, murdered, and the like ?—A. Yes, sir; about one-half of them.

Q. And when you asked them if they themselves had been abused in any way as individuals, they said no; but this was what they had heard of all around them ?—A. I think that is the substance of what I said.

Q. Now, speaking of schools. You say they complained of the deprivation of school privileges ?—A. No, I don't believe I examined them about schools.

Q. But have not I examined you with regard to it, and you said a moment ago that there were no schools there for them ?—A. No, I don't think you did. If you did I misconstrued what you asked. One man in particular, I remember, who seemed to have more to complain of than any other one I talked with, complained that they had got it down so low that sometimes they didn't have only two months' school. As far as I can remember, that is the only one in which the school matter came up.

Q. Now, that one man said he did not state it to you as the common report that there were no schools in Texas, but the case of individual deprivation of schools for his own family ?—A. Yes, for his own family.

Q. And that is the only case ?—A. That is the only case I remember of.

Q. You have read the papers so much you must know that one of the chief causes of complaint of the colored people is that they are deprived of the chance to educate the rising generation, which is looked upon as one of the principal evils they endure in the Southern States ?—A. I have believed that, but in these examinations I have considered that a minor point.

Q. I don't ask you to account for what you did or did not do; I am asking you what you did do. You know that is one of the chief causes of complaint in the South ?—A. Yes.

Q. You did not examine the Texas people in regard to that, except in a single instance ?—A. I don't remember about that.

Q. Then from their own accounts you don't claim to know much about that. Now, if it is the fact that these colored people in Texas have next to no facilities for educating their children, is it not a better thing for them, even at some loss of property, to go to Kansas, where they can educate their children ?—A. Well, that includes quite an extensive proposition.

Q. Now, assuming that there are no schools of any consequence in Texas, even at the sacrifice of much of their property, is it not better for the colored man to take his family and go to a free State, where he can educate his children ?—A. No, sir, I think not. My advice to the colored people would be to go right back and start a school there.

Q. The exodus of colored people to Parsons was from Texas mostly ?—A. Mostly from Texas.

Q. Your testimony then in a general way you wish to be understood as relating to Texas ?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF M. BOSWORTH.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 14, 1880.

M. BOSWORTH sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. In Topeka.

Q. Have you had any knowledge of the coming of the negro population into your State?—A. I have had some knowledge.

Q. Have you had any connection with any organization on that subject?—A. I had something to do with the organizing of the first relief association.

Q. You were a member of the relief board, were you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State whether you know anything about supplies—expenditures of money for their use and benefit or relief.—A. We have had quite a large quantity of supplies in the shape of cast-off clothing.

Q. That has been sent to them?—A. That has been sent to them; that has been distributed; also lumber, provisions of different kinds, and quite a large amount of money which has been collected.

Q. You have not had the handling of that money yourself?—A. I was the first treasurer of the organization, but only for a short time, and resigned in favor of our State treasurer.

Q. What was that money used for; upon what principle was it used, or the supplies distributed, and for what purpose?—A. The money has been generally used for the purpose of purchasing such things as were not contributed, such as shoes and provisions.

Q. What I mean—to put a direct question—is, was it for the relief of suffering?—A. That was one use; but occasionally for transportation. We had to pay for the transportation of these goods, and generally we had to send refugees out to work.

Q. And no other purpose but to clothe, feed, and help them to find places?—A. That is what it was used for.

Q. That was the understanding, as you were informed, of those who contributed, that it would be used in that way?—A. That is what it was for.

Q. An organization was formed for the relief of this class of people?—A. Yes.

Q. And so far as under the authority of the county, for that sole purpose?—A. Yes.

Q. And not for the relief of any other class of people?—A. No.

Q. And not to send them back?—A. We have offered to send them back if they wished to go. I have not seen but two and have inquired of a good many of them.

Q. How many have come to your place, to your best judgment?—A. I suppose eight to ten thousand within the last year.

Q. At Topeka?—A. Yes.

Q. And you say you have offered to send them back when they wanted to go back?—A. Frequently they have wanted to go back after seeing the condition of things.

Q. And in your observations you have found but two?—A. One was a gentleman who testified here the other day, and the other was a lady.

Q. Who was he?—A. Brookins, I think; he said he was going back as soon as he could get the money.

Q. Had you offered to assist him?—A. No, sir.

Q. But he was one of the two who wanted to go back?—A. Yes.

Q. Give us an idea of how many you have talked with.—A. I have talked with a great many, probably twenty-five or perhaps one hundred.

Q. Did you frequently talk with them?—A. Frequently, seeing them suffering there from cold and hunger, and that kind of thing.

Q. What was their condition when they came to your place as to clothing, means, food, &c.?—A. Well, a majority of them were in about as delapidated a condition as you can well imagine; occasionally one of them has a little money; occasionally one is very well clothed.

Q. But generally?—A. Generally they come very thinly clad and very poorly provided to stand our winter climate.

Q. And yet notwithstanding that condition, you have seen in all your observation but two who wanted to go back?—A. That I have met. I have heard there were others.

Q. Those were all you came in contact with?—A. Yes.

Q. What would you infer had been their condition in the place they came from, judging by the condition in which they arrived with you; had they been in a prosperous condition?—A. I should think not, from appearances, in a high state of prosperity.

Q. On the contrary, would it not indicate that they were in a desperate condition in the country from which they came!—A. It would look so.

Q. You would infer that a lot of Irish immigrants coming in the same condition were pretty badly treated in Ireland where they came from?—A. I should think they had not succeeded very well, and had been very unfortunate.

Q. What seemed to be the disposition of those people you conversed with about getting work; did they want to work or not?—A. That seemed to be what they wanted; all asked to get work—to assist them to get employment, and they would take care of themselves.

Q. And the great desire they expressed to you was to get work?—A. Yes, sir; I never knew any of them to refuse to work.

Q. You were not as unfortunate as Mr. Barrett, who offered them twenty-five cents for an hour's work and they would not do it; you have not seen anything of their refusing to work?—A. No, sir.

Q. How about roaming around the streets?—A. Well, we have idlers black and white in our country. If a man should go to Topeka for the purpose of finding negroes loafing around the streets he would find examples of it, when another man went for with the purpose of finding whites would find them.

Q. That would be a natural state of things with the blacks there who are temporarily waiting for places to go to work?—A. Yes.

Q. How many are there on an average, coming and going?—A. Perhaps two hundred, or two hundred and fifty. The superintendent told me there was one time when they had as high as five hundred in there. I was there the day before I started to come here; they had then about two hundred and fifty; they had received an order from Mr. Comstock, who had gone up into Nebraska, and had sent word down to send one hundred persons up there, and they were just being fitted out.

Q. I should think the average would be from one to three hundred; have they not been distributed pretty promptly on their arrival?—A. As a general thing, yes, sir. There has been some trouble in getting them off; but since the first of January it has been one man's business that as soon as they got an order for one person or a dozen, to take the order, acknowledge its receipt, and say to the party that we would send them as soon as we could, and hunt them up; and if we came across any person who refused to go, to cut his rations right off; and we have been able to get rid of them very promptly. And now I understand that their orders are about equal to the arrivals, and perhaps a little more.

Q. So that they can be distributed as fast as they come?—A. Yes.

Q. You were a member of the organization very early?—A. One of the original members of the organization, and had the position of treasurer for about a month; but I was called away on business, and I saw it was going to be a pretty big thing, and went to Governor St. John and tendered my resignation, and he appointed Mr. Francis in my place.

Q. About how long ago were you in the organization?—A. About a year ago at this time.

Q. You have heard the statements made by Mr. Lamb, in which he charges, upon oath, that your organization and St. John induced this immigration to come there. What are the facts about it?—A. I never have known a circular to be issued favoring this exodus; we did not exactly consider that it was a Kansas movement, and that Kansas should shoulder this burden.

Q. You did not desire them?—A. No. If they went to Kansas we thought it the duty of the charitable people of the North to relieve them. There have been some circulars issued soliciting donations—cast-off-clothing and money.

Q. That was simply, as I understood, to help you to bear the burden thrown in too large proportion upon Kansas?—A. Yes. And the whole effort was to relieve the suffering, and was a charitable movement entirely.

Q. Had you anything political in the movement?—A. No, sir; the Kansas Republican leaders thought that this immigration was too large to be healthy.

Q. You had frequent talks with St. John and others there amongst yourselves, and you know their sentiments; is it possible that you or St. John could have sent out circulars into Texas inviting these people to come there, as Mr. Lamb has said; do you think it possible?—A. It is possible, but I don't believe that anything of the kind has ever been done. I could almost swear to it. St. John might have done it, but I never have. I have conversed with him frequently, and he has always protested; everything he has done has been to discourage this thing.

Q. From the beginning?—A. Yes. I think Governor St. John in a speech he made in the opera-house on one Sabbath evening at the first organization of the association—I think he did perhaps go a little too far—further than he intended, and they might construe from what he said that he was rather bidding for them.

Q. Was that at the beginning?—A. Yes.

Q. Simply a hasty public speech?—A. Yes.

Q. Was that speech embodied in a circular?—A. No, I never heard that it was.

Q. Do you believe it possible that he could have sent out circulars inviting these people to come?—A. I don't believe he ever did. In fact, I would give ten dollars now to see any of those circulars with his name.

Q. I don't think any exist.—A. If it is, I think it is a fraud on him.

Q. You think it is a fraud on him if your society did, or he did, send out a contradiction of the sentiment as expressed to you?—A. I don't think there was but the one sentiment—that it was a calamity to have them come in such quantities and a damage to the State.

Q. Do you remember whether St. John wrote a letter to parties in Saint Louis discouraging it?—A. I never saw the letter; not to my own knowledge I cannot say.

Q. Do you know of any politicians in your State that have encouraged it in your State?—A. I have never known anybody to do so.

Q. Do you believe anybody ever did, from your best information?—A. I don't think they ever did.

Q. What do you know about the tearing down of certain barracks that commenced to be built at a certain place?—A. When they first commenced coming to our place we got the privilege of putting them on our fair-ground. After they had been down there some time, a month or six weeks, the county commissioners got a little tired of it, and wanted to use the fair-ground, and claimed they wanted to put it in repair, and the subject of building the barracks came up; and as most of these people were coming over the Kansas Pacific Road, they thought it would be better to put the barracks on the north side. I think perhaps that the committee that was appointed to select the location did not perhaps select the best one; that is, they selected it just inside the corporation; but I did not know that they blamed the people particularly for rebelling against it. I understand it was torn down and the lumber thrown in the river; afterwards it was built outside, and there was no disturbance.

Q. Were not stories told about yellow fever or some disease?—A. There were rumors that these people were coming there bringing cast-off clothes infected with yellow fever, and which had not been properly fumigated.

Q. The objection was that they feared they might have some contagious disease, which would be disseminated?—A. Yes, sir; that was the objection.

Q. In your talks with these people did they ever tell you why they came away?—A. Well, yes, sir; they gave various reasons. Of course we hear this bulldozing spoken of; that they are debarred from the privilege of voting; that the law is a little against them; that they did not have a fair chance before the law; that the negro is persecuted for trifling offenses, sent to prison, fined, and all that sort of thing. But they seemed to be very anxious to get an education. They complained bitterly of want of facilities for educating their children; and also that they could not become freeholders; that they are debarred from the privilege of buying lands, and all that kind of thing; that it is only occasionally anyway that they own real estate, and they wanted means to get where they could educate their children.

Q. This was the general line of complaint?—A. Yes, that was the general line of complaint; all these things they complained of.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. VANCE:

Q. You don't believe they were really debarred from the privilege of buying land if they had the money to pay for it?—A. It would be one of those things hard to believe, if a person had land to sell and they wanted to buy.

Q. I understood you to say some of them you talked with did own land?—A. No, I don't know that any one ever told me of one that has sold land; he has sometimes told me he sold out personal property even at a great sacrifice.

Q. To get means to come to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; and complained that they had been robbed and cheated on the road by the railroads, and all that sort of thing.

Q. Mr. Bosworth, you say that on one occasion, in an address at the opera-house, Governor St. John went a little too far?—A. That was the first meeting that was called at Topeka.

Q. Did the report of his speech get into the newspapers?—A. I think a synopsis of it was published in the papers the next morning.

Q. What was it he said?—A. That Kansas was a free State, and he would welcome to the broad acres of Kansas anybody who had a mind to come, black, white, or anybody who wished to come; that they should find a home in free Kansas.

Q. You have two relief organizations there in Topeka, have you not? —A. I think not, sir; but one.

Q. The present one is the successor of another one?—A. Yes, sir; and all under the same charter; I think it is a chartered institution, and a continuation of the old one.

Q. Did Governor St. John have anything to do with it; was he a charter member?—A. He was president of the first organization, I think.

Q. He was president of the first organization?—A. Yes; the first organization composed of State officers, together with the United States judge of the district court, and three or four citizens outside.

Q. Are the State officers all Republicans?—A. O, yes; we are all Republicans.

Q. Your city has not quite opposition enough?—A. I think not, though the country is much improved.

Q. Do you know, positively, that none of the circulars issued by that organization, or by anybody connected with the organization, either officially or not, were ever sent to Texas or distributed?—A. I don't think, governor, that there ever was a circular of that kind issued by the organization. If it has been, it has been contrary to the express sentiments and wishes of every one all the way through from the president down.

Q. This morning a circular was handed to me calling for aid, &c. Do you know that any of these circulars that were issued contained extracts of letters calling for aid? You have seen some of them, have you not, issued by the association?—A. Containing extracts of letters from whom?

Q. Governor St. John for one, and Mrs. Comstock for another.—A. I don't know that I have ever seen them. Mrs. Comstock is writing a great many letters. I hardly ever see any of her letters. And Mrs. Haviland also.

Q. Do you know anything about circulars and letters being sent around to solicit funds?—A. I think I have some that have been sent, but have not sent them.

Q. You are not very intimately acquainted then with what is being done?—A. Well, they have moved since the first of January or February to North Topeka, and I hardly ever go over there.

Q. (Handing witness a circular.) Have you ever seen anything of that sort? Did you ever see a circular of that kind issued by your association?—A. This is the first I ever saw.

Q. Do you know whether or not such a one was issued—whether that is genuine or not?—A. I should presume it would be, I have heard of this case being authorized. I think Mrs. Comstock wrote such a letter.

Q. Well now, have you seen the Governor St. John letter, or rather scheme, in which he predicts the arrival of one hundred thousand?—A. Well, Governor St. John is a little enthusiastic; I should think he wrote that.

Q. Do you know whether any of these were sent to Texas?—A. I don't know. That would be a circular to send North.

Q. But suppose it was sent to Texas, it would have the effect to induce these people to come to Kansas, would it not, if it had been circulated in Texas?—A. I don't know why it should have that inducement; it might have it, but I don't know why.

Q. It promises aid, assistance, and funds?—A. It is soliciting aid, of course.

Q. But that is an implied promise to the colored people that they should have aid—Governor St. John's letter.

Mr. VANCE. We will read the circular.

Mr. BLAIR. Why not put the whole circular in?

Mr. VANCE. Very well, we will put it all in.

THE EXODUS.

To the Editor of the Transcript:

As treasurer of the exodus committee, will you kindly allow me to make public through the Transcript the information upon which our urgent appeal is based?

Even were the demand less immediate, the certain increase of the migration is clearly enough foreshadowed to justify active preparations to meet it. But the testimony from Kansas, which is daily forced upon our notice, of suffering and death from inadequate provision, compels at once the attention of the humane.

The appended extracts from letters might be multiplied if necessary.

Friendly newspapers are requested to spread the facts before their readers. Our effort is not spasmodic, and, as the end of the movement cannot be foreseen, we desire systematic co-operation.

Yours, very respectfully,

H. P. KIDDER.

[Extract of a letter from Mrs. Elizabeth L. Comstock, dated Topeka, Kans, January, 27, 1880.]

Our number of refugees in this city fluctuates very much. To-day 500 received rations—yesterday 600. The poor creatures arrive now at the rate of 600 weekly, and we ship them off to different parts of this and other States. Last week we shipped 300, and 200 the week before. Yesterday 120 arrived. As a class these refugees are orderly, sober, honest and industrious, and very glad to get work.

It is estimated that 20,000 are now in the State. Topeka, our headquarters, is very much crowded, resulting in sickness and death. We have no city hospital or almshouse for them.

The aim of this association (Kansas Freedman's Relief Association) is to provide necessary food, shelter, clothing, &c., for them until able to provide for themselves; to help them procure work and find homes in families, or in taking up land on their own account; to see that they are not cheated out of what little they have.

At present we need money, not only for food, but for fuel and medicine, for doctors' bills, and care of the sick and feeble. We are greatly in need of building materials to enlarge our barracks and build a hospital for the sick, but in this prairie State lumber is very costly.

The above letter of Mrs. Comstock's is indorsed by the Governor of Kansas, as follows:

I have read this letter, and regard the statements of Mrs. Comstock as nearly correct as it is possible to make them.

JOHN P. ST. JOHN.

[Extract of a letter from an agent of the Relief Association at Independence, Kans., dated January 19, 1880.]

Wife and I were gone to Coffeyville four days, and found a great many trying cases Several families were camped in the woods, no house.room for them. Some women and children barefoot, feet frozen. They were mourning the death of five of their company, who were frozen to death coming through. We gave them and others the last we had of the clothes left.

[From a letter of Mrs. Caroline De Greene, of Topeka, Kans., dated January 26.]

The barracks are crowded to their utmost capacity, and there is not a house in Topeka that can be rented for the accomodation of the refugees who are coming all the time from the South. Some of the children have to sleep five in a bed, and whole families are obliged to sit up at night, for want of sleeping room.

We are daily receiving applications for men and women as farm hands and help in the house, and are scattering the refugees as fast as we can, but two or three families arrive where one is disposed of. * * *

One man named Utesey had saved $450 to get himself a home when he arrived here, but some of his neighbors were anxious to come, and not being able to pay their fare he paid it for them, leaving him without a cent. He brought twenty-nine persons here, only three of whom belonged to his own family. Now he and his wife are sick, and his daughter very ill with pneumonia. It is doubtful whether she will recover. She has a small infant, and her husband is still at the South. *

Of the 8,000 who have come under the care of the Kansas Freedman's Relief Association, only two men have been known to be drunk, and not one has been arrested for stealing. Of course there are a few who do not want to work, but the greater part of them are anxious to earn money enough to get homes of their own.

[From a letter of Governor St. John, of Kansas, dated January 16, to H. N. Rust, of Chicago.]

I make the prediction that the present year will bring at least 100,000 of them northward. They must find a resting-place somewhere. * * * Kansas has never done anything to encourage the colored people to leave the South. We have simply, in dealing with this question, done as we believed God would have us do. It is not a political question; it rises above politics. It is a question in which is involved human liberty, and the people of the North, through whose bravery and devotion to liberty the colored people were set free, should not forget that these same colored people have always been true and loyal to our government, that they were the friends of our soldiers in the darkest days of the rebellion; and now, in their hour of distress we should stand by them in every laudable effort that they shall make to accomplish a second, and, I hope, a final emancipation.

The business of the Relief Association is managed with a view to the strictest economy, the greater portion of the labor being performed "without money and without price." I feel assured that the work is in the hands of true Christians, who have no other aim than to perform what they deem to be simply a duty to a much-abused people. I am very glad to be able to state that the refugees who have come to Kansas, are, as a rule, sober, industrious, and well-behaved, and gladly embrace the opportunity of making their own living, when offered.

Very truly, your friend,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN.

[A dispatch dated North Topeka, Kans., February 1, 1880.]

Pressing need of funds; nine hundred famiiles en route to this point.

E. L. COMSTOCK.

Q. When did Governor St. John make that speech in the opera house?—A. Just about a year ago.

Mr. BLAIR. This letter is dated January 16, at Chicago, but the contents of it show plainly that it originated the present year.

Mr. WINDOM. He speaks of the busness of the relief association, so it could not have been prior to the previous year.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. How many of these refugees or exodusters are there in Topeka now, Mr. Bosworth?—A. Well, probably five or six hundred settled there since a year ago.

Q. How long have they been there?—A. They have been coming at different times since a year ago.

Q. Have they all got employment, or are they waiting to be distributed?—A. A great many of them; those that have settled there permanently have got employment.

Q. And the others are waiting to be employed?—A. Those that are in the barracks are waiting to be employed; yes, sir.

Q. I understand you, orders from persons wanting to employ them are equal to arrivals?—A. Rather decreased the last six weeks; the orders are rather more than those coming.

Q. How does it come that those unemployed—that have been unemployed—do not take up with them?—A. I will tell you. We have a great many old resident colored people around on the streets; we have our share of worthless fellows that are hanging around, white and black.

Q. Some of them do not care particularly about being employed?—A. There is a certain class, not thrifty or industrious, who would rather live off of other peoples' earnings than their own. There are always more or less of such people in our community.

Q. That would account for the dilapidated condition of those that were coming that did not work much at home?—A. That may be; still they all have these tales to tell.

Q. You don't believe all their tales?—A. I should hate to believe them all; it would not speak very well for the country from which they came.

Q. That would be a pretty smart strain on your credibility, would it not?—A. Undoubtedly, some of the stories are true, but, like everything else, may be exaggerated.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Was this speech of Mr. St. John, in answer to some of the general statements on the part of some, that the negro should not come there, or something of that kind, and he proceeded to show that Kansas was open to the whole world; that the suffering and oppressed of all nations might come?—A. This meeting was got up on the spur of the moment. We had heard that they were landing at Wyandotte, and the mayor had ordered out the military to prevent one steamboat load from landing, and did prevent them, and they had to drop down the river and land below the town; and, of course, there was a little indignation got up among the people.

Q. And this was in response to that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is Mrs. Comstock connected with the association or working on her own hook as a sort of general correspondent?—A. Yes, she is working on her own hook; she came there in the interest of charity and humanity.

Q. She is a Quaker lady, is she not?—A. Yes; she and Miss Haviland both.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. In the governor's speech were there any promises or inducements held out to the negroes of the South that they should have land or property given to them, or that they could get a living in any way except by working for it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nothing was said but what was considered strictly true?—A. No, sir; nothing but what was considered strictly true.

Q. Even if the speech had been circulated through the South, would it have raised false hopes in coming to Kansas?—A. There was no inducement as to land or supplies.

Q. You observed the statement in this letter in evidence (reading):

> I make the prediction that the present year will bring at least one hundred thousand of them northward. They must find a resting place somewhere. Kansas has never done anything to encourage the colored people to leave the South. We have simply, in dealing with this question, done as we believed God would have us do. It is not a political question; it arises above politics. It is a question in which is involved human liberty; and the people of the North, through whose bravery and devotion to liberty the colored people were set free, should not forget that these same colored people have always been true and loyal to our government; that they were the friends of our soldiers in the darkest days of the rebellion; and now in their hours

distress we should stand by them in every laudable effort that they shall make to accomplish a second and I hope a final emancipation.

Q. Did you observe that in this extract?—A. I never read the circular before.

Q. You will find it is so; it is what purports to be a letter from him to H. N. Rust, of Chicago, dated January 16. Now, I will ask you if in his speech, which you heard, he gave utterance to sentiments inconsistent with what I read to you?—A. Nothing except he said Kansas was open to receive everybody, and some people criticized him, and thought it might be considered as bidding for these people to come—that is, never that they should have land and a mule.

Q. You say that the people were indignant, and that on the arrival of this boat-load a military company was sent to prevent them from landing, and in response to that this meeting was called?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is all.

TESTIMONY OF M. W. REYNOLDS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 15, 1880.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., and proceeded to take testimony, as follows:

Present, Senators Vance and Blair.

M. W. REYNOLDS was sworn and examined.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. In Parsons, Labette County, Kans.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I have lived in Parsons nine years, and in Kansas fifteen years.

Q. What is your business?—A. I am a journalist.

Q. With what paper are you connected?—A. Not with any at present; I founded the Lawrence Daily Journal, and the Parsons Sun.

Q. Is there a Republican paper at that point?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. More than one?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you say you were connected with the Sun?—A. Yes, sir; I was connected with the Sun, but I am not actively connected with it now. I now do general literary work—magazine writing, &c.

Q. Have you had opportunity to witness the exodus at that point?—A. To some extent.

Q. Are you connected with any association there?—A. About last December we formed an auxiliary relief association at Parsons.

Q. Auxiliary to what?—A. To the State relief association.

Q. Go on and state fully all that you know in regard to the exodus at that point; the causes, as derived from the colored people with whom you have come in contact; the operations of the relief association there; what has been done for the colored people who have come there, and what has become of them; and anything else that you may deem of interest in connection with the matter.—A. I will try to be as brief as I can. The first I knew of any exodus to our State was a year ago last January or February, when it was published in the papers that large numbers had been landed at Wyandotte, Leavenworth, and Atchison. As has been stated here, a State relief association was soon afterward formed, composed of the State officers, with Governor St. John at the head, for the purpose, as declared in the charter and rules of the association, of affording relief to "immigrants;" it does not say "colored" immigrants, or "colored" people, at all. Of course, the occasion or cause of the action was the coming of so many colored people. The State officers ran the association for two or three months, I think, when one after another of the original officers resigned—Governor St. John with the rest. At present, I think, there is no State officer connected with the association; and there has not been for several months.

Q. Right here, let me ask you whether either of these associations having reference to the exodus are to any extent political in their origin, nature, or purpose, so far as you know?—A. I do not see how they can possibly be said to be so?

Q. They were not organized for any such purpose?—A. No, sir. The letter-head of the parent association states the object; it does not even say that it is for the purpose of relieving "colored" people.

Q. There is no secret political purpose cherished by them, so far as you know?—A. No, sir.

Q. Well, now go on with your account of the commencement and progress of the exodus?—A. The exodus of colored people to our State commenced about last October or November. By December the number had become pretty large, considering the size of our town and the sparsely settled condition of the country around it. In fact, it promised in a short time to become somewhat cumbersome. So we formed that association, as I have said. I was elected president, and the work has been mostly thrown upon me; that is the fact of it. I have done the principal part of the work.

Q. And disbursed the funds?—A. Yes, sir; disbursed the funds.

Q. Where were your funds obtained from?—A. They were obtained from the State Association—money, and clothing, and all that. Our own city has never given a dollar, officially, to aid these people. The State of Kansas has never given a dollar. Every dollar they have received has come from abroad. There has been only one person sent to the county poor farm from all these people—these colored immigrants.

Q. Then the talk about their being a pauper population, oppressive to the people there, is without foundation, is it?—A. I do not think they should be called a pauper class. They are poor, it is true, but they have not been a burden upon us, further than to the extent of that single individual. I do not mean that none of our citizens have contributed anything for their benefit; but that neither our city nor our county nor our State legislature have made any appropriation for them. A great deal of money has been disbursed, and a large quantity of clothing has come from abroad, principally through the Society of Friends, who have shown a deep interest in the matter.

Q. What would you say as to the number of immigrants that have come to your town and vicinity?—A. I think the testimony of those persons who testified yesterday was not much out of the way. I should say there were as many as two thousand or twenty-five hundred in the city and the immediate vicinity.

Q. Where have the immigrants to your section come from?—A. Almost exclusively from Texas; a few from Louisiana. I speak now of Parsons.

Q. What has become of them?—A. Well, a few of them have gone back. But most of them have gone to other towns, or are working on farms in our own or adjacent counties.

Q. Have you had occasion in your investigation, or in the discharge of your official duties, to come in contact with any of those that went back?—A. Yes, sir; I conversed with some of them before they went away. I have never seen or heard anything of them since they went back.

Q. How many have returned, according to your best knowledge?—A. I think about fifty or sixty in all.

Q. Not more than that?—A. I think not more than that. I have taken some little pains to learn how many went back. When anybody went back it was regarded as a sort of remarkable thing, and those that remained would talk about it more or less. In that way I obtained some information in regard to it. At one time I heard of a lot of twenty going on the cars; that is the largest number I have heard of going away at one time.

Q. Do you mean twenty heads of families with their families accompanying them?—A. No, sir; twenty in all—men, women, and children; they come that way, and of course they go back that way.

Q. State what is the condition of these people generally when they arrive, what has become of them, and what is their present condition so far as you may know?—A. I expect that, as a matter of fact, we have a much better class of immigrants than those who have come to Topeka; I should judge so from the description I have heard of those that have come there.

Q. Had they more property?—A. Yes, sir; they came in real good condition; the most of them were well clothed; none that I saw were barefooted; I never saw a barefooted person come from Texas. Their appearance seemed to bespeak their being in tolerably fair circumstances.

Q. What reason did they give for coming away?—A. There were a multiplicity of reasons; different persons gave different reasons; and I presume that when talking with different persons the same individual would give different reasons.

Q. Perhaps different persons really had different reasons?—A. Undoubtedly.

Q. What were the reasons principally assigned by them for leaving Texas?—A. The first that I went to investigating with regard to the causes of their coming, I saw quite a number of colored men, perhaps twenty-five or fifty, on the corner by the national bank, talking. As I came along I learned that they were going to have a meeting that night at the colored church; they asked me to come down. This was in the beginning, when they first came there in large numbers. I went down to the church. Then they called on me to say something. I did not know what they wanted me to say, or what subject was to be brought before the meeting. I asked them what they had come there for. I said that they were all strangers to me, and I wished they would state the cause of their being there—of their coming away from the South; I told them it seemed strange, anomalous, to see so many persons leave their homes to come to a strange country; to the same town; why did they come? I said I supposed that there were a number of representative men present, who could voice the sentiment of the whole. Then four or five of their leading men combined to make a statement like this, to which none in the audience dissented. They said that they were cheated in their contracts for labor; that the contracts were so made as to be very oppressive to them. Then they took up the other question—that of their rights; they said that they did not enjoy full freedom in regard to their political rights—in the expression of their sentiments, as they had been informed they could in Kansas. Kansas seems to be the longed-for paradise of all the colored people, for some reason. They all wanted to come to Kansas; it seems almost impossible to get them to go anywhere else except to Kansas. Then they spoke in regard to school privileges. They said they were very anxious to educate their children, and they could not have the advantages in the South which they desired. They did not complain particularly that they did not have the same educational advantages as the whites; but that increased facilities were to be found in Kansas. This is about the statement of all these people at that time, and to which no one dissented.

Q. What is the personal condition of these people, so far as you know it?—A. Of course they had a hard time of it this winter. Parsons is a small town; it is located in a newly settled portion of the State, comparatively, and there was no demand for labor. If the winter had not been such an exceptionally and providential mild one, the suffering would have been terrible. But with the mildness of the winter, and with the aid they have received, there has not been so much suffering among them as there otherwise would have been, although, even as it was, there has been a good deal. They have tried to get work; I think they have tried faithfully; every little job that they could get hold of they would do; they would take a ten cent job just as soon as a five dollar job.

Q. Is the weather colder in Kansas than in the other States where negroes live in the same latitude?—A. O, negroes will live in Kansas as well as white people.

Q. What I want to know is whether a person will suffer more in Kansas than in other States in the same latitude, east of there?—A. I suppose the climate of Kansas is about the same as that of other States in the same latitude.

Q. Do you understand that the climate of the Pacific coast is colder or warmer than that of persons in the corresponding latitude in the eastern part of the continent?—A. I do not know how that is. I suppose the weather is a little rougher in Kansas than in some States east of there because the cold northwest winds have such a wide sweep there.

Mr. VANCE. The elevation would have something to do with that.

Mr. BLAIR. The mountains are in the Atlantic States.

Mr. VANCE. Yes; but the plains of Kansas are as high as the tops of the White Mountains of New England.

Some further discussion followed, after which Mr. Blair resumed the examination:

Q. These colored people came to Kansas unprepared for a cold winter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And suffer a great deal?—A. Yes, sir; there can be no doubt of that.

Q. Now, I want to get at their present condition and prospects, not merely with reference to material, but other advantages.—A. The children are in school, of course, nearly all of them; all of them might be, if they chose. And, generally, they are attending school—those that remain there. But a great many have gone into adjoining counties, and been absorbed, to a great extent, among the citizens there—working on the farms.

Q. As you understand, they have become a part of your permanent population?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think the majority of them are glad that they came there?—A. I know, from what they say, that a large majority of them are glad. I do not know as I can say that they have really bettered, as yet, their physical, personal, condition; but they are hopeful of doing so, and I have no doubt they will do so.

Q. What demand for labor is there in Kansas?—A. Well, there is more demand for labor, even for this class of labor, than one would suppose from its being a new State; in my testimony in regard to that I would have to vary somewhat from some of the testimony I have heard here.

Q. I want you to testify to what you know and believe, without reference to other testimony.—A. My information and belief in this matter is based upon letters that I have received; I am inclined to think that the other witnesses have not had the same facilities for obtaining information that I have had. To illustrate: In December or January I wrote a short communication to the Chicago Inter-Ocean, saying that I had observed that there was a great demand for labor in Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Ohio, and other Northwestern States; and that if that was a fact I thought it might be supplied from Kansas; that in our own city we had quite a number of colored laborers who desired employment. In response to that communication I received, I think, a hundred letters.

Q. I see that you have a package of letters there with you now; are they with reference to that subject?—A. Yes, sir; I hastily gathered them up as I was coming away.

Q. How many letters have you there?—A. I think twenty or thirty. I have not counted them. The State Relief Association used to receive thirty or forty a week.

Q. Where from?—A. From places where they wanted the labor of these colored people from the Southern States.

Q. Indicating to your mind a large demand for this class of labor?—A. Yes, sir; much larger than would be inferred from the general run of testimony here.

Q. Do you mean to be understood that if they are to leave the South it would be better for them to seek the older States rather than Kansas?—A. Well, we have never invited them to come there. No organization, no politician, no public man, no journalist, nobody that I know of, has ever invited them to come there, but if they do come there of their own free notion and accord, as it is the right of every citizen to locomote in this country, we shall do the best we can to see that they do not perish or suffer. They have not come yet in such numbers as to embarrass us. Of course, if they should come in thousands, and hundreds of thousands, we should be overwhelmed; but we can absorb all that have come there yet. But I have advised them to go to the older States—to Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, &c. Minnesota I have always thought a little cold for them, but I have received many applications for them from Minnesota.

Q. Does not a man's ability to withstand cold depend greatly upon how he is dressed?—A. Of course it does.

Q. If you dress a colored man with flannel, and afford him the usual protection against cold, do you think he would suffer more than a white man, in your State?—A. I think there is very little difference between the two races as to that.

Q. Do you know the Rev. Mr. Duncan, a colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Can you tell us anything with regard to his connection with the exodus. He is the gentleman who was quoted yesterday as having had some connection with the Texas exodus.—A. Brother Duncan came to our town among the first persons that came there from Texas. Whether he had anything to do with getting the emigrants there I do not know.

A large number of these people, unaccustomed to traveling, and ignorant of the modes of traveling, on reaching our place, found themselves in trouble in regard to their freight—their goods. On arriving at Denison, Texas, they ought to have seen that their goods were reshipped on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, but they did not understand that, and the result was that their freight was left there, and they got into a great deal of trouble about it. Duncan got their bills of lading, and they paid him considerable money, and he went down there to get their freight forwarded. In many instances their freight bills were lost, and they could not obtain their freight; and they accused him of embezzling the money and losing their freight bills also. He was tried for that, as stated yesterday, but was let off on some technicality.

Q. Before whom was he tried?—A. Before some United States commissioner, or something of that kind.

Q. What has become of him?—A. I think he is there yet, somewhere; the church, I believe, has bounced him, as we sometimes call it out West; at least they told that they were going to; and I think some of the trustees have told me that he has been dismissed from the church since.

Q. Do you know Governor St. John?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he reputed to be a common liar, out there in Kansas?—A. Not that I am aware of, sir.

Q. The people of Kansas are not accustomed to electing common liars to their highest State offices, are they?—A. Not where they know it; no, sir.

Q. State anything that you may know in regard to his being to any extent the cause of the exodus, or in regard to his having stimulated it; or what his acts have been in connection with it.—A. As I have said, he was the first president of the State Relief Association; all the State officers, and one or two members of the supreme court, I believe, were officers of or connected with that association. In that way, for a time, he was at the head of the movement for relieving the needy immigrants when they arrived in Kansas; he was regarded as the head and front of that movement; but I think I can safely say that he has never written a letter, or made a speech, or said anything, advising the immigration of these people. I have often, repeatedly, offered fifty dollars for a letter of his containing anything of the sort. Of course I would want an authentic epistle. But I have not been able to find even a forgery purporting to be signed by him, inviting or urging this immigration.

Q. Is there not a pretty active political compaign now going on in Kansas, in which Governor St. John is opposed by those who are opposed to the exodus, and so these allegations are made agaist him?—A. Of course, his political opponents are endeavoring to make a political point against him on that account; I do not know but some men in his party may oppose him on that ground, and I do not know as they do.

Q. Do you know of any inducements being offered to colored men to induce them to return to Texas, or any other portion of the South?—A. I know that several men have been there from the South, endeavoring to induce the colored people to return. They said that they desired their labors there. And I think, certainly, they have made some very good offers. I have, here, a proposition that was made to some of them.

Q. What success did he have among the colored people?—A. Not much; it was something like trying to get them to go to your State; they did not want to go there, nor to go back South.

Q. It is too hot in the one place and too cold in the other?—A. I think they hesitate about going to your State more on account of its being so far off. New Hampshire seems almost out of the world to a colored man; they have no more idea of New York city, even, than they have of Paradise.

Q. Who was it that made this proposition or offer to the colored men if they would go South, to which you have referred?—A. His name is Stringfellow, and the proposition that he made was in substance as follows: that he would give to each one who would return with him a dollar a day wages, a house for himself and family to live in, the use of a mule or horse, and some other little advantages.

Q. What did you do with that letter when you received it?—A. This is not a letter; it is simply a statement of Stringfellow's proposition, which one of the colored men gave me. He said that this was the proposition that Stringfellow had made to them.

Q. This proposition was made to others as well as to him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was it generally understood that Stringfellow would do this by those who would return?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was his success in getting colored people to return upon these inducements?—A. But very few of them went; I think ten or twelve.

Q. Did this proposition come to the knowledge of the colored people pretty generally?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If that proposition were to be carried out in good faith, and connected with an observance of their rights, would they not have done better to have gone back South than to have remained in your State?—A. Yes, sir; in that case I would advise every colored man in Kansas to go back.

Q. If such were the case do you not think they would go?—A. Yes, sir, indeed.

Q. Have you any doubt that if their political and social rights, such as belong to and are enjoyed by American citizens in some parts of the country, at all events, were realized by these colored people in the section of the country from which they came; have you any doubt that they would have remained there, instead of leaving and coming North?—A. I cannot possibly account for such a strange, anomalous, overwhelming immigration as we have had, except upon some such cause; upon any ordinary theory by which the migrations and movements of people are controlled and carried on, I cannot account for such a movement.

Q. You have observed that an effort is being made to account for it by testimony as to the circulation of documents purporting to be signed by Governor St. John?—A. That, I am certain, is a misrepresentation.

Q. How many of these people seem to have come there under this delusion? How many speak of having received documents or papers of this kind, which induced them to come to Kansas?—A. Some of the colored people have said to me that the papers had misrepresented Kansas—had given too glowing accounts of how well one could do in Kansas. I appreciate the magnificent genius of newspapers (that is my business), but I do not see how anything that the newspapers have said could produce such a tremendous immigration as this.

Q. From your conversation with these people, how many of them, should you think, came to Kansas under the influence of this delusion?—A. Any estimate I might make might be an error of judgment on my part, a mere matter of opinion.

Q. Do they generally seem to have believed these stories?—A. I do not think they were the moving cause at all, or, at least, in very few cases. Of course these things have been circulated, the same as we circulate our State agricultural reports; they induce immigrants to Kansas. You know how much our great land-grant railroads are doing to circulate information with regard to Kansas, not only in this country, but in Europe.

Q. How many of these people came there thinking that one hundred and sixty acres of land would be given them outright?—A. I think that land and mule story is purely mythical. This proposition of Stringfellow's is to give them a mule, and that is better than Kansas ever offered them.

Q. I am not referring to things that never existed, but to the outright promises alleged to be made in these circulars of homesteads and various other things that go to make men happy.—A. I have not seen a circular which stated that a man could have one hundred and sixty acres of land outright by coming to Kansas.

Q. Have you found any negroes that came there expecting to receive one hundred and sixty acres of land and a house as soon as they got there?—A. I never have, and I do not think any of them came there with any such expectation as that.

Q. Have you ever found a colored man who had made this exodus, who said that he expected a homestead to be given to him free by the government; if so, how many such instances have you known?—A. I never saw a colored man who said that he expected to have one hundred and sixty acres of cultivated land given to him, and everything properly equipped for farming. I do not think any considerable number of them expected it. Every poor man knows that he can get one hundred and sixty acres of land in Kansas practically for nothing, as the government charges only sufficient to cover the cost of making out the papers.

Q. That is not a delusion, that is the truth?—A. Yes, sir; that is a fact.

Q. But that improved farms will be given them, free of expense, by the government, or by anybody else; have you found anybody that expected that?—A. No, sir; I have seen the pictures that the railroads give out, showing splendid farms under cultivation, but I do not suppose you are speaking of them.

Q. They do not tend to delude colored people any more than white people?—A. No, sir.

Q. That is a sort of misrepresentation that white people are subjected to as well as colored people, are they not?—A. Yes, sir; and I think it has deceived as many white people as it has colored people.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Mr. Reynolds, what are your politics at home?—A. Iam a radical Republican, and a Grant man.

Q. When was the State association formed, of which you speak for the relief of these exodusters?—A. I think the State relief association was formed about a year ago in March, I think, but I will not be positive.

Q. It was originally composed entirely of State officers, you say?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. With Governor St. John at the head of it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And then your local organization was formed as a branch or auxiliary?—A. Yes, sir; last December.

Q. Who was president of that?—A. I was and am.

Q. What salary do you get?—A. Not anything; not a cent.

Q. What is your opinion of the exodus?—A. In what respect?

Q. Well, do you think it is beneficial to the State of Kansas?—A. I think that the exodus to a reasonable extent will not be a damage to Kansas. I do not think enough have yet come there to harm Kansas. If they should come in immense numbers, it would be more harmful to the white people than to the colored people.

Q. Do you believe that if it should continue at the rate at which it has been going on during the past year it would be injurious to the white people of Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; if as many should come into the State as many people suppose.

Q. My question confined it to the same rate at which it has been going on during the past year—twenty-five to thirty thousand?—A. Well, at that rate it would not take many years to people our State with colored people to an undesirable extent.

Q. I suppose, notwithstanding you are a radical Republican, you have no prejudice against your own color?—A. I hope not; I think I do not like a colored man any better than a white man.

Q. Do you not believe that the white man, as a general rule, makes the most desirable class of citizens?—A. I believe in mixing them up. If they are a good thing for the South, I do not see why a few of them would not be a good thing for the North. At least, I am willing to take the chances of it.

Q. You believe in mixing them up?—A. Yes, sir; to a certain extent.

Q. To what extent are you willing that the mixing-up process should go on?—A. I think Kansas can absorb, with profit to herself, in ten years to come, a colored population of fifty thousand. That may be considered a large estimate, but that is my judgment. We have now a population—a white population—of a million; in ten years it will be two millions; and fifty thousand colored people among them will not be more in proportion than twenty-five thousand now. We can absorb fifty thousand colored people among two millions of white people.

Q. But if the exodus goes on as it has in the past, you will have fifty thousand colored people there next year.—A. O, yes; but if that should be so they would go off into the older States; we should see, of course, that Indiana had her share.

Q. I was asking in regard to the people who staid in your State alone. Of course, it would have no effect on your State if they should merely pass through there on their way somewhere else. Are your people willing to accept them on a footing of social equality?—A. That question has not been considered; I suppose of course they would not.

Q. Would you admit them to your houses and your tables like white people and intermarry with them?—A. As to that, I think Southern people treat colored persons better than the Northern people do.

Q. Do I understand you to say——A. I said that with regard to all matters pertaining to social affairs the Southern people treat the negroes better than the Northern people. I judge so, from my limited knowledge. That is my honest opinion about that.

Q. To come back again: Would you desire a population that you would not receive upon a footing of social equality, as much as you would a population that you could so receive?—A. Well, there are a great many white people that I would not desire to be very intimate with.

Q. I am speaking of the race?—A. I do not think that the social equality question has anything to do with this emigration matter; I have already said that a large number of these people would be an undesirable population. The social question of course comes in among other considerations.

Q. I see a paper here, among others that have been handed to me, headed, "The Hegira of Negro," by the honorable M. W. Reynolds, of Parsons, Kans. Is that your production?—A. Yes, sir; I wrote that for a Kansas magazine.

Q. As president of the relief association?—A. No, sir; I did not write it as president of the relief association.

Q. Were you president of the relief association when you wrote it?—A. Yes, sir; but it had no official sanction.

Q. By whom was this document printed?—A. I believe that the State association printed a large number of them, taken from the magazine.

Q. Do you know whether large numbers were circulated in the South?—A. I presume there were, for they circulated them everywhere, they said.

Q. Do you not think that the circulation of this article among the colored people would induce them to come to Kansas, would have that tendency?—A. Why, no; I do not know that it would; that simply assumes to recite the condition of those who came from the South, or, rather, their causes for coming. Of course they would know better than I—those who received that document would—whether in their cases the same causes existed to induce them to leave the South.

Q. This document extends a welcome to all that come, and says that is the Christian duty of the people of Kansas to aid them.—A. I do not consider that any great encouragement for them to come. As this is a free country they have a perfect right to come, and I think I said so, or something to that effect.

Q. I see here, in relating the bad treatment of the negroes by the white people of the South, you make use of the following language:

> When the colored man from Mississippi, with an economy and thrift that ought to shame the persecutors of the black man, came to Topeka and built a little shanty, and returned for his family, and the chivalrous barbarian bulldozers rode around and seized him, and chopping off his hands, threw them in the poor man's lap, exclaiming, "There, d—n you, take them back to bleeding Kansas with you," the spirit of the colored exodist determined not to remain. The body of the dead victim of Southern barbarity only remains in the land of the cape-jasmin, the myrtle, and the magnolia.

Do you know that circumstance to be a fact?—A. I am very glad that you do me the justice, and Governor St. John and the State of Kansas the justice to read that statement and allow me to make a brief statement in connection with it. Of course, all I can give you is what I have heard about it. That is, of course, the most barbarous instance that we have on record. I will state it as it was reported to us. Governor St. John gave me the alleged facts. I simply wrote that on his statement of the case; though he never saw the article until after it was published. He told me that a colored man came up from Mississippi to Topeka, and built himself a little shanty. In the course of time he accumulated enough so as to be able to return to Mississippi. He then went back to bring his family to Topeka. On going back to Mississippi, the bulldozers seized him, and cut off his hands, and threw them into his lap. That is the statement of colored men who came from there. That is all we know about it. We simply know that there was such a man; that he did go back to Mississippi after his family, leaving his house there in Topeka; and that he never returned; what happened afterward we heard from other colored men who afterward came from that part of the country.

Q. I have no doubt you heard it, but this paper does not say you heard it; it states it as a naked factwithin your knowledge.—A. It is as a statement would ordinarily be made in newspaper writing you, of course, understand that newspaper writers do not expect always to be as precise in their statements, as they would be in sworn testimony.

Q. I am sorry to say that that is the fact. This appeal is evidently drawn up to stir up the people of the North against the Democratic party of the South; and you ought to stir them up with facts; or, if you must state things that you have heard, you ought to say that you have heard them, so that they would not be quoted from you as actual facts.—A. No; my purpose was not particularly to stir up the people of the North against the Democratic party of the South. I had no political object in view.

Q. You say:

> When the colored man had a voice at the polls the South was loyal and Republican. When he was bulldozed and suppressed, the South became again refractory, devilish, Democratic.

Does not that look like a desire to "stir up" the people of the North against the Democratic party of the South?—A. Well, perhaps that is putting it pretty tolerably strong.

Q. Let me read to you another paragraph:

> One thing is certain. The South must make up its mind to treat the colored man with at least homœopathic doses of kindness and fair treatment, or it may expect an allopathic dose of Grantism; which means that the rebel yell of 1860 is to be met with the shout and refrain that *there shall be an enforcement of equal rights*.

That is directly political, is it not?—A. That is a fact that I think ought to be well understood North—and South, too.

Q. I have no objection to that; but I do not think we ought to mix politics and humanity in this way; we ought not to serve politics in the guise of humanity. Was not that an appeal to unite the North solidly against the South?—A. I wrote that article simply upon a request to write an article upon the exodus, or "Hegira of the Negro"; but I had no idea of using it for any humanitarian purpose. That is the fact about it.

Q. You meant it entirely for a political purpose?—A. I am willing that our Republican friends shall make any use of it they choose.

Q. And yet you say there is nothing political connected with this movement?—A. Not so far as the relief association is concerned—no, sir.

Q. That article was written by the president of the relief association and printed and circulated at the expense of the State relief association, and yet you say it has no political purpose?—A. I was not engaged by them to write it.

Q. Did this State association purchase a lot of lands in some county out there for the purpose of settling these immigrants upon them?—A. Yes, sir; I think they did purchase some lands in Wabaunsee County.

Q. Do you know how the lands in that county were to be sold to them?—A. I know very little about that, sir.

Q. Do you think that Dr. Lamb's statement as to the number of colored immigrants that had arrived in Parsons was pretty correct?—A. It was substantially true.

Q. Dr. Parsons stated also that more than half of them had returned.—A. I should say that not more than about fifty had returned.

Q. You think the doctor was mistaken in regard to that?—A. Yes, sir; I think he was very grievously mistaken.

Q. You do not think that more than fifty have returned?—A. I think that would cover the whole number.

Q. Those colored people who came from Texas you say were pretty well clothed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And some of them had money, did you not say?—A. Yes, sir; I think that a majority of them had more or less money.

Q. Did not some of them say that they owned land in Texas?—A. I think they did. The last lot that landed, I think, owned land in Texas.

Q. I understood you to say that they gave different reasons to different persons for their leaving?—A. I said I presumed that they did. I should not be surprised if such were the fact.

Q. Do you know much about the genuine darkey—the uneducated darkey?—A. Not very much. I was born and educated in a Northern State. I never saw a slave until I was twenty-five years of age. Since then I have lived West, and have been in Texas, and seen something of slavery.

Q. Have you seen enough of them, as a candid man, as an observing man, to make you doubt the reasons which they gave for leaving the South?—A. I suppose it is hardly to be expected that all of them should invariably state the exact truth regarding that matter.

Q. Coming there as they do, and being, to a certain extent, applicants for charity, would not that have a natural tendency to make their stories as bad as possible, to excite your sympathies and get aid from you?—A. I presume they would many of them do that—as many other people would do.

Q. You think it safe to make some allowance on that account?—A. Yes, sir; I am not disposed to believe, as some are, that a negro cannot tell the truth; yet I am inclined to believe that they are naturally inclined to equivocation.

Q. Do you not know that the negro has a great deal of the low cunning of the uneducated man, so that if he knows that you are a Democrat, or that you are a Republican, he will shape his discourse so as to suit your views? That if he were at work for you, and found you to be a hard man, he would make a fixed charge for what he had done, while if he found that you were a generous man, he would leave it all to you? Is he not sharp in that character of intellect that we denominate "cunning?"—A. I think there is a great deal of that in the negro. He has learned to be a politician in some way; I don't know how.

Q. Some of them make very sharp ones, I can assure you. Did any of them, in giving the reasons which induced them to leave the South, mention that they had seen in circulation these "hifalutin" descriptions of the Kansas lands?—A. Yes, sir; a few, and but a very few.

Q. How much has your association expended, all told?—A. We have expended, I should think, about five hundred dollars in money and a large amount of clothing that has been sent down from the North. Some of the clothing was donated to our own home association, and a large amount of clothing has been furnished from the State association. All the funds we have had came from the State association, or rather from Mrs. Comstock, a Quaker lady, who runs the State association, to a large extent.

Q. Were all who came to your town able to get work?—A. No, sir; they came there in the dead of winter, or, worse yet, in the beginning of winter, when there was very little call for work in those Western towns.

Q. When did they get work?—A. None of any account until along in February. It being a mild winter, there was some little employment, but not enough for all.

Q. Is there really a demand for labor there, as a general rule?—A. I believe that those who are there now, even if none should go away, could find employment in the town and surrounding country.

Q. What wages do they get when employed at all?—A. Wages there by the day have been a dollar and a quarter a day, or possibly a dollar, but they have not been able to get that this winter. They have worked for whatever they could get.

Q. Out of that they find their own rations, their own house-shelter, &c.?—A. Yes, sir; quite a number of them have already put up little shanties for themselves, showing that they came in pretty fair circumstances, some of them.

Q. I understand you to say—and it is said in this circular, too—that one of the complaints of the colored men was that they had been cheated in the South?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you ever know any white people to be cheated in Kansas, Mr. Reynolds?—A. Yes, sir; I have had a little experience in that way myself, and I presume it has been the experience of others.

Q. Have you an idea that the negroes will never be cheated in Kansas?—A. I think they would be cheated in Kansas just as quickly as they would in Texas, or in your own State. The difference is that your system of labor and of compensation leaves open the door for the cheating the negroes more than ours does. But so far as Southern white men personally are concerned, I believe the negroes are generally treated just as well by them, if not better than by the avaricious Yankee of New England.

Q. Another thing: When an uneducated man, who cannot read or write, has a running account with a merchant, is it not universally the case, when he comes to settle, that he thinks he has been cheated, charged too much by the merchant?—A. Yes, sir; and that is why I say that the cheating is owing to their system of conducting business rather than to personal dishonesty.

Q. Some, I suppose, told you that their civil rights were denied them?—A. O, yes.

Q. That they were not allowed to vote as they pleased?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did any of these Texas men complain of that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Of what, specifically, did they complain?—A. They complained that they were not allowed the same freedom of expression of political opinion and sentiment which they supposed they would have in the North.

Q. You spoke of a letter from Mr. Stringfellow to some colored men, making them good offers if they would return South.—A. I gave what purported to be a statement of what he offered them.

Q. Was it taken from a letter?—A. No, sir; Mr. Stringfellow was in our town when he made the offers that I mentioned; I did not see him myself, however.

Q. And he left this offer in writing?—A. I do not know that he did; a colored man handed me the statement in writing; he was quite an educated colored man, and I take it that he had written it himself.

Q. It says that he will give each man a mule—did you understand that it was to be a gift of a mule?—A. O, no; only the use of a mule.

Q. Also a dollar a day wages, &c. Now, can the colored people do any better than that in Kansas?—A. No, sir; and I say, if they can have the same opportunities and privileges of education, and the same rights and privileges of expressing their political sentiments and opinions in the South as in the North, they ought to remain in the South; because, if you can give them such wages as these, you are doing better by them than we possibly can do.

Q. Do you not think that if your relief associations were all disbanded, and if there were no more money and clothes received to be given to these people when they got out there, but if they were allowed to take their chances like the people of your own race who come to Kansas, do you not think those negroes would stay in Texas?—A. No, sir; I think they would still come.

Q. You do not think that your aid associations, and your relief circulars, have anything to do with stimulating or encouraging the exodus?—A. Very little, if anything; they followed the hegira—they were the consequences of it; they did not cause it.

Q. You say that this man Duncan was acquitted on a technicality?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What kind of a technicality?—A. I cannot state that. The deputy district attorney told me that the offense was committed in Texas, and it would require a requisition upon the governor of that State to get witnesses. Something of that kind, I think, was the difficulty. The claims against him were individual claims of five dollars, four dollars, or two dollars each, as the case might be, and nobody could afford to follow the case up. The prosecuting attorney advised the prosecuting witnesses to dismiss the case.

Q. Was not the case dismissed after the dispute with Governor St. John, in which it was alleged that the governor had made one statement to the public, and another to the colored people in private?—A. Chronologically speaking that is correct; but I cannot see any relation between the two.

Q. Was it not necessary to sacrifice the negro in support of St. John?—A. I do not think he needs that salvation. Governor St. John was in our town, as has been testified, and met, at my office, about twenty representative colored men from the South; I think that was the only meeting he had with them; I am confident of it. I do not think that he made any representations there to the colored people different from his statements to the general public.

Q. You do not profess to know everything he did say to the colored people, do you?—A. No; he may have said something when I was not present. I did not support Governor St. John in the last nomination for governor, though I supported him after he was nominated.

Q. I wish you would look over these five circulars which I hold in my hand, and see which of them was issued by either your association or the State association.—A. There do not seem to be any dates to any of them. This circular, I have no doubt, was written by Mrs. Perry; it is signed "S. T. P.;" those are her initials. She is connected with the State association.

Q. By whom was it published?—A. Undoubtedly by the State Relief Association this last winter, I presume; I do not know positively. This one headed, "A visit to Topeka," &c., purports to be struck off from a paper published in Pennsylvania. I have no doubt that the State association issued that. I do not know positively. I presume they did.

Mr. Blair. I would like to have you testify to what you know.

The Witness. I cannot do that.

Mr. Blair. The vice-president of the State Relief Association, who is here in the room, tells me that none of these circulars were issued by that association. He tells me furthermore that this Mrs. S. T. Perry is not connected with the association at all.

The Witness. Perhaps, instead of saying they were issued by the State Relief Association, I ought to have said that they were issued by persons connected with that association. There are two or three persons there who have done all the work, whether or not they are, speaking literally, actually connected with the organization. While it may be technically not correct to say that these circulars were issued by the State Relief Association, I think it is practically true. I do not see any harm in them, anyway.

Mr. BLAIR. If what this witness guesses and presumes is to go on the record, I want it accompanied by the positive statement of the vice-president of the State Relief Association to the contrary.

Mr. VANCE. I want to identify these papers; and if you are not satisfied, we will put on some other witness, and find out by whom they were issued and circulated. I think there can be no doubt that Mrs. Perry and Mrs. Comstock, whose names appear here, were active members of that association.

The WITNESS. I do not know that Mrs. Perry has what you could call an official relation to the association, but she is the person who has solicited and obtained the means; been the life and soul of the organization.

Q. She has furnished the most of the money?—A. Yes, sir; three-fourths, probably four-fifths, of the money was obtained by her; and she had the direction of the clothing. She is a very estimable Quaker lady, some seventy years of age—or between sixty and seventy. She has obtained the means from her friends and by solicitations from others. She certainly has prevented by her efforts an immense amount of suffering and destitution in Topeka.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. This article on the "Hegira of the Negro," embodies your views substantially?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. This man Duncan was prosecuted for a criminal offense?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Embezzlement?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The embezzlement of money in Texas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was not this, then, the suggestion, that as the criminal offense was committed in Texas, the legal proceedings must be taken in Texas; that the courts of Kansas have no jurisdiction of crime committed in Texas?—A. Perhaps that was the way of it.

Q. You understand that to be the law, do you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. This was a case of embezzlement in Texas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How could it be prosecuted in Kansas then?—A. I presume you are right; I was told it was on some technical point; I am not a lawyer.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. You mentioned having a pile of letters from Indiana?—A. I have a pile of letters from various States; from Indiana, among the rest.

Q. Will you oblige us with the names of the writers?—A. I should have to look over them in order to do so. I will furnish them to you hereafter if you desire.

TESTIMONY OF C. ROCKHOLD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 15, 1880.

Dr. C. ROCKHOLD sworn and examined:

By Mr. BLAIR:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. At Parsons, Kans.

Q. How long have you resided there?—A. Since 1872.

Q. What is your business or profession?—A I am a physician by rofession.

Q. Have you been in the active practice of your profession during all the time of your residence at Parsons?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What are your sentiments politically?—A. I am a Republican.

Q From what State did you remove to Kansas?—A. From Missouri.

Q. Are you a native of Missouri?—A. No, sir; I was born in what is now the State of Iowa.

Q. Tell us about this exodus, so far as you have any knowledge of it.—A. The first that we had any practical knowledge of it in our section was some time in the fall of last year—probably October or November. Then the colored people began to come into our town from Texas by the way of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, which enters Texas at Denison. After that, a great many of them came in wagons. They would come with one, two, three, four, sometimes as high as six horses to a wagon. After landing there at Parsons, some of them bought horses in the town or vicinity, some rented, and some went right out into the country. So they passed the winter. I think probably there have stopped there, to make it their home, or temporary stopping place, about a thousand or twelve hundred. A great many others have passed on through, or stopped only temporarily, and soon gone on to other towns or other parts of the State.

Q. In all, what number has come there or gone through there?—A. I should say two thousand or twenty five hundred.

Q. What were the causes of their coming, as you learned them?—A. Of course I know only what they told me.

Q. Had you considerable intercourse with them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had you occasion to treat them professionally?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you had as close and intimate talk with them as any citizen of the town?—A. Yes, sir. I was secretary of the Parsons Relief Association. Of course, I visited a great many and talked with many of them. The first little squad I talked with some time in the fall; I do not remember the month when Governor St. John made a little speech in our town. We repaired after that speech was made to Mr. M. W. Reynold's office, and had some talk there with the leading colored men. There they stated their grievances.

Q. What did they state were their grievances?—A. They stated that their rights were abridged in the South. They complained that they had not the school privileges that they thought they ought to have. Their social relations were not good. They were not regarded as they thought people should be. One man, I think his name was Wills, stated that he had been systematically swindled in the weighing and handling of his produce. He told how he had discovered it. He had a very good boss he thought. He always trusted him to weigh his cotton in the cotton-house after it was ready to be weighed. The cotton was weighed on his scales, the scales that were there in the cotton-house. But one time when he was hauling his cotton from the fields, as it was only a little out of the way to go by a mill, he went that way. While there the thought struck him to have his cotton weighed on the mill scales, and compare the weight with its weight upon the cotton-house scales; and he found a hundred pounds difference between the two.

Q. How large was his load?—A. Five hundred pounds; it weighed five hundred pounds by the mill scales, but only four hundred pounds by the cotton-house scales. He repeated the experiment twice more and found the same proportionate loss in the other bales that he weighed afterward. He then made a fuss about it, when his boss told him that he could not work his land any longer; he said he was a "mean nigger," a "disturber of the peace," and that he had better hunt some other place to work. I believe that is the worst instance of cheating that I heard. I do not remember that they reported any case of killing except one, and they did not seem to know much about it. That was the husband of a woman there named Eliza Foster. I went to see her baby when it was sick. She appeared to be very much depressed. I asked her why. She said her husband had been killed. She did not know what for; and I never found out anything more about it.

Q. What other causes did they give for leaving the South?—A. I believe that was about all. Their rights were being abridged, as they thought; their school privileges down there were not as ample as they thought they ought to be; and they thought there was a tendency among the leaders down there to still further abridge their rights.

Q. Of these two thousand or twenty-five hundred people who have come into your place, how many have gone back South?—A. I think not more than fifty or sixty. I have heard what was said to be the actual number stated; but I know, and that only from hearsay, of fifty-six of them going back. I know of one little squad that went back, and I was told by a young gentlemen, who is here in this room now, how many there were in that squad.

Q. How many were there?—A. Twenty-six he said. He is a hotel-keeper, and he said that twenty six boarded there at his hotel for a day or two, until they got ready to start back.

Q. The most of this immigration, you say, is from Texas?—A. Yes, sir; a great deal of it from Grimes County, Texas, and some from Robinson County.

Q. You understand that as a whole, the class of immigrants that came to Parsons is a better-to-do class than that which went to Topeka?—A. I judge so, from the testimony that I have heard in regard to those that landed at Topeka.

Q. What was the condition of those that landed at Kansas?—A. A great many of them had some money; several of them bought houses, and others built houses for themselves. I think I can safely say that fifty houses have been built there this winter.

Q. Built by these colored people, do you mean?—A. Yes, sir; I think at least that many; they were small houses, of course.

Q. What is the population of your place?—A. I think about five thousand, perhaps a little more. It is a "city of the second-class," as we term it in Kansas.

Q. If there is anything more on your mind in regard to this matter that you would like to state, we would be glad to hear it.—A. I think the territory has been pretty well gone over by Mr. Reynolds and other witnesses.

Q. Do you corroborate Mr. Reynolds's statements as to the condition of the colored people there?—A. I think he had a pretty good general idea of it. He knows more about the amount of aid received there than I do.

Q. Did I understand you to say that you had attended some of them when they were sick?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. By whom were you paid?—A. Mrs. Comstock paid me something for the little service I rendered them.

Q. Do you understand the general desire among them to be to remain there or to return?—A. So far as I know, they universally say that they are going to remain. I was present when Mr. Stringfellow had thirty or forty of them around him, making a proposition what he would do for them. I remarked to some of them that I thought that was a good proposition; it was certainly more money than they could make in Kansas. The man I was speaking to said, "We have had those propositions before; it is the same old song; we will come out at the end of the year without anything, just as we always have done; we cannot any more than starve here, and we will not go back." And they did not go back, except the twenty-six that I spoke of before.

Q. Did he make a pretty general effort?—A. I do not know how much of an effort he made.

Q. How long was he there?—A. Several days. They seem to be very well pleased with their treatment since they have been there. They have been putting their children into the schools; I suppose that a hundred of their children are now going to school there. A great many of them have found employment. One of our largest grain dealers, who owns a grain elevator and a mill, has got nearly all his hands from the "exodusters"; the firm of H. H. Brown & Co. Mr. Whittaker, who runs a large brick yard there, also employs a great many. Quite a while in the winter there was not much demand for them; but when the spring opened the demand increased, and a great many have gone to work. I know they have gone to work, for I have seen them there at work for different parties whom I know.

Q. There has been some testimony to the effect that the colored men could not do the kind of work that was needed out there in Kansas?—A. I do not think they know very much about machinery. I do not suppose they could run a threshing machine; but ordinary farm work they can do. I have hired them to do spading. When they first took hold of the spade they did not manage it very handily, but after a little instruction they did very well. They seem more industrious than some of the colored people that we had there before the exodus commenced.

Q. They did not come there with the expectation of getting a living without work?—A. Not at all; their constant inquiry was, "Give us work," "Give us work."

Q. Did you find any who thought they were to be presented with a farm immediately on arriving in Kansas?—A. No, sir. I asked several of them whether they came to Kansas expecting to be given "forty acres of land and a mule?" They said, laughingly, that that was an old story, too old to be played off on them; that they never had believed that. The class of colored men we have got there seem to be a thrifty set; some of them have some little education. When they come into the house sometimes they find books, of course primary books, but a good many of them can read. I have heard them read and I have seen them write.

Q. I would like to know, just for curiosity, whether you ever saw a piano or any kind of musical instrument in the house of any colored man in Kansas?—A. I do not call to mind any case of that kind just now.

Q. Nobody has made them presents of that description?—A. We have some colored men in our town who own considerable property, but none who own pianos that I am aware of.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Do you know whether any of them have a banjo?—A. I presume there are, still I do not think of any.

Q. You mentioned, among the complaints of the colored men, that their social relations were not good?—A. That they were ostracised—were looked down upon as something hardly human—were not regarded as men and women—kept down on account of color.

Q. Is there anything of that sort in Kansas? Your people do not look down upon them because they are colored, do they?—A. If they behave themselves, keep themselves clean, &c., they are at least regarded as "people."

Q. Do you understand that they are not regarded as "people" in Texas?—A. I have never been in Texas nor the Far South.

Q. Do you not know that many of those colored people expected to be admitted to a social equality with the white people when they got to Kansas?—A. I think they had an idea that their social relations would be different.

Q. You say that fifty or sixty colored persons, that you know of, went back?—A. Fifty or sixty that I heard of.

Q. More than that left your town?—A. Yes, sir; a considerable number have gone to Emporia; a good many stopped off the train for a day or two, or a few days, and then went on to Emporia, or Chanute, or Fort Scott; but about a thousand or twelve hundred remained in Parsons, or in the country close around there.

Q. Do you know just what did become of all that did not remain in your town?—A. No, sir; of course I could not keep track of every individual.

Q. Is it not possible that many of those who went away, and you did not know where they went, really went back home?—A. Of course, it is possible that some of them did so; but I noticed this, that when anybody went back South there was a great deal said about it; the others would gather about and urge him not to go; would tell him that the chain was already fastened around his legs, and such talk as that.

Q. By whom were you paid for your services?—A. By the Freedman's Relief Association.

Q. How much was paid you?—A. I think about a hundred dollars.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE S. IRWIN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 15, 1880.

GEORGE S. IRWIN sworn and examined.

By Mr. VANCE:

Question. Where is your residence?—Answer. In the first ward of Topeka—the northern portion—North Topeka, as it is called.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. Printer and publisher.

Q. Look at these documents and see if you can tell where they were printed.—A. I can; they were printed in my office.

Q. By whose authority?—A. Well, the printing was ordered by a man named Watson, connected in some capacity, I understand, with the Relief Association there in Topeka.

Q. Do you know in what capacity?—A. I do not know; I only know that he always brought in the copy for the printing.

Q. He represented himself to be acting for the Relief Association in having printing done?—A. So I understand.

Q. Who paid for the printing?—A. The bills were made out to the Kansas Relief Association, and sent up to the officers; they were paid in checks on the bank, signed, "Laura S. Haviland, Secretary."

Q. Secretary of what?—A. That is all it said, just "Laura S. Haviland, Secretary."

Q. Do you know what became of the circulars; where they were distributed?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. How many of them did you print?—A. I printed five hundred copies of each. These are only a very few of the different kinds of circulars we printed. The printer had not saved samples of all the different circulars, and these were only what proof-sheets were left hanging on the proof-hook—the rest having been destroyed or lost.

Q. Do you know what connection Mrs. Haviland has with Mrs. Comstock?—A. No, not exactly. I have seen them together frequently on the streets; and I have seen them at the headquarters together. It is the general impression in our place that Mrs. Haviland and Mrs. Comstock are the head business women of the institution.

Q. You printed, as I understand, a great many of these circulars?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Could you give us the dates when these were printed? I see they are all without date.—A. The printing was done in January and February, and it may be some of it in March.

Q. Of this year?—A. Yes, sir. I think it was the latter part of January before I did any printing for the association whatever.

Mr. VANCE. I now wish, Mr. Bl ir to read from one of these papers.

Mr. BLAIR. Do you put them all in evidence?

Mr. VANCE. Yes, sir.

(The documents referred to will be found in the appendix.)

Mr. VANCE. I want to read a paragraph in reply to your allegation that no inducement was ever given to anybody to come to Kansas. Here is a letter from Waukon, Allamakee County, Iowa, from a man named——

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What is your position in this printing-office?—A. I am the proprietor.

Q. It is your office?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you a partner?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you give your personal attention to the details of the business of your office?—A. I do.

Q. How much help do you employ?—A. From seven to twelve persons.

Q. Do you publish a newspaper?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What newspaper?—A. The North Topeka Times.

Q. You are a Republican, I take it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had you personal knowledge of each one of these circulars when they were sent to your office? Did you examine each one?—A. They were all given into my hands.

Q. Did you examine them so as to recognize them now, or did you simply pass them over to be printed?—A. The matter was one in which the people of that place were interested at the time, myself among the rest, and I took the pains to look over the manuscripts before sending them to be printed. I had heard the complaint that the exodus from the South had been incited by documents sent down South inviting immigration to Kansas. This relief board had been accused of sending South documents, inviting or tending to encourage the immigration of colored people, and so I looked over these circulars to see if they contained anything of that kind.

Q. What was the result of your examination?—A. I took them to be in substance merely appeals for aid, to get funds for the relief of the needy colored people.

Q. You did not understand that you were printing an incendiary document for circulation at the South?—A. I did not look at it in that light.

Q. From your knowledge of the contents of those papers which were printed in your office, would you say that they were simply solicitations for charity, accompanied with some statements of matters of fact that had come to the knowledge of the Relief Association, or some of its members, through their intercourse with these people?—A. I took them to be solicitations for aid, accompanied sometimes by passages, that it seemed to me, injudicious to distribute.

Q. For what reason injudicious?—A. Because there were passages—I cannot now call to mind exactly what they were—that seemed to me to be to some extent offering encouragement to colored people to come there. That is, by soliciting so much aid, and stating that it was to be given to and distributed among colored people; I thought that might serve as an undue inducement to colored people to come there, and so we should have more of them on our hands than we should have otherwise had.

Q. Undoubtedly it would operate in that way; but do you think that the methods of these people were in any way wrong in issuing such statements to the public as would lead them to exercise a reasonable charity to relieve the sufferings of these destitute people?—A. In regard to that I will say that I am opposed to the exodus to our place; I think we have had too much of it already. It is my opinion that if this relief business were stopped the exodus to that point would soon case.

Q. You think that if they should fail to find relief there, they might go elsewhere?—A. They might stay where they are.

Q. But under the circumstances of which they complain, do you think that they ought to remain there, and that the Northern people ought to keep them there? If it is their judgment that they can better their condition by going elsewhere, would you prevent them, or object to their doing so?—A. I do not say that I would object to their going anywhere or to their coming to Kansas, providing they are able to take care of themselves; but it seems to me that if they are doing reasonably well in the South, it would be better for them to stay there.

Q. *If* they are doing reasonably well in the South?—A. Yes; then I think it is very injudicious for them to come to Kansas.

Q. But take the cases where they are not doing reasonably well in the South, where they are suffering what they say they are; in such cases do you think that they ought to remain, and that the Northern people ought to help keep them there?—A. I said I doubted whether they could do any better anywhere else.

Q. Are colored people liable to be killed for voting the Republican ticket in Kansas?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have no doubt that instances of that kind have occurred in the South?—A. I have no doubt that they have.

Q. If the colored people come to Kansas, have you any doubt that they will be able to educate their children as well as the white children are educated in the common schools of the State?—A. I have my doubts about their being afforded in all cases the same privileges as the whites.

Q. They will have the same opportunities, will they not? There is no law excluding colored children from the common schools of Kansas.—A. In some places the district boards have made laws excluding them.

Q. Where is that?—A. One case is in a district just north of us.

Q. You have known of one case?—A. Yes, sir; and I heard of others.

Q. In what town was that?—A. It was not in any town, it was in the country. Two or three colored families had moved out there, and the district school board refused to admit their children to the school.

Q. I would like to have you give us the names of the members of the school board, so that I could give them the general publicity that ought to attach to an act of that sort.—A. I cannot give the names of the school board; but I can give you the name of my informant, who is a reliable man. He was very indignant at their conduct.

Q. They were Republican managers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the name of that town?—A. It is not in any town; it is a school district out in the country.

Q. Are not your school districts contained in towns?—A. No, sir; they are in townships.

Q. In what township is it?—Q. It is in Soldier Township.

Q. Did you state the name of your informant?—A. His name is Jacob Widler.

Q. How many were excluded?—A. I do not know. It excited great indignation on his part.

Q. You take that to be a rather exceptional case?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. As a rule, all the common schools of your State are open to the colored people, are they not?—A. So far as I know, they are; I suppose they are.

Q. Have you any doubt that a colored man can educate his children in Kansas as well as white men of similar means?—A. I know that in the city of Topeka they have colored schools. I am told that they do not have mixed schools.

Q. But they have the same opportunities for education that white people have? Do you know very much about this matter of education and schools there, anyhow?—A. I know that they have a colored school on the south side of the river, and one on our side of the river.

Q. My question is whether you understand that the colored man can educate his children in the common schools of Kansas?—A. I should judge that he could.

Q. Have you any doubt of it?—A. No, sir; I have no doubt.

Q. What is the length of your schools in Kansas?—A. I think the general run of common schools are held from six to nine months in the year.

Q. If a colored man is not able to educate his children in the part of the South where he happened to live, and can in Kansas, is it your judgment that he had better stay in the South, or had better leave?—A. If he can make a living in the North——

Q. I am assuming that he is not going where he will starve to death, with his whole family.—A. It might be an inducement to him.

Q. You think it might be an inducement for a man to get where he could educate his children? I think so too. Your judgment is that the colored people who are now coming to Kansas better go elsewhere?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You would like to have it understood, as the sentiment of your people on this subject, that the colored people who are now coming to Kansas had better go elsewhere?—A. I would like to have it distinctly understood that we do not want any more of them there.

Q. In regard to those papers, you do not know of any connection between the parties who paid you and the relief association?—A. I never have had any information on that point till this morning. This morning I was informed by the vice-president of the relief association that those circulars were printed without the authority of the association; but that was the first I had heard of it, and it was news to me.

Q. You had never known anything to the contrary?—A. I had supposed, from the fact that the secretary of the association paid the bills for the printing, that the printing had been ordered by the association.

Q. Who is the secretary?—A. Laura S. Haviland.

Mr. BLAIR. I thought you said they were not signed by her as secretary.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. On whom was the check drawn?—A. On the Citizens' Bank, North Topeka.

Mr. BLAIR. That is not a relief association, is it?

Mr. VANCE. Sometimes it relieves a man a good deal.

Q. Who is president of that bank?—A. Mr. J. Thomas.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Are you aware of the fact that those circulars were all paid for with the private funds of Mrs. Comstock, and that the relief association had no knowledge of it whatever?—A. I was so informed this morning.

Q. By the vice-president of the association, who is present and listening to this testimony?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have no doubt that he states the truth?—A. I have no reason nor disposition to disbelieve his word.

Q. Is it not a fact that in the direct examination the words in regard to you being paid by the association were rather put into your mouth in the form of the examination, than testified to originally by yourself?—A. I do not think I testified that they were paid for by the association; I think I said, by "Laura S. Haviland, secretary"; and that I then understood that they were paid for by the association.

Q. Then you do not wish to be understood as testifying that you were employed to do that printing by the relief association, nor by any one in behalf of that association, nor that you were paid by that association; but that previously you supposed so?—A. I had previously supposed so.

Q. But you do not now mean to be understood as testifying that you were employed by the association, or paid by the association, or by any agent for the association?—A. I have an idea that they represented themselves to be agents of the association.

Mr. VANCE. Is this worth while? Those ladies were undoubtedly agents. Mr. Reynolds says that Mrs. Comstock furnished nearly all the funds of the association.

Mr. BLAIR. But it turns out that he does not know anything about it.

Mr. VANCE. Then who in thunder does?

The WITNESS. I would like to say that it is understood generally, I believe, there, that Mrs. Comstock, Mrs. Haviland, Mr. Watson, and Mr. J. M. Brown constitute the business portion of the relief association; at least, they are the ones that relieve the funds. I know I have been in the post office there when Mr. Watson received money, which had been sent to him, which he stated was for the relief these darkies; and I know that they have their offices in the Relief Association building.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Does it follow that they had no other business?—A. We never saw them doing anything else.

Q. How long have you known them?—A. Ever since they have been there.

Q. How long have they been there?—A. Several months; I cannot tell exactly how long.

Q. That is all the business they do, so far as you know?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you sure that you know all the business they do?—A. Of course I cannot say that.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. You say that you are opposed to this exodus; that you think it has been an injury to your country?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. Even if the colored people are treated as badly as they represent at home, and are compelled to leave, or think it better for them to leave, you think it better for them to go to some other State than Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You do not think that Kansas is under any obligation to take care of all the people in the world who cannot get along well at home?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you ever hear of colored children being excluded from the public schools of Texas?—A. I never did.

Q. You have heard of their being excluded from the public schools of Kansas?—A. I have heard of this one case, that is all.

Q. I understood you to say that you knew of that one case, and had heard of others?—A. I have seen it stated, but I cannot now say where, that there were one or two other cases.

Q. There is no kind of doubt, is there, that the people of Kansas would rather have white folks come there than black folks?—A. I am sure that the people of Kansas rather have white people who can take care of themselves than colored people who cannot. I do not wish to be understood as saying that the people of Kansas have any objection to the immigration of colored people who have the means to take care of themselves.

Q. They claim a white man's chance; and if they will take a white man's chance you are willing to have them come?—A. Yes, sir; if they will take a white man's chances, and not ask for anything more.

FORTY-SEVENTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Friday, April* 16, 1880.

Committee met pursuant to adjournment, and proceeded with the taking of testimony.

TESTIMONY OF W. M. TWINE.

WILLIAM TWINE (colored) was sworn and examined as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Twine, where do you live?—Answer. In the city of Atchison, State of Kansas.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Nineteen years.

Q. What do you do?—A. I am a minister of the gospel there.

Q. Of what denomination?—A. Of the Baptist Church. I am also engaged in the real estate, house-renting, and employment business.

Q. You have paid some attention, I believe to the arrival of colored people in your State from the South?—A. Yes, sir. I have been very closely connected with it. Being a negro, I cannot help but notice it.

Q. Have you mingled with them freely?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you talked with many of them?—A. Yes, sir; I talked with them.

Q. What conclusion have you reached on this point, as to whether it is better for them to come there or to remain where they are?—A. I have reached, Senator, what seems to me the only honest and sensible conclusion that anybody could reach, knowing the situation of affairs in Kansas as I do. So far as I have conversed with the people of Kansas on the subject, they are not pleased with these people, not because they are colored people, but because they are of that class that Kansas has no use for in the world, whether white or black. We are poor people there, and mostly farmers in the country, and labor such as this that comes there is liable to create hostility and labor under many disadvantages.

Q. Is there any demand there for this kind of labor?—A. No, sir.

Q. No matter whether it is white or black?—A. No, sir. If there was a demand for unskilled labor, we would want them to come there; there are two kinds of emigrants who come there to settle, of these colored people; there are some from Mississippi and Louisiana, and another class from Tennessee and Kentucky; that the class of men from Kentucky and Tennessee is a different class from those from the other Southern States. But even then, so much different as they are, we have no need of them. We have more men and women seeking labor in Kansas who live there than get steady employment, besides those colored people who came there last year.

Q. Is there any suffering or distress among these colored people?—A. There is a great deal. Last year there came up a boat-load of colored people from Saint Louis, or somewhere else, and landed in Atchison. I have seen some suffering among my people, but I never saw as much altogether as I saw there. It seems to me that the entire boat-load of them, with few exceptions, had no money or means to subsist upon, and were thrown off on our wharf and left there, and the citizens, without regard to race, color, or previous condition, were called upon to relieve them; and we went to work and did the best we could for them. We put them in the churches, and I had to vacate my office a while, and let them stay in there, because their condition touched all those who had hearts and who sympathize with distress. A good many of them were taken sick, and many of them died. There was a terrible state of affairs among us; so much so that it aroused the citizens, and many of them grew very bitter against these people. Just about that time, rumors came that others of these people were coming, and there was a general feeling among the whites to keep them from coming. I had taken some interest in politics there and had succeeded, partly by my efforts, in electing a mayor and council of seven out of eight on the Democratic ticket. It seemed that the citizens wanted to stop these people, and that fact came to my ears, together with the fact that the mayor was disposed to do so. I went to the mayor and said that I did not want to be an instrument in the hands of the Republicans to do anything to injure our own people; that they were not to blame for coming in that way, that they could not be; that they were illiterate and had come; that there were some other inducements; that I was as firm and solid a Democrat as he was; that I had supported him, and would do so without injury to my race, and I wanted him to see that we were not wronged. He said, "I will see to that," and he said he would see that there were no rash or violent steps taken to injure the colored people. At that I rested, and they have been there since, and found their way on into the country; a good many of them are at work now and then, when they can find work.

Q. Are these people still coming there?—A. Not in as great numbers as they have been; they come two or three at a time every little while, more or less.

Q. If you have any other statement to make on the subject, we would be glad to hear you.—A. Senator, I feel to say this: that there is a feeling that seems to be uppermost in the minds of a good many respecting this exodus investigation, which you have had the honor to bring before the American people. I feel to say this, that I regard it as a good and statesmanlike movement; and why I do so is this: that it is unnatural for the colored people of the Southern States to be moving into the Northwestern States; into States that are not at all congenial to their natures, and the agricultural pursuits of which are different from those of the South. They are coming in such numbers as have attracting the attention of the citizens of the Northern and Northwestern States. So alarming has the movement become that it is attracted the attention of the whole American people, and I know of no better way for the American people to arrive at the true causes of it than the way which you have adopted. If the causes of the exodus lie at the door of these Southern planters, the people want to know it; I do. And if it lies at the door of designing, corrupt carpet-baggers and politicians, I want to know it, and so do the American people. I have no fault to find with you, or the Senate, for opening the door to an investigation that will lead to find out the causes of this ruinous course of the colored people of the South.

By Senator **WINDOM**:

Q. When did you go to Kansas?—A. In 1862.

Q. Where from?—A. From Saint Louis, sir.

Q. What did you go there for?—A. As a missionary; I was sent out there from Saint Louis.

Q. Then you did not go there to improve your own condition, but that of others?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What were your politics when you went there?—A. I was a Democrat, if anything; but the right of suffrage had not been extended to us then.

Q. You went there when, did you say?—A. In 1862.

Q. That was when Missouri was a slave State yet?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were there many colored people in Kansas then?—A. No, sir; not many.

Q. And you say it is not a good place for them to go to?—A. I do not say that it is not a good place for the colored people exclusively.

Q. You complimented the Senator, who is chairman of this committee, very highly for trying to keep them out of there.—A. No, sir; I complimented him for trying to find out the causes of this movement.

Q. You spoke of it as the ruin of your people.—A. I say, in the manner in which they are going, it is the ruin of them.

Q. You spoke of their going into a country where they do not understand the method of doing things, agricultural or otherwise, as they do in the South.—A. Yes, sir; and I had in mind when I said that their helpless condition.

Q. You do not think Kansas is a good place for them?—A. I do not.

Q. Why?—A. Because it is comparatively a poor State.

Q. The climate and the lands are all right, are they not?—A. The lands are all right, but the climate is not as congenial for them as the climate of the South.

Q. It was all right before the war, was it not, when the South went to fight because we proposed to make Kansas a free State, and they wanted to make it a slave State?—A. I do not think it was then, even. I think it is a high climate, and not adapted to them.

Q. You say you were a Democrat before the days of slavery?—A. I think I know the meaning of the word, and I was.

Q. Were you a Democrat while that party was holding four millions of your people in slavery?—A. Yes, sir; I was a Democrat, but I do not understand that it was the Democrats who were holding them in slavery.

Q. Were there any Republicans doing it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many of them?—A. A good many.

Q. But were not nineteen-twentieths of the slaveholders Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; I suppose so. But a man cannot act with a party properly and intelligently unless he has a right to vote with it.

Q. Well, you could not vote, but did you approve of Democratic doctrines?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And agreed with the Democrats in policy?—A. Yes, sir, I did, becaue it is humane and right.

Q. Do you think it was humane and right for them to hold four or five millions of your people in slavery?—A. It was not right to hold them in slavery; they were departing from the faith while they were doing that.

Q. Was not it so then as a fact?—A. Well, Senator, you understand the meaning of the word, and you know what I mean when I said I was Democrat.

Q. I ask, did not the men who composed that party principally in the South comprise also the slaveholding party?—A. Yes, sir; I believe that is true.

Q. Did you approve of it then?—A. I approved the Democratic doctrines then; but I did not approve of slavery.

Q. Do you think that you can approve of the Democratic policy without approving of what the Democratic party did?—A. Cannot I be a Christian without being a hypocrite? and I can be a Democrat without approving what I do not consider Democratic principles.

Q. Can you be a Democrat without approving of Democratic policy?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you opposed to slavery?—A. Most assuredly.

Q. Did you give your influence to help the Democrats to control the government?—A. At that time; no, sir.

Q. How came you to be a Democrat?—A. Did I not tell you that I knew what the word meant, and that I believed in it?

Q. But you said you were a Democrat before the days of slavery?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you are now?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you not try to run on the Republican ticket in Kansas once?—A. Never in my life. There was at one time a colored organization in the State of Kansas, and I was a member of it. We held a State convention, and the object of the organization was to obtain from the legislature and the people the right to vote. I was their spokesman in that convention, and I was appointed one of a committee to memorialize the legislature to admit so many of our race as could read and write to the privilege of voting.

Q. Were you a member of the Republican party at that time?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you try to get a nomination from the party?—A. No, sir. I did this: after suffrage was granted I was an independent candidate for member of the board of education for the fourth ward.

Q. Did the Democrats vote for you?—A. Yes, sir; solid.

Q. You were a Democrat?—A. Yes, sir; and an independent candidate.

Q. Now as to your church—are you the minister there now?—A. No, sir; I resigned the pastorate.

Q. Were you not deposed?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were you not turned out for stealing five or six hundred dollars?—A. No, sir; O, no; I resigned willingly, because they were not able to support me.

Q. Was there no charge of any kind against you?—A. No, sir; there was no charge.

Q. Do you insist that there was no charge against you when you resigned?—A. No, sir; no more than there is against you.

Q. How many other colored people are there in your vicinity who are Democrats?—A. I do not know, sir. There are two or three others who are men enough to stand up and say they are Democrats.

Q. That makes you very conspicious among them, does it not?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. That effort that you made to get suffrage for your race—in what year was that?—A. It was since the war, about the time they were reconstructing the Southern States.

Q. Were you not allowed to vote in Kansas then?—A. No, sir.

Q. What party was in power there?—A. The Republican party all the time.

Q. They did not refuse to let a black man vote, did they?—A. They did, sir.

Q. Is that so?—A. That is so. And they did another thing; I do not believe in a man acting like a child; as I said, the colored men organized to ask for suffrage, and the legislature submitted that question to the people, coupled with female suffrage; and myself and Mr. Langston, and Mr. Morris, I think, were appointed by the colored people to make speeches urging the voters to adopt that amendment. During the pendency of the measure I met a gentleman in discussion, a Republican, who was very anxious for the people to adopt female suffrage. I got through my speech, and I thought that it was strange that he had said nothing about the other movement. He got up and said that he was a radical Republican, and he would have Parson Twine understand that the white men of Kansas thought their wives much more intelligent than the negroes, and that they could vote much more intelligently; and he thought that a man could be as good a Republican, and yet oppose negro suffrage, as he could be if he was in favor of it. I replied to him, and said I wanted heaven to be silent, and the recording angel to write it down in blood, that if I knew myself, and those sentiments which he uttered were Republican sentiments, then I was not a Republican.

Q. What became of that movement?—A. The Republicans had a majority of between thirty and forty thousand, in the State, and they defeated it by fifteen to twenty thousand.

Q. Mr. Windom seemed to rake you over the coals about the Southern people holding slaves; do you know how the negroes came to be here in this country?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who brought them to this country, the Southern people, or the people of New England?—A. They were brought by New England men; slavery was here before there was a Republican or a Democratic party; now, then, knowing all that, I have tried to learn the condition and feeling of the two classes of people in this country as regards the negro; I have read carefully the debates of Mr. Douglas and Mr. Lincoln in 1858; Lincoln was the head of the Republican party; but Mr.

Lincoln said he was not in favor of making voters or jurors out of negroes, or the bringing of negroes onto a social equality with the whites. Now, I know, strictly speaking, that was not Democratic doctrine. Entertaining such views as I did, I had to watch what cost the freedom of my race, and inquire whether it was the intention of the men who claimed to have freed them to do that when they went into the war, or was it to keep slavery in the Union for which they were fighting. The conclusion I arrived at was, that you Southern people wanted to take it out of the Union, and that others wanted to keep it in. That being my conclusion, when my people were made free by military necessity, I wanted to adopt the best method of bringing about a reconciliation between my people and that class of whites that they could get along with. I indorsed the freedom of my race, and their enfranchisement, and I think every man in the nation who helped them should have our thanks. But if we had adopted a policy of conciliation it would have been the better plan; and I urged that in any case. I wanted to be a carpet-bagger down South, but I saw that my policy of harmonizing the races did not accord with the ideas of the carpet-baggers and bloody-shirt fellows. I wanted to go down with the olive-branch in one hand and the oil of consolation in the other. I wanted to say to them, the negroes are not responsible for the blood that was shed, and the carnage through which they made free, but it was the result of the methods adopted to suppress the rebellion. Now be good and kind to them, and the negroes will be good and kind and faithful to the whites.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You vote the Democratic ticket?—A. Yes, sir; for slavery is dead, and there are no tears to be shed over it now.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. You understand that it was the New England people who introduced slavery into this country; do you know how they got rid of their slaves? Did they free them, or sell them?—A. They sold them, and moved them off.

Q. And thanked God that they were not like other people, then?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. Do you think that, for two or three hundred years the New England people were slaveholders?—A. No, sir; I did not say that.

Q. Do you think that they have not held any slaves for two hundred years? Do you not know that that is true?—A. It may be.

Q. Do you not know it has been the Democratic party mainly who have owned the slaves?—A. No, sir; I do not know that.

Q. Well, say for the last twenty years of slavery?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, you say you thank everybody who helped to free the slaves. Do you know that not one Democrat in a hundred in Congress voted to give them their right of suffrage?—A. Yes, sir; but I have got to call your attention to the time in Kansas when I was speaking to a member of the legislature, and I told him, I want you to vote for the question to be submitted to the people; and he said he would do it willingly if he thought these colored men had the sense to use the right as a white man has; and he said, if we go and give it to them the Republicans will claim them and insist on their voting with them.

Q. Do you not know that it was the Republicans alone in Congress who gave the suffrage to the colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you not know that it was them who freed the slaves in the

District of Columbia, and that the Democrats were all against it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you not know that the Republicans voted for and passed every amendment that was to give you any of your rights?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you thank the men who did it, but vote with those who opposed it?—A. Yes, sir; I do now; I approve of the policy of the Democratic party now.

Q. You have been approving for it all the time?—A. No, sir; during the pending of those questions in Congress I was in favor of everything done by Congress to give us our rights.

Q. Were you a Republican then?—A. No, sir; no more than I am now.

Q. You are a Democrat now?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And were then?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And yet you vote with the Democrats who tried to keep you out of your rights?—A. I could not vote then at all.

Q. Still you believed in them?—A. No, sir; not in that part of their doctrine.

Q. I thought you swore that you were a Democrat?—A. I hope it is recorded there.

Q. Do you not think that heaven would rebel at the idea of a colored man being a Democrat?—A. No, sir; I do not think there are enough Republicans there to get up a rebellion.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. How long have you been here?—A. Since the 27th.

Q. What is the course adopted here by colored people toward colored men who are brought here to testify before this committee? Are they approached and attempts made to control them in their testimony?—A. Well, it is done to this extent: I have met several of the colored men, and white men too, who seem to assume the authority to ostracize every man who does not agree with them, and to say whether a man should be a Democrat or a Republican. I have had some personal remarks about it made to me.

Q. A sort of bulldozing?—A. Yes, sir; regular bulldozing; and they do that in Kansas too. I received several letters there, saying that if I spoke for Tilden out there, they would run me off.

Q. Do you think that this government guarantees the right of a man to be a Democrat as much as a Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It seems to be the idea in some places in this country that he has only the right to be a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; and I lay it at the doors of the Republicans who have misinstructed our people on this point.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You are a kind of dictionary Democrat, are you not?—A. I am a consistent Democrat.

Q. You are a dictionary Democrat; just what the word means?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are a dictionary Democrat and not a partisan Democrat; you were a dictionary Democrat before the war?—A. Yes, sir. That is the right thing; take the word as it means and stick to that; that is the kind of man I am, dyed in the wool.

Q. I see you are?—A. Yes, sir; that is the kind of man I am.

Q. You spoke of stumping the State for the Democrats. Now, did not you and Captain Matthews travel all over the State talking for Tilden?—A. We traveled some.

Q. Did anybody interfere with you?—A. Well, they talked about it, and tried to scare me.

Q. They simply said that you ought not to be a Democrat?—A. Yes, sir; and they tried to keep me from speaking.

Q. Did anybody raise a row with you?—A. Yes, sir; once we had a Democratic procession, and a negro man staggered into the procession, and they took him out, and there was a terrible row about it.

Q. Was he a Democrat?—A. He said he was.

Q. Then all the instance you can give is that a man who was staggering in your procession was taken out?—A. No, sir; I received a good many anonymous letters, telling me to go out of town.

Q. Did you go?—A. Not until I got ready.

Q. What became of that man who was taken out of your procession?—A. They dragged that fellow into the post-office and wanted him to take the oath.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. What sort of oath?—A. Oath not to vote the Democratic ticket. That is, they took him in there and made him promise not to vote the Democratic ticket, and he did so.

Q. Where did he live?—A. He lived at Mount Pleasant.

By Senator WINDOM.

Q. They never took you in anywhere, did they?—A. No, sir; I am not that kind of material.

Q. It is not safe for a negro to vote the Democratic ticket out there, is it?—A. No, sir; I did not say that.

Q. Do you think it is safe for a negro to vote the Republican ticket in the South, freely?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. What is your opinion?—A. My opinion is that there has been some very imprudent acts committed there by both parties.

Q. Is that the strongest term you can give it?—A. Yes, sir; I say so.

TESTIMONY OF V. J. LANE.

V. J. LANE was sworn and examined as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. What is your profession?—Answer. I am an editor and publisher.

Q. Where is your place of residence?—A. Wyandotte, Kansas.

Q. Of what paper are you the editor and publisher?—A. Of the Wyandotte Herald.

Q. What is the politics of that paper?—A. Democratic.

Q. Have you given any attention to the subject we are investigating, Mr. Lane?—A. I did some time early in the spring and summer of 1879.

Q. And not since then?—A. No, sir. The first of these emigrants who came in were landed at our place and we went to work and managed to have the point of destination changed to Topeka, and since then I have not paid much attention to it.

Q. Why did you get the point of destination changed?—A. Our people were very hostile to their coming there.

Q. So much so as to make it necessary to change the point of destination?—A. Well, sir, a few of us had serious fears of a riot and we thought it best to have it changed.

Q. What road was bringing them in there?—A. They came by boat, because the railroads would not bring them through the State of Missouri.

Q. How many were landed before the change was made?—A. Without count, I should say two or three thousand.

Q. Were there that many who remained there?—A. No, sir; we shipped them away. We organized a committee and it became their duty to ship them off to other points.

Q. How many remained in and about Wyandotte? Of those who came in on this recent immigration, how many remained there?—A. We have a large colored population which came there during the war from Missouri. They are still there, but of these last not many remain.

Q. Where were they scattered to?—A. I think we shipped four hundred and fifty to Lawrence, two hundred and seventy-five to Leavenworth, two hundred to Ottawa, a hundred or two to Hamilton, and after that I think we consigned them to Governor St. John at Topeka.

Q. You say there was a great deal of hostility to their coming to your place?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How large a place is Wyandotte?—A. It has from five to six thousand population.

Q. Was there any party politics in this opposition that was manifested after their arrival there?—A. No, sir. If I were to estimate it, I should say that the Republican party were more hostile than the Democrats.

Q. How is the city of Wyandotte—Republican or Democratic?—A. I think a large majority of citizens in the city and county are Democratic, but as I have said we have a large colored population which is Republican, and it makes it close both in the city and county.

Q. You spoke of a large colored population who came in to you during the war from Missouri. How did they regard this immigration, and did they desire this large influx of southern negroes?—A. No, sir; they were as much opposed to it as the whites; and while there are a few of these Mississippi and Louisiana negroes still there, they do not associate or affiliate with the older negroes. There is as much difference between them as there is between the day and night, and the regular negroes there do not want anything to do with them.

Q. Was there any charity done for these people while they were there?—A. Yes, sir; I think there were two or three hundred who came first, and two or three days afterward four or five hundred came, and they were turned out on the levee, the most God-forsaken set of people I ever saw. They were entirely destitute, and it looked like the almshouses of the Mississippi valley had been searched to get them together, and it became an act of humanity to do something for their relief. We called a meeting and appointed a committee to raise some funds by subscription to feed them and send them off. A portion of them wanted to go to Hodgeman County, and others to the Nicodemus colony—a negro colony in Kansas. None of them, hardly, had any money, and this committee was to raise money to send them off. Instead of doing so, however, they invested some of the money in a barracks, and commenced to feed them there; and then the trouble increased, and our mayor, who was a sort of wishy-washy man—first one way and then the other—did not know what to do with them. We called another meeting, and raised another committee, increased the number of it, and organized and appointed an executive committee of George W. Miller, George W. Bishop, and myself, and we were to see to the shipping of them. Miller was president and myself secretary. We then issued an appeal to the humane people of the country to assist us in getting aid of them. Hiram

Northup, a banker, was elected treasurer, and we asked that money be sent to him. Two or three thousand dollars in money, some provisions, and a little in the way of clothing was received. We then sent a committee to Governor St. John, to see if he could not get transportation for them. and get them away. He failed to make any arrangement, and I believe he could not do so. I then went with Miller to Mr. B. D. Brook, the general ticket agent of the Kansas Pacific road. He was not inclined to give us any answer; but I said I was on business, and I wanted a direct answer, that we could get transportation for them, and we came to him as a matter of courtesy first, and if we could not get it from him, we would get it from the receiver, Mr. Smith. He then gave us rates so that we could send them to Ellis, three hundred miles west—paying for adults a dollar a head, with children and baggage free. For intermediate points we paid fifty and seventy-five cents for adults. We then made our first shipment. The next day they sent over a train, and I think we loaded up four hundred and fifty. When they were loaded up, the railroad people said we would have to consign them to somebody. We did consign them to T. D. Fisher, editor of the Lawrence Journal. We distributed three hundred loaves of bread among them, as they would not get into Ellis until in the nighttime. We then tore down the barracks and sold them—sold them to those who wanted to go to work. I think one bought some of the lumber and put up a blacksmith shop, and another a carpenter shop, and some of the white people bought some.

The next shipment was sent to Leavenworth. In the mean time the citizens held a meeting and passed resolutions that no more of these people could be landed at Wyandotte. The resolutions were so worded that if the citizens could not prevent it in any other way, they would use force and violence. I opposed those resolutions, and said that this was a free country, and these people had a right to come. Of course it was unfortunate for us to have such a large indigent population set down on us; but we could not prevent them by force from coming. The public feeling ran high, and the mayor was called upon to appoint a police force of fifty to go down to the wharves and prevent them from landing from the boats. The mayor was a weak man, and he did not know what to do. I told him not to do it, and if he did he would see more bloodshed there than he had ever seen anywhere in his life. We then appointed a committee of the mayor and Senator Barham to go to Saint Louis and try to stop these shipments. They could not do it, and appointed Miller and myself to go up and see if we could not get the State committee at Topeka to take the matter out of our hands, and see if we could not have them sent through Kansas City instead of through our town. and also to get Governor St. John to send out a statement above his signature as governor, and as chairman of their State committee, that Kansas was not offering inducements to people to come there, and stating the trouble they would have in coming there, and being set down on lands that were raw, without anything to do or anything to eat. We got their committee together, and they were pretty loth to do anything; but finally they agreed to get up an address to the colored people of the South, and send it to the associated press throughout the country. I expected to read it the next morning, but it did not appear, and I have learned since I have come away the reason. They said the address would be eliminated before it got South; that is, cut up, or not sent at all. We did manage to get the State committee to take charge of the matter, and since then we have had no trouble on account of it.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What is the politics of the mayor of Wyandotte?—A. Great God! I could not tell you; but he professes to be a Republican.

Q. Was he elected by the Republicans?—A. Well, I do not suppose that many Democrats voted for him.

Q. Did they have a candidate of their own opposed to him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you know of the Graham County colony in Kansas?—A. I have heard several reports from it. I think Mr. Smith, the receiver of the Kansas Pacific road, told me that it was a success; but other parties have told me that it was not, and that the people out there were not wanted.

Q. Was not there, immediately after that resolution was passed recommending violence against the landing of these people, a meeting called to take opposite action?—A. I called it then and there, and called upon Senator Judd to take the chair, and we repudiated that action.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Was this meeting which passed these resolutions concerning violence composed of men of both parties?—A. Yes, sir; there were some Republican officials who were the most rampant people in it.

Q. Did any of the leading Republicans call a meeting to repudiate that action?—A. No, sir; they never did, except what they did there that night.

Q. Some of the Republicans joined with you in that action?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Party politics, then, did not cut much figure in it?—A. Not a bit.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Senator Beckham was active in opposing that action, was he not? —A. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Did you interest yourself in regard to these folks returning home? —A. Yes, sir.

Q. To what extent?—A. There were some of them who wanted to return home, and a firm in Saint Louis sent a dispatch to the mayor of Kansas City to say to our committee that Wallace and Company, or, rather, Mr. Wallace, who was a member of the firm, would respect any orders of our committee, they would honor any of them, and carry these people back, and as they applied for them, I issued the orders to them.

Q. How many orders do you think you issued?—A. Without counting them, I should say over three hundred.

Q. These orders to return?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. To what place did these people return?—A. Some of them went to Hinds County, Mississippi, and some to Madison Parish, Louisiana, and other different points in Louisiana and Mississippi.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Did I understand you to say there was a fund raised to take them back?—A. No, sir; I cannot say there was, to my knowledge; but the planters in the South made some arrangements with Wallace and Company to bring them back.

TESTIMONY OF F. M. STRINGFIELD.

F. M. STRINGFIELD was sworn and examined as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Stringfield, where do you reside?—Answer. In Topeka, Kansas.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Nine years.

Q. Where did you live prior to that?—A. I lived in the city of Washington for eleven years.

Q. Did you go from here to Topeka?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are a physician, I believe?—A. Yes, sir; I have been practicing my profession; that is my main business.

Q. State what has been your observation of these immigrants, their number, and the demand for them in Kansas.—A. The first knowledge that I had of them, so far as Topeka is concerned, was about the 15th of April, 1879, when the troubles at Wyandotte called attention to the fact that there was an exodus of negroes into the State. Then they held a meeting of colored people on the 21st of the month, on Monday night, at the Baptist Church, to make arrangements to meet them and receive them, and on Saturday night there was a call by Governor St. John and others designating the Opera House for Sunday night for the same purpose. The churches were all closed and the ministers invited, and the Opera House was filled with a large audience. Governor St. John and others occupied the platform, and stated that the object of the meeting was to organize a State committee to relieve the exodites who were coming into the State, and inflammatory speeches were made by him and others on the subject. It was all gotten up and arranged beforehand what would be done there, for when the committees were appointed Governor St. John would draw from his pocket names of the gentlemen who would be members of the committee.

Some $500 were obtained from the audience, and from that time on Governor St. John and these men assumed control of the exodus movement. The exodites then began to come in in large numbers, and Mr. Dawson, a brother-in-law of the governor's, was made general superintendent of the organization. He was active in going to other points and bringing the exodites there, and means were taken to enlist the sympathies of the Northern people, because they would contribute money to relieve the exodites. The funds have been used by Governor St. John and these people of this organization, which was a charitable association, chartered, so as to sue and be sued in the courts of the State.

The first scheme was to colonize them, and this association purchased two sections of land in Wabaunsee. Dawson was to purchase it and put the exodites on it, and the colony is still in existence there, but how successful it is I don't know. A barracks was erected in Northern Topeka to receive those who were not colonized, as the colonization was growing objectionable and did not turn out well. Governor St. John, in his speech at the Opera House, threw the doors of the State wide open, and said he wanted a million of them to come in. His speech was published and circulated, telling negroes to come to Kansas, away from their persecutors. In his speech at the barrack and in his speech everywhere else, he has always conveyed the idea that the opportunities for them to succeed and improve were better in Kansas than elsewhere.

Q. Do you think that is the prevailing opinion now, or only that of the governor of the State?—A. I know it is the general opinion of the people that he is responsible for it, and he is charged with it, so much so, that he has had to come down and try to make an official denial of his responsibility for it.

Q. Do you think the public opinion of Kansas is against this immigration?—A. Undoubtedly so; it is against it. In the first place the climate is against them, and want of labor is against them, and they have no knowledge of the class of work that we know about there.

Q. They do not know how to work on the Kansas farm system?—A. No, sir.

Q. None of them, or at least very few, are mechanics?—A. No, sir; they are all unskilled laborers, and they have largely displaced the white labor of the State and driven it out, and therefore are a positive detriment to the State.

Q. What do you think of the effect of this movement on white immigration into the State?—A. On that account the immigration has been very materially lessened, because the reputation is growing that Kansas is to be filled up with this labor, and hence the whites do not want to come.

Q. What do the people think of the prospects of this immigration continuing?—A. There has been strong apprehension that under the present arrangement of the concern it will continue.

Q. Well, that appears to be a sort of headquarters for it at Topeka?—A. Yes, sir. We have what is known as a State relief committee organized by the governor and State officials and chartered under the State laws.

Q. Is it understood to be merely an association for affording relief to those who come, or is it used for the purpose of inducing them to come?—A. As I was going on to say, the State officials have since largely withdrawn from it, and it is now another sort of organization, with Rev. J. E. Gilbert at the head of it. A negro meeting was held on Monday night, and St. John and Gilbert went over and made it a part of the older scheme. Those gentlemen took charge of it, I think, because it was of political expediency to them in trying to get the benefit of it if the negroes came in such large numbers as to be available as voters.

Q. Then it is now in the hands of the preachers?—A. Yes, sir; preachers and politicians.

Q. I am afraid the exodites will never quit them.—A. No, sir; they have a set of printed circulars now which read either way; they either encourage the negroes to come or they do not. They are circulated in the North to get assistance, and in the South to keep up the exodus. It pictures to the negroes the benefits to be derived through the aid of the board, and to the people of the North it tells of the distress of the negroes in Kansas, and they get money on account of it.

Q. Do you know a colored man named Lynch?—A. Yes, sir. He has been an employé of the board, and came from Philadelphia as a missionary to these negroes.

Q. He has never been in the South, has he?—A. No, sir; not that I know of. I think he had been a coachman to some Philadelphia gentleman, and became converted and came out to Kansas as a missionary.

Q. We have a paper here signed by W. O. Lynch, in which there is an invitation to 50,000 colored people to come to Kansas and 50,000 more to Illinois.—A. Yes; I have heard of it.

Q. What do you know about these people returning home, any of them?—A. So far as their returning home is concerned, that State organization has thrown every obstacle in their way. Their applications to return have been directly and emphatically refused by the members of this board.

Q. You have heard one gentleman who stated that they were refused on the ground that the money was not sent out there for that purpose?—A. It has been so that if a negro had any idea of going away from there he dared not communicate it, as the other negroes would then denounce him as an antagonist of the board and the race.

Q. You think the board had for one of its purposes the bringing of them out there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When they wanted to get back they said that was out of their line?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they discouraged it as much as they could?—A. Yes, sir; because there have been several pacific attempts on the part of men from the South to get their labor by getting them back to the South.

Q. How many of these people connected with this organization live there at those headquarters?—A. The moving spirit is this Quakeress, Mrs. Comstock, and her daughter, Mrs. Haverly, this man Dawson, and a woman named Perry, who makes her living by writing circulars and articles in the papers on this subject. Then there is this colored man, who calls himself Col. John M. Brown. He is the superintendent of the board, and gets $60 a month.

Q. What political aspect has this matter in your judgment?—A. Of course it is my own judgment that it is a political scheme. If you will look at the vote of Kansas in 1876, we cast 122,000 votes; the Republicans cast 78,000, the Democrats 40,000, and the Greenbackers 4,000. In 1878, two years later, the vote was 138,000, an increase of about 16,000 votes; the Republicans were about 76,000, a loss of 2,000; the Democrats cast 34,000, and the Greenbackers 26,000, demonstrating, beyond a doubt, that the white gain for the last two years was anti-Republican, and hence I think the true secret of St. John's interest is, that if this increase is not checked and counteracted, the State will come over and become anti-Republican, which is an object of special interest to him, because he was elected by 9,000 only, falling several thousand below the other men on the ticket. He established the doctrine of one term for governor, defeating Governor Anthony. Now he desires a re-election, but in the face of this declaration he can do nothing without he could get something else on which to stand. He has been very active over the State in the temperance movement, hoping to pack the conventions and rely on the negroes to carry him through.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Do you suppose there is any design on their part to decrease the census returns of the South and increase those of Kansas?—A. I have heard it stated that it was the object of the board to keep them through until after the census and election, and then the board would disperse.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Where do you get at that knowledge?—A. From the disposition they have manifested of retaining them there when the sentiment of the State is against it. There is no call for their labor, and they are destitute, and must suffer if kept there.

Q. Did you ever hear any member of the board say anything of the sort?—A. That board is a close corporation, and would not be disposed to tell it if it was true. I have heard it discussed by others, though.

Q. Did you ever hear it discussed by anybody who seemed to be promoting the movement?—A. No, sir; I don't think they would show their hands that way. I simply swear that there is a belief out there, to a certain extent, that that is the object of the movement.

Q. Do you think they have got them to come out there to carry the State?—A. No, sir; I think they believe it is necessary to stop the white immigration and change its character politically.

Q. Give us the Democratic vote again of 1876.—A. It was 40,000.

Q. What was it in 1878?—A. Thirty-four thousand, and the Greenback vote was 26,000.

Q. Then the Democratic vote fell off?—A. It went into the Greenback vote. As I said before, the sentiment was changing.

Q. Do you argue that because the Democratic vote was smaller in 1878 than in 1876, the Republicans got scared at the outlook?—A. No, sir; but there is an idea there that this fall the Greenbackers and Democrats may join hands and make the State very doubtful.

Q. Do you infer from the figures that the immigration of white people was wholly Democratic?—A. I think the Greenback vote was largely Democratic.

Q. Now do you say that the Democratic vote has increased or decreased in 1878 or 1876?—A. I think it fell short five or six thousand.

Q. Then you argue that all the white immigration has been Democratic?—A. I think it has been largely anti-Republican.

Q. Will you answer my question?—A. I cannot tell you any better from the fact that the Greenback and Democratic vote is practically the same.

Q. You cannot tell whether you should infer that the immigration was Democratic?—A. I infer that it was from the fact that many of the Democrats went into the Greenback party.

Q. Do not you know that a large part of the Greenback vote is Republican?—A. I know sixty per cent. of it is Democratic and forty per cent. Republican.

Q. You are about the only man in Kansas who is frightened about this political movement, are you not?—A. No, sir; if the immigration will keep on there in the way it has been doing we will be satisfied, and there are many of them who think as I do.

Q. What are your politics?—A. Democratic.

Q. You have been opposed to this exodus?—A. I thought it was the foulest sort of business to deceive this people and bring them there in poverty.

Q. Were you not in favor of it at one time?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were you not employed by this relief society?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were not you a physician of these immigrants?—A. No, sir; I volunteered to serve them and I received no pay for it.

Q. Did you receive no pay from the committee nor from the negroes? —A. No, sir; they imported a young man from New York who took my place and they paid him.

Q. Did not they charge that you had charged them too much for your services?—A. No, sir; I made no charge.

Q. Were you not more friendly to it before you were turned out than since?—A. No, sir.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. What were the politics of this young man who was imported from New York?—A. He was a young man just graduated, a nephew of Chaplain Hibben. He was brought out there and given this thing in charge.

Witness here gave the following account:

From the Daily Capital (Republican), Topeka, Kans., May 24, 1879.

WHO IS ACCOUNTABLE FOR THIS MISMANAGEMENT?

We visited the fair grounds this morning for the purpose of examining the condition of the colored people quartered there. For several days we have heard rumors to the effect that there was a fearful want of management in the care of the poor sick people there. Not wishing to do anything to assist in the circulation of a story that might not be true, we have kept still.

This morning we found about seventy refugees on the grounds, a large proportion of them being women and children. Of this number there are at least twenty who are sick and unable to do anything toward supporting themselves. One woman has been and still is very sick with pneumonia and pleurisy, while her little boy, some seven or eight years old, has measles. Two or three men have consumption, and may possibly not recover. One old man is very low with bloody flux, and chances are that he will die.

And right here we enter our protest against the management, or rather mismanagement, in the case of the sick. The little boy with measles—and he is very sick, indeed—was lying on the hard floor with nothing under him but an old piece of canvas. His condition was enough to touch the heart of any person who has a heart, but he was far more comfortable than one other person there. The old man who was so very bad with flux was in a room by himself, and the only thing he had in the way of a bed was a little bunch of straw under his shoulders, and a blanket wrapped about him. And the stench of the room was simply horrible. The poor old fellow has no relations or friends there to assist him; is unable to wait on himself, and has been in just the condition we find him for days. While this relief association has been in daily receipt of money and clothing, have bales of blankets piled up in the rooms of the secretary, and are receiving so much praise for their goodness in doing what they can to ameliorate the condition of the refugees, this poor old man, for whom a portion of this money and clothing has been sent, has lain there in that lonely old room without care, without proper food, and absolutely without a bed. It is shameful. There can be no excuse for this condition of things, try as hard as they may to make it appear that there is.

After leaving the fair grounds we called upon the secretary of the association, and from him we learned that some man by the name of Thompson has charge of the people out there, and that he had not reported any such condition of things. The secretary has been out to the grounds one time since the colored people have been sent there, and if any other member of the association has been there that often, we have not heard it.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You say that Mrs. Perry makes her living by writing circulars for this association?—A. I know she boards at that handsome boarding-house that they have put up there as a headquarters or barracks for the exoditers.

Q. Do you think it is right to come here and tell this story about her in the manner which you have done?—A. Yes, sir; for I stated that was the general supposition.

Q Do you think it is right to give that impression to the whole country about the lady?—A. Yes, sir; I do in this case.

Q. Do you know that she does board at that fine house?—A. I think so.

Q. Do not you know that she has a suite of rooms up town?—A. I do not know it.

Q. If you did know it would you modify your statement?—A. Yes, sir; if the fact were substantiated to me.

Q. Do you think Mrs. Comstock is a bad woman?—A. Yes, sir; I think she has hurt the State of Kansas a great deal by this scheme, and I think Governor St. John has got himself mixed up with her so that he cannot get out of it.

Q. Do you know that she has a reputation as philanthropist all over the country?—A. I know she has got a better reputation outside of Kansas than she has in it.

Q. What do you say of her reputation?—A. I say she is a fanatic and a philan thopist who makes money out of it.

Q. Is that her general reputation?—A. It is her reputation in a general sense. I have heard Republicans say so, and I can specify some.

Q. Do you know that these circulars are gotten up for a double purpose by Mrs. Perry?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How do you know?—A. By the circulars themselves and by this man Irving who prints them. I have heard that the negroes say that they have received them down there.

Q. Do you think that this statement contained in these circulars about the destitution of the negroes in Kansas would be likely to make them come there?—A. They do not take that view of it. The Northern view of it is that they are destitute and without money. Mrs. Comstock wrote a letter to the Boston Journal, in which she stated that her treasury was empty, that these people were destitute of clothing and shoes, and over fifty of them had their feet frozen.

Q. Do you think that would make the negroes come up there with a rush?—A. No, sir; I do not think they have got to the South. I do not know what the negroes thought about it. That was designed to be read by the North and secure charitable contributions. In this letter of the sixteenth she said her treasury was empty, when at that time there was $2,000 in the treasury, and hundreds of good blankets and good shoes in the stores of the association.

Q. Then you say she lied?—A. I state the fact, and you may draw your own inference.

Q. That is a lie, then, that she wrote?—A. I say that that is the fact that I state to you. I say a Topeka paper stated that she had lied, and a Republican paper published there says so as well.

Q. And you say she did?—A. I say she misrepresented the facts, and this Republican paper says so. It was months after that before we at Topeka knew that anything of the sort had been published.

Q. Give us one of these double letters of which you have spoken that are written by Mrs. Perry.—A. Here is one in which she says that the negroes are packed in there like sardines in a box.

Q. Do you think that would be attractive to the negroes?—A. That the negroes were packed like sardines, in a cold country. She goes on to state, "at the present time there is much sickness among them."

Q. Do you think they wanted to be sick with pneumonia from cold and a change of climate?—A. I do not know that they do particularly, but they want to come where they will be taken care of at somebody's else expense.

Q. Is there anything more there of the same sort to induce the negroes to come to Kansas? Does not she say that the negroes cannot find employment, and do you think that because the negro does not like to work he is induced to come to where he cannot get any work?—A. I do not think that these circulars get down to the South among the negroes.

On motion, and without concluding the testimony of the witness, the committee adjourned to 10 a. m. Saturday, April 17, 1880.

FORTY-EIGHTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 17, 1880.

Committee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 o'clock a. m., and proceeded to the examination of witnesses. Present, Senator Voorhees, chairman; and Senators Vance and Blair.

TESTIMONY OF L. L. TOMKIES.

L. L. TOMKIES was sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. I live in Shreveport, Caddo Parish, Louisiana.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. About thirteen years; and about thirty years in Caddo and the parish of De Soto, adjoining.

Q. What occupation do you follow?—A. At this time I have charge of several plantations; I am a planter.

Q. Have you pursued any other business of late years?—A. I have been a banker in the city of Shreveport.

Q. I want to ask you about the system of advances made to these colored people on their labor. Please explain that, as a matter coming within your experience.—A. I can give you my experience for the last seven or eight years. I go to a first-class grocery merchant in Shreveport, and make business arrangements to run my business on time. We generally commence buying in February, arranging to settle when we sell our cotton in the fall. They never told me the exact rate of interest they charge, but I suppose it to be about twelve or fifteen per cent. annually. I generally give orders in this way—this year I have given orders a little differently—heretofore I generally specified the article I wanted to get, because I let them have the necessary supplies of life. Settlements are made with me at the end of the season, on the basis of the price at which the goods are sold to me—as cheaply as can be done by any merchant. I buy my supplies for my family of the same party on the same terms. I get no rebate, and I charge nothing additional.

Q. Is there anything like a discrimination on that subject between the colored men and the white men?—A. Not that I know of. I have heard of complaints—nothing more. I do not mean complaints of discrimination; but I have heard of merchants treating whites and blacks both, in some instances, differently from what I would like to be treated.

Q. What I want to get at is, whether the negroes are singled out?—A. I never heard of that.

Q. The credit system gives a dishonest man a chance to deal wrongly anywhere, if he is so minded?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are planting now, you say?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where are you planting?—A. In the parish of De Soto, adjoining Caddo, about twenty-five miles from Shreveport.

Q. How extensively are you engaged?—A. I have four or five plantations on the hills, as we call it on Red River.

Q. Can you raise cotton on the hills?—A. O, yes, sir; and we have bayou valleys, what we call farms on the bottoms. The most of the cotton in Louisiana is raised on the hills.

Q. What you call hills in Louisiana are simply small elevations, are they not?—A. We mean not the alluvium of Red River.

Q. Are those up-table lands or hills well covered with timber?—A. Yes, sir; they are altogether covered with timber. We have no prairie land in that country worth speaking of.

Q. What is the comparative value as between them and the lowlands for raising cotton?—A. Do you mean in price or in product?

Q. I mean as regards productiveness.—A. They claim, on the Red River, a bale to the acre on the alluvium, and half a bale to the acre on the hills; but I think the hills produce one bale to three acres oftener than one bale to two acres; and I have seen the Red River bottom lands produce not half a bale to the acre.

Q. So the up-land is not much more than half as valuable as the low-land?—A. No; but we can cultivate more land on the hills than we can on the bottom.

Q. The soil on the hills is lighter—easier to handle?—A. Yes, sir; one mule can plow on the hills; but it takes two on the bottoms.

Q. In that way there is some compensation for a smaller crop?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I understand you to say that you are running three or four plantations?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many people have you in your employ in all?—A. I must have seventy-five or eighty families. I do not know how many men; I suppose there must be about forty.

Q. Seventy-five or eighty families must include three or four hundred people?—A. Well, two or three hundred people anyhow.

Q. Have you had any trouble with your employés?—A. No, sir; no trouble at all. When they once get on my place, they hardly ever leave it.

Q. Is it not true, owing to the kind of products that you raise, that there is a better demand for this kind of labor down there than there could possibly be anywhere else in the world?—A. So far as I know, there is no difficulty whatever about freedmen getting employment there, if they will work, at any season of the year.

Q. Cannot the women and the children, ten or twelve years of age, at certain seasons of the year, obtain remunerative employment?—A. Yes, sir; the women and the children do the planting of the seed of the corn and the cotton, and most of the hoeing, and a good deal of the plowing.

Q. And a good deal of the picking?—A. Yes, sir; principally the picking, because the men are ginning, and packing, and hauling off.

Q. Have any of your help left you?—A. No, sir; one or two families may have changed their location.

Q. I mean have any of them gone away from the State?—A. No, sir; I do not know of any that have left De Soto Parish; I few have left Caddo and Bossier, I understand.

Q. Did this fever or excitement in regard to Kansas strike De Soto Parish?—A. I have found it in some places, but I took means to overcome it. I do not know what the result would be. I talked with many of the leading freedmen about Shreveport—intelligentb lacks—and they told me that we were going to have an exodus unless something was done to stop it. I had a boy in my employment who had lived in Missouri, near the Kansas border. His master had refugeed from Eastern Texas. I had the boy in my employ at Shreveport. I asked him how he liked the Kansas country. He said pretty well, but he would never go back there any more; it was too cold; it would freeze a negro out. When I found that this exodus fever was prevailing, I asked him if he did not want to get a release from his work there, and go down to the plantation awhile. He said, "Yes, sir." I did not tell him my object; I knew he would work the thing out. He settled the fever in that section of country. He told them that Kansas was no country for black men; that they would freeze to death there six months in the year. He told them that they had, for half the year, to melt ice into water to water the cattle.

Q. It is to a considerable extent a characteristic of the negro race, is it not—I judge so from my observation during this investigation—that they are very susceptible to the representations and influence of individuals coming among them, whether of their own race or of the white race, easily swayed, easily persuaded? What gives rise to this thought is the arrangement you made.—A. Yes, sir; the negroes from the plantation had been up there to Shreveport, and staid at my house; they had met this boy there; I had sent him down to get supplies from the plantation, and they had seen him at such times; they had known him to be an honest, upright, reliable negro, and they had confidence in him and were disposed to believe him. I am perfectly satisfied, from the conversation that I had had with the freedmen on my plantation, that they had been made dissatisfied from some cause. I tried to ascertain what the trouble was. It is very seldom that you can get them to talk on such subjects. I was at last informed by one of them that they had received instructions to go off to the Northwest, to Kansas.

Q. Did he state who had issued those instructions?—A. No; I asked him who had given such instructions; and he said, "Our people up yonder." I tried to combat that idea among them. They said, "We have got to go to Kansas." I said, "You cannot be forced out of this country any sooner than I can." These people that I have charge of are scattered over a territory of fifteen miles; they are not connected; they are separated. Others told me that they were making up a purse to send off parties to explore this great country. Some of them asked my advice as to whether they should furnish the means. I asked how much is required. They said two dollars apiece. I said, keep your money in your own pocket; you will find out all about it soon enough without its costing you anything. I had heard that dishonest colored men were raising funds in this way; and I did not want them to use my freedmen as tools; so I gave them that advice. Black labor is the best labor we have down there.

Q. If there were no higher inducement than self-interest, to men situated as you are, you would feel impelled to treat these people kindly, in order to keep them with you?—A. Yes, sir. The black man has better protection there now than the white man has. His employer is forced to protect him against molestation. If the black man is brought into the courts on any charge, his white employer wants to get his servant back as soon as possible, and assists him.

Q. It is solidly the interest of the planting population—the white people—to treat the black people amicably and kindly?—A. Most assuredly it is.

Q. In regard to their political privileges, is there any more trouble in your parish as to their right to vote than there is in Kansas?—A. I have never seen any obstacle in the way of a colored man voting as he chose, nor of a white mean either. I have seen them go to the polls by thousands to vote, and I never saw any difficulty yet.

Q. Have colored men ever held any offices in your parish?—A. You will remember that I live in Caddo Parish; they have held a number of offices there.

Q. How is it in De Soto Parish?—A. The last representative of the colored race contracted the small-pox in New Orleans, at the capital, and died at home; I forget his name now.

Q. How is it about their privileges in the courts?—A. They sue and and are sued, the same as white men; there is no discrimination on account of color.

Q. Do they ever serve on juries?—A. Yes, sir; I have served with them, in Caddo Parish, both on the grand jury and the petit jury. And they make better jurors than some white men, too.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. We have heard some complaints by colored people in regard to being cheated by their employers and merchants; do you know anything about anything of that kind?—A. Yes, sir; wherever we go we find good men and bad men. I could give you an instance—the merchant in Shreveport with whom I first recommended my servants to trade. They wanted to trade with him because he was a Republican. He came to me and reported the fact. I told him, "If you will take my recommendation, I will recommend my freedmen to trade with you, if you will not credit them beyond a certain amount." I knew their ability to pay and did not want them to contract any debts beyond their ability. They traded there two years, I think. I paid very little attention to the matter, as they had the handling of their own money. I always gave them the surplus, after paying my rents, or satisfding the contract, whatever it is. By and by the merchant came to me and said that my hands were going too much in debt. I said, "Then you have transcended my instructions." I made him give me a full statement of their accounts. I went to work and paid that up. I paid the last of that debt in February. But I gave them instructions five years ago never to trade there any more. I said to the merchant, "Now, I have paid as much as I care about paying; if you trade with these people any more, you must look to them for the pay."

Q. You think he took advantage of their ignorance and cheated them?—A. Yes, sir; I have no doubt of it.

Q. And the system gives a great advantage to the dishonest dealer, by reason of the ignorance of those people and the fact that they have no capital so that they can trade for money down?—A. Yes, sir. In illustration of that, I frequently sell cotton, not only for my freedmen, but for my neighbors' freedmen. Some of them cannot read and some of them can. I give them the money in five-dollar bills, it may be; or, if they want to carry the money home, I give it to them in larger bills—separately. Sometimes they come to me and say, "I have not got all the money I ought to have." I inquire of them, "Where have you traded?" They tell me. It turns out just as I expected. They have been trading with some dishonest white man, who has taken a twenty-dollar bill for a two or a ten-dollar bill for a one. That is why I recommend my freedmen where they should trade.

Q. That sort of swindling does not arise from any prejudice on account of color?—A. No, sir; it is simply the greed of human nature.

Q. You say there is no difficulty in colored people getting work?—A. None in the world.

Q. You have heard of no complaints on their part that they were unable to get work?—A. No, sir.

Q. Has not their complaint been that they could not get their pay?—A. Yes, sir. And now allow me to make an explanation upon that point. I have known freedmen to work for me and live with me for the entire year; get a good living and good clothes; and occasionally I would give them a five or a ten-dollar bill. At the end of the year there would actually be nothing due them; they had used it all up. Then they would say, "I have worked all the year for that man, and he refuses to pay me a cent for it." That was the way he looked at it, because he had no surplus money at the end of the year.

Q. How much do the freedmen, as a body, get ahead from year to year; take them as a whole, how much is left when the year's end has come?—A. Not a cent. When they get the cotton in early and get the money for it not a cent of it is left by Christmas day or New Year's day.

Q. So that, notwithstanding the productiveness of the soil, and the opportunities for employment, they do not really gain much in property?—A. A few of them do; but as a people, no, sir.

Q. What they need is, to form, not more industrious, but more economical habits?—A. That is what they need.

Q. That is, assuming that they get their pay?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Probably there is a variety of evils that might be remedied, there as well as elsewhere?—A. No doubt of that, sir.

Q. You have explained the manner in which you put an end to the exodus on your plantations.—A. Yes, sir; and in that neighborhood.

Q. Where were you born?—A. In North Carolina.

Q. From the adroitness with which you managed that matter, I did not know but you might be by birth one of those despised yankees.—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you ever belong to any association or company whose object was to respond to any call to keep order in your own or adjoining parishes?—A. No, sir; I never belonged to the White Camelia, nor anything of that sort, though I have known many that did.

Q. You never were called upon to assist in suppressing any riot or quelling any disorder?—A. No, sir.

TESTIMONY OF R. T. VINSON.

R. T. VINSON sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. In Shreveport, Caddo Parish, Louisiana; but I plant in Bossier Parish.

Q. How extensively are you planting?—A. I employ about forty laborers.

Q. How long have you been employed in planting?—A. Ever since the war.

Q. Are you a native of the South?—A. Yes, sir; I was born in Louisiana.

Q. Have you had any trouble upon your plantation in regard to this Kansas fever?—A. None whatever. I called up my laborers at the beginning of January; I knew that the fever existed in our section of the country, and I wanted to be certain, before entering into any new contracts, whether or not the men were going to Kansas. They all belonged to me before the war, and have staid with me ever since. They said there was no disposition on their part to leave whatever.

Q. The folks that belonged to you before the war have remained with you ever since?—A. Yes, sir; the foreman of my plantation is the man who nursed me when I was child.

Q. You have forty laborers; that would imply how many families?—A. That includes men and women both; the men and women both work.

Q. How do you pay your people?—A. I am working entirely upon the share principle.

Q. You give them how much?—A. One-half of what they make.

Q. What do you furnish?—A. The land of course, and the stock, the farming implements, all the necessary machinery for taking off the crop, and feed for the stock.

Q. And feed for the people?—A. Yes, sir; I advance that to them.

Q. They simply board themselves?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They get one-half of all that they raise, you furnishing the land, the stock, and the farming implements, and feed for the stock?—A. Yes, sir. Some of the men I do not advance to, from the simple fact that they do not need it.

Q. They are forehanded enough, so that they do not need any credit?—Yes, sir; in fact they are more independent than I am.

Q. You furnish them a place to live?—A. Yes, sir; a residence, gardens, cisterns—everything necessary. I am planting in the alluvial district.

Q. You charge no rent?—A. No, sir; and I have to keep the houses in good repair. If you do not keep up your houses you cannot keep your labor.

Q. You have been carrying on that system since the war?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you entitle your leading man, foreman or overseer?—A. We call him foreman; they won't stand the word "overseer;" so we have to modify that term.

Q. He is a man older than yourself?—A. Yes, sir; he went with me through the Confederate war.

Q. He was your father's slave, I suppose.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How has he got along?—A. He is more independent to-day than I am.

Q. How came he to be so?—A. From the simple fact that he was provident and saved his means. I have got others who were not provident, and so have nothing ahead; they do not know the value of money. They have all earned as much as he has, but have not saved as much.

Q. He has made himself comfortable?—A. Yes, sir; more so than I am, when I am at home.

Q. Have you had any of this Kansas fever about you?—A. Yes, sir; it has been in our parish. Mr. Foster's plantation is almost adjoining mine. There are several other plantations, where half of the laborers left. I think Mr. Foster suffered the heaviest.

Q. The Mr. Foster who was here as a witness?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did any of your people go?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did they talk of going?—A. I had that conversation with them. I told them that if they were dissatisfied they could go; that I did not want them to go; they had been with me for a long time, and they understood me, and I understood them.

Q. And none of them went?—A. No, sir.

Q. They are working on the renewed contracts now?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When the colored people make contracts, do they stand by them pretty well?—A. I have no trouble with my own men; some of the riff-raff that I have to pick up when work is pressing sometimes violate their contracts—that is, in the part of the season where I have to have additional labor. In extending my place, I sometimes have to pick up labor around through the country to put upon the place; some of that strange labor has done well, and have adhered faithfully to their contracts, and some have not.

Q. How much can they make, sharing with you in that way?—A. One family, of three laborers, made twenty bales.

Q. How much of this was their share?—A. One-half; they had ten bales and I ten.

Q. How much is a bale of cotton worth?—A. It has been worth from fifty-five to sixty dollars this past year.

Q. Then ten bales would bring them in six hundred dollars?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is cash?—A. Yes, sir; besides, I let them have half the cotton seed, and half the corn; and half of all the other products raised on the farm. In the alluvial districts they raise from fifteen to thirty bales to a family; our lands raise a bale and a half per acre.

Q. Do your people have schools?—A. Yes, sir; we have a very good school in the rear of my place.

Q. For how large a portion of the year?—A. Our schools, I think, last five or six months; I have never paid any special attention to that matter. All the little children on my place go to this school. They can read very well, and spell well; they are about as advanced as the country children in other States.

Q. What church privileges have they?—A. They have all the church privileges they need. There is a church near my place. The planters put up a church occasionally for such colored people as do not live in town.

Q. Your employés vote, I suppose?—A. Yes, sir; they all vote.

Q. Have they ever been interfered with in voting?—A. I have never known them to be interfered with. Whenever any of my people want to go to the polls, I let them have the mules or stock on the plantation to ride.

Q. Do you ever go with them yourself?—A. When I was living in Bossier Parish I used to go with them myself to the polls, frequently.

Q. How do they vote?—A. Sometimes the Republican ticket and sometimes the Democratic ticket; just as they have a mind to.

Q. Do you know of any violence ever being practiced toward them to get them to vote the Democratic ticket?—A. I never have seen anything of the kind.

Q. Are the elections peaceable?—A. I never have seen anything but a peaceable election in our county.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. What is the usual price that you pay for this extra labor in the pressing season of which you speak?—A. From six bits to a dollar a day and feed.

Q. Is that in the cropping season or when you are gathering the crop?—A. In the cropping season.

Q. What time of year is that?—A. In May and June.

Q. That is the season when you thin out the cotton?—A. Yes, sir. Sometimes the cotton gets badly in grass.

Q. Do you not have extra labor to pick it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the price for that?—A. Generally from seventy-five cents to a dollar or a dollar and a quarter a hundred.

Q. How much would that be a day?—A. That, of course, would depend upon the skill of the worker, and how long and how hard he would work.

Q. What can a skillful hand make?—A. According to skill and strength, from seventy-five cents to a dollar or a dollar and a half a day; I have known men to make as high as four dollars a day.

Q. Women and children that are skillful can make good wages, too, can they not?—A. Indeed they can, and do. We have a class of extra labor in our country that depends on nothing else but the cotton picking season; they make money enough at that, in the fall, to live upon all the rest of the year.

Q. Do the negroes work as well as white men or better?—A. Better, a great deal; I would not give one colored laborer for five white men.

Q. What is to hinder the negro, then, from doing well and accumulating property, except want of thrift?—A. Nothing except want of thrift; they do not know the value of money.

Q. If they had the forethought of white men—the ordinary prudence to lay and save up?—A. They would have owned the whole State of Louisiana before this.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Who gets this money that they earn? I speak of them in the aggregate.—A. The beer saloons, the whisky shops, and the apple and peanut stands, &c.

Q. And the merchants, some of it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are the keepers of these various saloons and stands that you speak of—these harpies that get the wages of the colored people—are they white or black?—A. Both.

Q. So far as they are colored, the money still remains in the hands of the colored people. Who gets the most of it?—A. The most of it goes to the white men.

Q. It seems that you were a Confederate soldier or officer. How old were you at the breaking out of the war?—A. About eighteen years.

Q. Were you in the service during the whole period of the war?—A. Yes, sir; from the first to the last; I was in the Washington Artillery from New Orleans.

Q. Were you promoted?—A. Yes, sir; at the close of the war I was captain of artillery.

Q. You say that these colored people are more independent than you are?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why?—A. From the simple fact that when we advance in our section of the country, we have to put up security in order to be able to advance to these colored people. They have no risk, and we have to run all the risk.

Q. What security do you have to give?—A. We have to mortgage real estate.

Q. You get one-half of all that is raised, do you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If what the colored man raises is enough to make him wealthy, what is the reason that you, a single individual, getting as much as all your laborers taken together get, cannot do the same?—A. Very frequently I have gone security for colored people in our section, and they have not complied with the contract, and I have had their bills to foot.

Q. So that really the reason why you have not been able to accumulate is on account of losses from treacherous help?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And yet, you said that one colored man is worth five white men, did you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What would be your condition if these colored men should abandon you and you should be compelled to rely upon these worthless white substitutes?—A. I do not say I am a poor man; I am making a living.

Q. They are not making more than a living?—A. Those who are provident can live upon less than we do. But scarcely any are provident and economical, you see.

Q. Your foreman has got ahead a little; how much is he worth?—A. Four or five hundred dollars in money.

Q. You explained a few moments ago that a family of three hands could make twenty bales of cotton a year, or from eighteen to thirty bales, so that twenty would be less than the average, but we will call it an average; this family, making twenty bales of cotton, and taking ten of them as their share, if each bale were worth sixty dollars, would clear six hundred dollars a year?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then each one of the three earns, for a year's work, some two hundred dollars?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They have a family to support?—A. Yes, sir; but remember that there is no house-rent to pay, no wood, no water, no taxes.

Q. They have to pay taxes when they vote, don't they?—A. No, sir; no poll-tax is required in order to vote; I never heard of any one yet paying a poll tax.

Q. I was thinking some of them had complained that they could not vote until they had paid their poll-tax. However, two hundred dollars apiece is what they have to show for their work at the end of the year?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is that a sum sufficient to enable them to accumulate very largely?—A. They could live and save money.

Q. Are you more independent since the war than before, or the contrary? Which was the best condition of things for you as a planter, that of the freedom of the colored man, or that of his servitude?—A. I do not know that the planters through our section of the country have done very much for themselves; I think they are in just about the same condition that they were at the end of the war. At the beginning of the war I never had had anything to do with a plantation.

Q. Your observation and recollection extends to a period before the war?—A. My understanding is that the planters of the South were much more independent before the war than they are now.

Q. I suppose that is owing to loss of capital resulting from the war rather than anything else?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Comparing the condition of the colored people at the present time with what it was prior to the war, what should you say, that it is better or worse than it was then?—A. The condition of some of them is better and that some of them is not.

Q. As a whole, how is it?—A. As a whole they are in a better condition; much better.

Q. Then, on the whole, freedom has been a good thing for the slave—for the colored people?—A. Yes, sir; it has been a good thing for them—for the majority of them.

Q. Has it not been a good thing for the white man?—A. It has not been a good thing for me; I have no doubt I would have been much more prosperous under the other system.

Q. You may recollect that at the beginning of the war the wealth of the white people of your section represented the accumulations of several successive generations. You have to begin again, anew. Under the present system, if you manage economically, will not your grandchildren be as well off as your father was at the beginning of the war?—A. That depends very much on the price of cotton and the system of labor.

Q. Do you not think that your chance in that country, and that of your children, is as good as that of your grandfather when he commenced there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Why not?—A. Because this exodus business has the tendency to work the demoralization of our labor, of the colored people. They think the government is going to do something for them, and it makes them lukewarm in their work. Our work has been interfered with by these reports; they look upon it as an attempt on the part of the government to do something for them.

Q. I would like to inquire something further in regard to these white men, of whom you say that five are not worth a single colored man. How numerous a class are they?—A. A white man cannot do the work a negro can down there, and can not live as economically as the negro.

Q. How many white laborers are there in Bossier Parish and Caddo Parish, in your vicinity?—A. Well, we have a good many white laborers.

Q. As many as there are negroes?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. What is the general condition of the white laborer there?—A. That depends on his constitution, and his ability to perform manual labor.

Q. I mean his general condition, as compared with that of the black laborer?—A. Some are thrifty and some are not.

Q. That is not a comparison by classes.—A. As a class they are not in as good a condition as the colored people.

Q. Why is that?—A. Because they cannot perform the work that the colored people can.

Q. Have they not the disposition to work?—A. Yes, sir; they have the disposition, but not the constitution.

Q. Do their wives and older daughters work, like the wives and daughters of the colored men?—A. I have known many of them to work.

Q. In the field?—A. Yes, sir; in the field.

Q. Is not their inclination to be industrious as good as that of the colored man?—A. Their inclination is better, but they cannot stand it to work so well.

Q. Then it would be better for them to go to Kansas than for the colored men.—A. Yes, sir; we could spare them very well.

Q. There would not be any great amount of grief over an exodus of white laborers from the South?—A. No, sir. On the hills they do as well as anybody, but not in the level districts.

Q. Working in the hill districts, can they accomplish as much as anybody?—A. No, sir; but they are more economical than the negroes, and know the value of money better.

Q. Their condition is improving in the hill districts?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then, as a whole, both whites and blacks are doing better on account of the liberation of the slaves?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then, has not the general condition of the laboring classes improved in your State?—A. Within the last two years it has.

Q. Do you think the recent political change in your State government has been the cause of the improved condition?—A. I do.

Q. Do you really think the emancipation of the slaves had nothing to do with it?—A. We have a more settled government now.

Q. Have you a more settled government than you had before the war?—A. I do not know anything about the condition of things before the war.

Q. You have histories and accounts of the condition of things then, which you, as an intelligent man, have read and heard of; did you never hear of anything that took place in Louisiana before you were born?—A. O, yes, sir; I have read history.

Q. You say the State of Louisiana was in a very unsettled condition until within the last two years?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is, until about the time this exodus began?—A. Before that.

Q. Did not this exodus commence about two years ago?—A. It commenced about eighteen months ago.

Q. Then the exodus originated with this settled condition of things, dating back about two years?—A. No, sir.

Q. You said that within two years the condition of the colored laborers had been improving?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Owing to the more settled government down there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the exodus, you say, commenced about eighteen months ago?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then, as soon as the improvement was fairly under way; as soon as the condition of colored laborers had become better than it had been before since the war, or prior to the war, so far as you know anything about it; as soon as this great improvement in the condition of the colored laborers had become manifest, they began to leave the country?—A. I think that was owing to reports, pamphlets, &c., sent among them to induce them to emigrate.

Q. If the colored people themselves give other reason than that, would you still insist that your reason was the true one?—A. The idea has been held out that the government would assist them.

Q. You were careful to say, I notice, that you knew of no violence used against the colored people *at the polls;* you placed particular emphasis on those words. Did you ever see any violence elsewhere than at the polls?—A. I know of their having rows amongst themselves.

Q. Do you know of any troubles except among themselves?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Have you ever had any occasion to act as preserver of the peace in your own or adjoining parishes?—A. I was summoned as one of the sheriff's *posse* at the time of the Caledonia riot, but I was not at the polls.

Q. Have you ever known any well authenticated instance of violence perpetrated upon the colored people for political effect before an election, either in the daytime or the night time, whether at the polls or at their residences, or in the woods, in public places or in private places? Have you ever known of any well authenticated cases of violence?—A. I have seen no violence.

Q. Committed on the colored people for political reasons?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have no information which you believe as to the perpetration of actual violence, or of intimidation, threats, to the colored people to influence their vote?—A. I never heard a threat at the polls in my life, sir.

Q. Neither from Republican nor Democratic sources?—A. From Republican sources I have.

Q. You notice that my question was general. You have never heard it from colored people, have you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you, or did you not, believe it?—A. I believed what I saw.

Q. You do not believe what you have not seen?—A. At the time of the Caledonia riot I was sent down as one of the sheriff's posse; but I never got there.

Q. You attend pretty closely to your own business, do you not?—A. I do; I intend to.

Q. And you stay pretty closely at home, do you not?—A. Yes, sir; generally.

Q. You were not summoned to come here to testify to what is going on down there, but, as a man who attends to his own business, treats his employés well, does justice to his neighbor, and does not really know very much about matters that do not personally concern him?—A. I suppose I was summoned here to testify exactly to what I know; at least that is what I intend to do.

Q. You do not know anything except what you have actually seen? —A. I know that the negro has more protection than the white man.

Q. Then would not it be well for you to set yourself diligently at work to convince them of that fact—that they are doing better than the whites? They do not seem to believe it now.—A. I am satisfied that the exodus has stopped in our parish.

Q. Have you convinced them that they are better off than you are? —A. They have money to loan, while I have to borrow money.

Q. I have heard of masters who treated their slaves with all the kindness of the paternal relation; who took care of them in health and in sickness as if they were his own family; but do you think that was the rule throughout the South?—A. In our country it was.

Q. In Louisiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then the common repute of Louisiana in the days of slavery of being the worst place in the whole South, and the dread of the Virginia negroes of being sold to Louisiana, was altogether unfounded?—A. Yes, sir; when a man bought a negro, before the war, for two thousand dollars, he had him properly attended to, and regularly fed and well treated.

Q. They took care of him as a remarkably valuable animal?—A Well, as an animal or not, he was well taken care of.

Q. Is he as well taken care of since?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you pay the doctors' bills on your plantation?—A. Yes, sir; I see them paid.

Q. It is advanced from the crop, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; the doctor's bill is paid once a year.

TESTIMONY OF DAVID BURNS.

David Burns sworn and examined.

By the **Chairman**:

Question. Mr. Burns, where do you reside?—Answer. In Caddo Parish, Louisiana.

Q. In Shreveport?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I have resided there ten years and a half.

Q. Do you employ colored laborers or white laborers?—A. I employ both white and black.

Q. Are there many mechanics amongst the colored folks?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In all the trades?—A. In all the trades, yes, sir; I do not know of any obstruction to their learning the trades.

Q. Do you think they make pretty good mechanics?—A. No, sir; they generally make very poor ones.

Q. They are not a mechanical people?—A. No, sir; but they are disposed to pick up work, and they do much of it; but they detract from the price of work; the consequence is, the prices are detracted from, and all the work they do is a sort of tinkering work. They do generally pretty rough work, comparatively rough. We have very few good mechanics among them, and in fact very few good white mechanics, because the blacks are slowly and gradually running them out.

Q. Do you think they will eventually develop into good mechanics?—A. Not in this generation; there is no chance there much for a white man where the whites and blacks can learn the trades. The only good mechanics we have are Northern men who come there with their trades; but generally the black mechanic is sought for over the white mechanic who has been reared in the South. The best of the work is done by Northern men, and they command higher prices.

Q. You mean that a good mechanic going there from the North gets better wages than the native mechanics?—A. Yes, sir; decidedly so.

Q. No matter whether he is white or black?—A. Well, sir, I never saw a black man from the North.

Q. I mean of the older people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In building, do you employ carpenters?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are there bricklayers, tinners, joiners, and painters necessary, also?—A. Yes.

Q. And in that range of work you employ on the plain work colored men?—A. Well, such of them as are profitable.

Q. Is it as profitable for a colored man to do such work as for him to work in a cotton field?—A. I do not think he can do as well, though he can work a little more cleanly and they are home earlier from their work, and during the muddy season they have a better chance in the city to be cleanly, and during the bad days they can slow up generally.

Q. In your judgment how are the colored people doing in your parish, both as mechanics and field laborers?—A. I think they could do better. They are a shiftless class of people, and I know that, as a general thing throughout the plantations, they rarely ever work on Saturdays. They generally work only five days in the week.

Q. But for those who wish to push along there are plenty of opportunities?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do they get good wages?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How are they treated by the white folks?—A. I hear of no complaint generally among them. I have heard of some complaints and discussed the question with some of them.

Q. They think that the first duty of the man is to vote in this government, don't they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do they get that privilege with you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do they vote as often as anybody else?—A. I have never seen anything to the contrary, and I was a commissioner of elections, and I know that I never debarred them from that privilege.

Q. Are there any colored folks that have been commissioners of elections?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And been on the school boards?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. My old friend, Admiral Hill, was one, was he not?—A. Yes, sir; and I know of others. Senator Harper was also one.

Q. If there is anything else of interest to your people connected with this subject, I will be glad to have you state it.—A. There is nothing, except with regard to this exodus matter. I might say something in reference to that.

Q. Well, go on and tell us what you have to say about that.—A. I have conversed a good deal with the negroes through that section of the country, and I have found some who seemed to be dissatisfied; but from what causes I could never determine. I think the exodus commenced in 1878. I think that was when the doors were first opened to it—in November, 1878. In conversation with them I have found that they were disposed to emigrate; but from what causes I could not determine. They said they did not consider that they were treated right; but on questioning them, they never illustrated that they were treated differently from others. I conversed with many of them in regard to this Caledonia affair, and they said they were badly treated there. I called attention to two men who were shot down there, and they said that in that case they were treated very badly. I was not there, but I remember the circumstances very particularly. One of them, I think the party that I talked with, I asked if he was not aware that the negroes were the aggressors in that fight, and he said they were, and his answer to me was that "they did not have the brains to carry out their object." What that object was I did not ask; but I heard that they intended to attack the polls and destroy the boxes, and I suppose that is what he meant.

I have conversed with the others in regard to the matter of the exodus and it seems to me they are agitating the question among them, but whether to a very great extent I do not know. I know one man who was trying to get a hundred families to go away. He sold out his property a few weeks before I left, and in connection with that I heard that they had been in correspondence with Senator Windom in regard to the matter, but they said there was no secrecy in regard to it. I know that the whites have tried a good deal to prevent the emigration.

Q. Mr. Burns, is it not to the interest of the white people, in a business point of view, if from no higher motive, to treat the colored race kindly, and thus retain them there to meet the demand for their labor, and for a kind of labor to which no other class is adapted?—A. It is unquestionably to their interest, but not to that extent, I think. I think the South would be much better off if the negroes did emigrate. I think that the white people can work in the fields as well as they can. I have employed men who were blacks, and they always told me that their work was hotter on the house-tops than in the field. Where the question of malaria comes up, whether that would affect them or not I do not know, but I have built houses on plantations where there was a liability to a great deal of malarial sickness, and I have never been sick.

Q. Are there enough whites in the South to make the cotton crop?—A. No, sir; but I think it would be better if Western whites would come in there; I speak of its being better for the country generally, and not of the South particularly. If the blacks would stay there and work, and save what they could, they would amass wealth. I know of some white men who went and entered government lands for some of them, and they are doing well.

Q. Do you think that it is better for the negro that he should remain in the South?—A. Yes, sir; but for the country I think it would be better if we had white labor throughout.

Q. But these negroes are there and must be employed?—A. Yes; but so far as agriculture is concerned it is outside of the South; I do not think they have had any special experience in it.

By Mr. **BLAIR**:

Q. Do you state it as of your observation that where they have owned land themselves they have been the better off for it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think if, as a whole, they would adopt the policy of acquiring land it would be better for the colored people?—A. Yes, sir; unquestionably I do.

Q. Then the substantial solution of the whole question would be for them to acquire land and farm for themselves and gradually acquire landed estates to themselves and their families, would it not?—A. I stated before that I believed they would be better off; but so far as any difficulty would present itself in that matter, I do not know of any except their own shiftlessness. You spoke of the solution of the difficulty, but I do not think there is much chance of its solution that way.

Q. You think things are as well as they will be there?—Yes, sir.

Q. Your theory is that it would be better for the white men of the country to encourage the withdrawal of the negro and his replacement by another class?—A. Yes, sir; I believe it would be better for the Northern white people, and in another way it would be better on the point of education. The school facilities are better for them in the North than in the South.

Q. But you will come to have that in the South after awhile, will you not?—A. Unquestionably; it is only a question of time.

Q. Don't you think that all through the Southern country there is rapidly developing a growing impression in favor of free schools for all classes?—A. I believe so; but in our State, which is largely in debt, that is the reason our schools are not kept open as long as they should be.

Q. Do you think there is any way to add to the wealth of the State more surely than to increase its intelligence?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is it not between the ages of six and twelve generally that the children are all educated?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If your State were to put its surplus wealth for ten years into education, do not you think it would develop the material wealth of the State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In that way, would you not pay off your State debt sooner and better than in any other way?—A. No, sir; not just now; it would cripple our financial ability to do it.

Q. What does the school system of Louisiana cost?—A. I cannot tell you; I see that three hundred thousand dollars have just been appropriated for a certain time, and the blacks have as good a chance at the schools as the whites.

Q. That is not the question; I am speaking of the actual condition of the colored people in your State—if they are compelled to let their children grow up in ignorance—are they not growing up in ruin?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it is so with the white people as well?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And if by reason of taxation and all that the colored man cannot educate his children, ought he not to go where he can educate them?—A. He can educate them there as well as we can educate ours; but I believe that the contact of those people with those of the North would be beneficial to them. I believe that where the manufacturing and financial condition of the people of the North is seen and made familiar to these people, by their being brought in contact with them, it will improve their condition, cause a greater diversity of pursuits among them, and educate them through such contact.

Q. Do you mean that it would improve them in all the arts of life?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Admitting that the means of education which a man gets, like the competition of his wits with those of his neighbors, is valuable, is it not better for the negroes to go where they can have such competition, for instance to the North?—A. Well, sir, I think it would improve them; but if these people were disposed to save their money equally with the Northern people of the same number who come there to the South, their condition would be as good there as it could be in the North.

Q. Too many of our Northern people have been down there and come back.—A. Well, sir, during my experience in the South, I know our communities, especially the newer ones, are generally made up by immigration from the North and the Middle States, and the West.

Q. Where were you born yourself?—A. I am a native of Georgetown, District of Columbia.

Q. How long have you lived there in the South?—A. About thirty years altogether—not all the time in Louisiana, but part of the time in Texas.

Q. Not in Shreveport, I suppose, but near there?—A. Yes, sir; in that neighborhood.

TESTIMONY OF DR. GEORGE E. GILLESPIE.

Dr. GEORGE E. GILLESPIE sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. I reside in the town and parish of Natchitoches, Louisiana.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Twenty-six years.

Q. What is your profession?—A. I am a practicing physician.

Q. Has your attention been drawn to the condition of the two races down there, and has there been any talk in your community about the colored people going away within the last year or so; and if so, state whether it has attracted your attention?—A. Well, sir, there has been some few who have left our parish, but not a great many.

Q. Have you a very wealthy colored population there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is a planting region, is it?—A. Yes, sir; but not a great many have left our parish. I suppose only about a hundred and forty, or such a matter.

Q. Are there none leaving now?—A. No, sir; I do not think any of them are disposed to leave at this present time.

Q. Have they entered into their spring contracts?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you talked with them much on the subject of the exodus?—A. I have frequently attempted to get from them the causes that made them leave, but I was not able to elucidate a single solitary idea from them.

Q. In your observation of it, I wish you would state to the committee if they have been abused in their rights or in their wages, or in the security of their persons in that parish—A. No, sir; not to any serious extent. As in every place, there are honest men, and some who are not honest, who will cheat them out of their legitimate wages.

Q. You have heard of that being done elsewhere than in the South?—A. O, yes, sir; I suppose that is almost universal.

Q. Do you know of any discrimination on the part of anybody in trading with them because they were colored people, or has it been those who would not cheat a white man just as quickly as they would cheat a negro ?—A. Yes, sir; that is true.

Q. And it is done for the sake of the money and not because of the color of the client ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is there much of that sort of abuse ?—A. No, sir; I cannot say that it prevails to any great extent.

Q. How is the demand for labor in that section ?—A. We are sadly in want of efficient labor; the planting interest is generally carried on on the share system, giving the laborer a portion of the crop. There are not more than two or three plantations where it is not carried on in that way.

Q. Do you know what the terms are on which this cropping is done ? —A. It is generally for half of the crop.

Q. The planter furnishing everything except the provisions ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The planter furnishing the land, mules, implements, horses, and the negro furnishing the muscle ?—A. Yes, sir; that is generally the contract.

Q. And then they divide equally ?—A. Yes, sir; that is it.

Q. And the laboring people make money in that way ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How are the school privileges in your parish ?—A. Well, lately there have been considerable schools there. We have ten police-jury boards, and we have had in the last year eleven schools for the colored children in that parish.

Q. How much of the year are these schools in session ?—A. I think they were in session last year three months—perhaps some of them gave a little longer.

Q. Do the colored people pay considerable attention to the schooling of their children ?—A. About the towns and small villages they do, but in the more distant country districts they do not.

Q. Have they any trouble in voting in your parish ?—A. No, sir; not as a general thing; we have had some political riots there in times past.

Q. For the sake of Mr. Blair you must state again (for it has been stated fifty times already) how long ago was the last trouble of that sort that you had up there ?—A. The last and only serious trouble was now nearly two years ago, on the 21st of September, 1878.

Q. Was that the time the troops were called out ?—A. No, sir; there were no United States troops there then.

Q. What was that trouble ?—A. Do you speak of this September affair ?

Q. Yes; what was the trouble then ?—A. There was a Democratic meeting on that day and also a Republican meeting.

Q. I have known of some furious fights growing out of the same state of facts up North.—A. Yes, sir; the first thing I heard of this trouble was that the news came that the negroes were going to attack the town, and it went on until it brought about a collision, but there was no damage done particularly.

Q. But it has been sent all over the United States and made to do service as a political campaign matter ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Like a snow-ball it has been growing and growing larger all the time ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you have heard of the same sort of things being carried on elsewhere, I have no doubt ?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. It is not unusual for such things to occur in times of political excitement ?—A. No, sir; not at all unusual.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. Doctor, will you tell me of any other instance there, from your reading or observation, like that which occurred in your parish two years ago?—A. I do not know that I could call to mind any particular instance similar to it just now.

Q. I do not mean to confine your reading to Rollins's Ancient History or anything of that sort.

The **Chairman**. I will try and refresh your mind, Dr. Gillespie. Do you remember of a riot at Indianapolis when Andrew Johnson was making a tour of the United States and the Republicans met there to hoot him down, and two men killed?

The **Witness**. I think I do.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. Do you remember it so distinctly as to have testified to it without the assistance of the chairman?—A. I cannot say that I could.

Q. Are you sure that it was two or three men who were killed?—A. I do not.

Q. Are you sure that it was two or one?—A. I cannot say; I was going to take Mr. Voorhees's word for it.

Q. Well, could you say aside from that that anybody was killed on that occasion?—A. I suppose there must have been some one killed there.

Q. Would you have supposed so without the chairman telling you?—A. Well, sir, he is good authority, I am very sure. I remember something of it, but I could not go into the particulars.

Q. Could you have sworn that anybody was killed there but for the help of the chairman to refresh your recollection?—A. I think I have said that I could not.

Q. Could you have been absolutely sure that anybody was wounded but for the testimony of the chairman?—A. I remember seeing an account of the difficulty, but I do not remember the particulars.

Q. Are you sure that it was in Indianapolis; was it not at Terre Haute? Could you be sure that it was or was not?—A. I repeat, sir, that in all probability I would not have thought of it if the chairman had not mentioned it.

Q. Could you have been absolutely sure that it was in the State of Indiana?—A. I have stated that my recollection of it was very indistinct.

Q. Would you have been absolutely sure that any such difficulty occurred on that trip but for the help of the chairman?—A. Perhaps not.

Q. The chairman says you must have known of other like things to that affair in your parish two years ago from your reading. Do you recollect reading of any such things?—A. I do not call to mind anything exactly similar.

Q. How long have you resided in that parish?—A. Twenty-six years.

Q. Are you a native of Louisiana?—A. No, sir.

Q. Of what State are you a native?—A. I am a native of Kentucky.

Q. Were you ever in a colored school?—A. Yes, sir; I have been frequently in such schools.

Q. Have you observed the advancement of the colored children in learning?—A. No, sir; I never made any examination as to that.

Q. How many times have you been in such schools?—A. Well, I suppose half a dozen times.

Q. How long have you spent at a time in such schools?—A. Perhaps fifteen or twenty minutes.

Q. What were the purposes of your visits?—A. Well, I have been invited there by the teachers.

Q. What is the result of your observation as to the capacity of the colored children to learn to read and write?—A. Some of them learn very rapidly.

Q. How do they compare in that respect with the white children of the poorer classes in the same communities?—A. They are about the same, I should think.

Q. You do not believe with others that the negro is not susceptible of improvement?—A. O, no, sir; he is susceptible of considerable improvement.

Q. Do you think the colored man gets his vote counted as it is cast in the State of Louisiana, as a rule?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. Do you think there are frequent exceptions to the rule?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you live in Caddo Parish?—A. No, sir; in Natchitoches Parish.

Q. And your knowledge of elections has been confined to your own parish?—A. Entirely.

Q. You have heard of difficulties between the races in your parish and other portions of the South?—A. Yes, sir; I have sometimes heard of such difficulties.

TESTIMONY OF V. DELL.

V. DELL sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Dell, please state where you reside.—Answer. I reside at Fort Smith, Arkansas.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I have lived there some twenty odd years.

Q. That is in the northwest corner of the State, is it not?—A. It is rather in the center of the western boundary, on the line of the Indian Territory.

Q. How long do you say you have lived there?—A. Some twenty odd years, sir.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I have been editing a paper there for seventeen years.

Q. What sort of a paper?—A. A Republican paper.

Q. You are a Republican in politics, then, Mr. Dell?—A. Yes, sir; always have been.

Q. State whether there has been any agitation in your section of the State amongst the colored people on the subject of emigration from Arkansas to Kansas, or anywhere else?—A. Well, sir, when this exodus business first became known there was some little flutter among them in my part of the State and all through. They did not know exactly what it meant.

Q. How was it brought there?—A. It was brought in from the general sources of news.

Q. Did the colored people take up with it?—A. Well, the colored people are very much excited and they discuss the matter. They came to me and wanted to know my opinion about it, as they usually do when there is something up that they do not understand. I told them about it and spoke at their meetings. I told them that this movement was started from the States south of us, probably on account of the ill treatment of the colored people by the whites, and as they knew of no such cases existing with them, that it was not necessary for them to leave. They had a meeting, however, and appointed delegates to a State convention, and that appointed delegates to a convention in New Orleans; but the whole matter fell through in our State.

Q. State whether there is anything in the laws of Arkansas that discriminates between the colored and white races in the distribution of political and personal rights, or in the matter of safety of life and property?—A. No, sir, not now; we swept away all these cobwebs in 1868, when we reorganized the State. I was five years in the senate and there is nothing there now, not even so far as marriages are concerned, as there is in Indiana, and even in some of the New England States.

Q. Every man has a chance equally with all the rest?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have the colored people ever been interfered with in the exercise of their political rights there?—A. They have.

Q. On what occasions?—A. Well, sir, since 1868 we have had peace in our State. I do not know of any instances of interference except two years ago. In 1878 there were three points in the State where they were bulldozed. These points were Helena, Pine Bluff, and Little Rock. At Little Rock there is a large colored population and a large Republican population, and there the Democrats counted out a great many of the legislators and county officers, but on a contest in the legislature these two men tried for their seats and one white man and another black one obtained their seats.

Q. Then justice was done them?—A. Yes, sir; it was. At Pine Bluff the Democrats took charge of the court-house and fixed it up, in connection with some bad Republicans who took office under that arrangement, so that they could carry the election. They also did the same thing at Helena. At Helena the thing was more serious; there they organized artillery, infantry, and cavalry companies. It was during the yellow-fever time and they corraled the negroes on the plantations, I suppose for sundry reasons, and would not allow them to vote. These were the only times in twelve years, and they would not have occurred if the Republicans had been true to their party; but they went right in with the Democrats and sold the negroes out.

Q. But you say that a Democratic legislature rectified the wrong?—A. Yes, sir; so far as they could.

Q. They gave the Republicans their seats on a contest?—A. Yes, sir; they did.

Q. Well, that is a little better than the House of Representatives do up here, is it not?—A. I have noticed some cases up here where they have not been doing that way.

Q. Are these two or three instances where wrong was done, and where both parties were in it to some extent—covering a space of twelve years—all the instances of which you have any knowledge; and is there any reason in them why the colored race should leave Arkansas in order to better their condition?—A. In answer to the necessity of the colored people leaving, I will say none whatever, from Arkansas.

Q. How is the labor supply in your State?—A. It is ample.

Q. Do the colored laborers get good wages?—A. Yes, sir; they get very good wages.

Q. Do you know of any system or practice by which they are cheated out of their wages?—A. No, sir; I have remarked that Arkansas has passed the danger point; that we have turned off the shroud and are rising in our strength, and the next census will show it. I do not think there is one sensible man in the State who wishes slavery back again, or who thinks it can be re-established. We have a large immigration of whites into the State, both of Yankees and Germans, as well as quite a large number of colored people.

Q. Arkansas was not much developed on the borders up to within a few years past, was it?—A. The western part of the State, where I live, has a sparse negro population; there are only three hundred in my county, and that is about the average along the border.

Q. The western part of the State is prairie country?—A. O, no, sir; it is densely wooded up to the Indian country. My county is the only one that has any prairie.

Q. Do you have any water courses there?—A. Yes, sir; we have a few; the boundary line between Arkansas and the Indian Territory runs due north and south.

Q. What provision has been made in the State for the education of the colored children?—A. They enjoy the same privileges and advantages as the whites do. I was the means of framing our laws on education while I was in the legislature; and on the adjournment of the first term I started the public schools in my town. The colored children had public schools, and all that, two years before the whites, for one was established there by a society of which Dr. Savage, of Chicago, was secretary.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. It was established by a carpet-bagger; it was a carpet-bagger society, was it?—A. Well, sir, I would not allow that term to be used in connection with any such enterprise as that.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. After that began your school system, which you say you were instrumental in organizing?—A. Yes, sir; and I was president of the school board.

Q. Of the State?—A. No, sir; of my city.

Q. Where did you derive your funds from?—A. From direct taxation, and a small amount from a State fund. We also derived it from direct taxes and fines. At first we had only the taxation, and we levied one and a half per cent. taxes, or fifteen mills on the dollar, as it was necessary to make a large appropriation in starting a new system, buying the property, and there was the teachers, and in order to make the system popular we had to get the best teachers, and get them from the North. We paid a hundred and twenty-five dollars a month, and we paid the same salary to the teachers in the colored schools, who were Northern men.

Q. And all of equal merit as teachers?—A. Yes, sir; of equal merit, if not better, for we took pains to give the colored people the best schools, because they needed them the more.

Q. How long did your schools run?—A. They ran ten months in the year.

I want to say, in reference to where the funds came from, that we obtained aid also from Dr. Sears. He was up at my town, and he was badly received by the old folks there, and he left disgusted, but I met him at Little Rock, and he said, "We will give them good schools," and I brought him a certificate, and he gave me a check for fifteen hundred dollars here in this city to help us on.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. He was the agent of the Peabody fund, I believe?—A. Yes, sir.

I would state further, that the public schools declined in our place in 1872 on account of the unfortunate dissensions. The people grumbled that they were taxing themselves so heavily. We had poor State officials and poor judges in the supreme court, and in 1873 they rendered a decision that the tax should only be paid in United States currency, and the people had to pay it. Then they reversed their decision, and said it could be paid in State funds at forty or fifty cents on the dollar; and that crippled our State schools, and the money went into the pockets of rascals. So we had to close the schools in our town a whole year, but now they are going ahead very rapidly. I received a paper the other day in which it stated that we had a man named Professor Ladd, a New England man, there examining our schools. He left there the other day.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Do you know from what State he comes?—A. I think New Hampshire, though I am not sure.

Q. Do you know his initials?—A. No, sir; I cannot call to mind his full name.

Q. Has he been at the head of the normal schools?—A. I do not know, sir; I met him at Little Rock, and he told me he was perfectly astonished at the schools, and here is what he said, as quoted in my paper, the New Era, of March 31, 1880 (reading):

> I cannot forget the many courtesies and encouraging words of the press. It affords me sincere pleasure to bear testimony to the fact that Arkansas journalism is loyal to the great cause to which I have consecrated my life. The teachers of the State have endeared themselves to me by the friendly interest they have uniformly expressed in my welfare. I am delighted with their ardent devotion to their noble work, and the eagerness with which they embrace every opportunity for professional improvement.
>
> I do not hesitate to say that Arkansas has a near and glorious future. Her climate is charming, her resources are abundant, immigration is pouring in, and in many places the people are in a blaze of educational enthusiasm. The triumph of free schools is assured.

The WITNESS. There was one point I would like to touch upon, referring to the character of the colored people there. We employed a white teacher for the colored schools—most excellent man—a successful teacher for several years, Professor Lyman; but from the organization of the schools the colored people kept working and wanting a colored teacher, and finally Professor Lyman was discharged and a colored teacher put in there, and the schools went down like a rock and became a perfect nuisance; and the scandal was so great that we had to break up the school and send for another teacher. The other teacher, a man, was secured, but he was nothing like Professor Lyman. I state this because the colored people are clannish; and they need careful training, and they need the white man to train them. They were almost unanimous in requesting the dismissal of Professor Lyman and getting a man of their own race. I think that is an unfavorable point in them. They got the change made through the school board catering to them. They wanted to be re-elected, so they made the change. The more intelligent among them deprecated it, but the mass of them wanted the change made.

Q. Now, Mr. Dell, state how the colored people have done in the way of making a support for themselves; whether they have acquired property as well as the laboring population usually do.—A. I believe in my part of the State the problem of the colored race is more nearly worked out than in any other State, because they are not there in such numbers as to create any apprehension on the part of the whites. Besides, the eastern part of the State has a large Republican population; my own county has a majority of two hundred and sixty-six. They are doing very well considering all the circumstances. But there are not less than one-third who are property owners. One part of my town has been built up almost entirely by them. They own neat, nice, clean cottages, and are prosperous and are not like the traditional negroes of the South, down at the heels and out at the elbows, though there are plenty of them. They are throwing off that habit of thriftlessness and shiftlessness that adheres to the negro almost everywhere else.

Q. Is there any irritation existing there between the races?—A. There is a little in the black counties, but none whatever in the State, except in counties east of Little Rock and south of the Arkansas River; there some of the counties have a large black majority, and there is, of course, some friction, but the general feeling throughout the State prohibits friction there.

Q. Are there any colored people over in the Indian Territory?—A Yes, sir; large numbers of them.

Q. They are protected by treaty, are they not?—A. No, sir; I hardly think they are.

Q. Don't you think they were provided for under the treaty of 1866? —A. Yes, sir; partly they are.

Q. Then the freedmen in the Indian Territory are provided for by treaty?—A. In some of the tribes they are, and in some of them they are not.

Q. I think they are in all the treaties that were written in 1866.—A. In the Creek, Cherokee, and Choctaw Nations they are equally protected, but not always as they ought to be. I had twenty heads of families from the Cherokee Nation to come to me about it. They were native Cherokees, but had been taken South by their Indian masters during the war.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. Were they Cherokee negroes?—A. Yes, sir; they were negroes who were owned by Cherokee masters. After the war the masters would do nothing for them, and they had to make their way back to the Territory as best they could. The treaty provided that a certain number of them in the Territory should be provided for, but these were not able to get back there before the time the treaty was made. Their condition has been very bad. When they complained to me I sent them down to the United States district attorney. They gave me their history, and I know that they were entitled to live there and be protected; but they were ordered off the reservation. I told them to go back and make homes for themselves. They cleared from five to twenty acres apiece and built their little homesteads; but, as they were not citizens, they were ordered off. I said to them that it was a hard case; and stated to them that if the government could not protect them they ought to protect themselves, and take their double-barreled shot-guns, and give the contents to anybody who came there to drive them off. They did try that, and they were not driven off.

The **Chairman**. Then, if I understand you, they are not embraced in the treaty?

The **Witness**. No, sir; they tried to drive them out of the country there but failed to do it. Now, there were three hundred thousand dollars appropriated to provide for their emigration. They came to me, and I said they were fools to go away from their own land and take up land elsewhere. They are living there in that way. They cannot go to the schools, nor vote, nor go into the courts, and they are literally suspended in all their rights, between heaven and earth. They have no rights except what they are permitted to have.

Q. Have you any suggestions which you would like to give with regard to them?—A. I think they should have the rights of American citizens, be permitted to go on juries, to send their children to school, and to vote. The treaty, in fact, was never complied with, either on the part of the Indians or the government.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Do you mean the treaty with the whole Territory or only this part?—A. No, sir; the treaty with the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

Q. Where were you born?—A. In Germany—on the other side of the pond.

Q. How long have you been an American citizen?—A. Thirty odd years.

Q. How long have you resided in Arkansas?—A. Twenty odd years.

Q. You are a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; born and bred one.

Q. You were a Republican in Germany, then?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you came over here because you were a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; in 1848.

Q. You say that the colored man has, with these sporadic exceptions, no trouble in Arkansas?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is there any reason to expect that in Arkansas full justice is done him?—A. Yes, sir; there is reason.

Q. Has there been any time in the history of Arkansas when there was any trouble and when justice was not done him?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is he disposed to be a law-abiding citizen, or turbulent?—A. The negro, where he has been taught right and has good leaders, is a good citizen. He has been abused in some parts of the State on both sides by designing men.

Q. Now he is equal before the law with all men?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And as a rule by the Democratic party in Arkansas he is treated properly?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you any belief that the Democratic party at the South, controlling the South as it does, need have any trouble with the negro population if they will treat him as well as the Democrats treat him in Arkansas? Would there be any trouble if he was well treated?—A. That question involves so much that I cannot answer it in a few words.

Q. The question is whether you see any reason why the same treatment on the part of the Democrats towards the negroes, which has worked so well in Arkansas, need not work equally well in all of the States of the South; why if it will do in that State so well, will it not do in the other States?—A. I believe if the Democrats would treat the negroes well everywhere, there would not only be peace, but the half of them would vote the Democratic ticket. I think the Democrats could have been secure long ago in their control of the South, and could have gotten half of the vote of the colored people.

Q. Why not the whole of it?—A. Well, they might have got the whole of it.

Q. How could the North hold out if it were not that that the negro was treated roughly and believed that whatever protection he got must come through the aid of the Northern people?—A. There is no reason why they should have had it. I know this negro Democratic vote developed in my State where they were treated right. There he is disposed to come back to the old following and wipe out and begin anew. I think if the colored people vote the Democratic ticket to some extent it will be better for the country and that we will increase the Republican vote in return from the whites. The only question now in the South in politics is the race question.

Q. Would not the negroes gladly do that if they could?—A. Yes, sir; and I see the colored people have been treated well, generally, on the part of their old masters.

Q. From what class, then, over the South, have these outrages and abuses come?—A. From the trash, and low down politics of the country.

Q. Has it not been the fault of this better class that it let this poorer and criminal class get control of them, and of the negro too?—A. Yes, sir; and to prove it I will relate a little circumstance. In April, 1868, I went home from the legislature on a furlough, and I found under the door of my house a "ku-klux" for me to leave in forty-eight hours. The ku-klux was rampant and exceedingly hot after Andrew Johnson's backing down. I stated that from 1868 I never heard of any outrages, but previous to that the outrages were very numerous.

Q. By whom were they committed?—A. By the Democrats. When I got that notice—I had married in the South, and was the husband of a Southern woman—but it made me so mad that I did not know what to do; but I went right out and I saw the leader of the ku-klux, in my western part of the State, and I went down to him right on the street and said to him, "Look at this." He read it and smiled. "O, Dell," said he, "that is nothing but just a joke." I said to him, "Is this killing that is going on all around here a joke?" I said, "I will not leave. I want you to understand that." There were more of them notified at the same time. Said I, "You know that I am president of the Union League, and I state that if I hear of a single Union man who is harmed by you ku-klux here, I will have you, and half a dozen like you, hung before morning, and carry the torch into your buildings." I said it in the street, and hundreds of persons heard it; and we had no trouble there. He was the brother of a member of Congress here now. In 1868 Senator Clayton wrote to me and asked me if I would back him up in declaring martial law, he being then the governor of the State. I wrote back to him that I would, and that I blamed him for not doing it before; that we might as well die for our rights as not. And martial law was declared; and after hanging a few of these fellows by martial law, we got peace, and have had peace ever since.

Q. Did you try them by martial law, and hang them?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. How many did you hang?—A. Four or five. There were some very bad men in the troops, it is true, that were raised, but it has been a blessing to the State that they hung those men.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. If that course had been pursued in Louisiana, do you think there would have been peace there now?—A. I do; for notwithstanding my course, I enjoyed the best of feelings between myself and my neighbors. I have as many friends among the Democrats as among the Republicans, and many of them are readers of my paper.

Q. Then why is not the State of Arkansas a good State for the negroes to go to?—A. Well, sir, I think we have our share.

Q. What proportion do they bear to your population?—A. I think at the last census we had one hundred and twenty-five thousand.

Q. You say the white population is increasing rapidly?—A. Yes, sir; it has increased seventy-five per cent. since then.

Q. Has the colored population increased in the same proportion?—A. No, sir; we get two white men to one colored immigrant. There is no emigration from our State particularly, except of a few of them who are going to Liberia. I met Dr. Corbin, who was educated at Berlin, and who takes about a hundred from there every six months. Our negroes, generally, don't take any stock in this Kansas movement.

Q. Do you think the negro naturally wants to leave the South?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know of any reason why the people or the Republicans in the North want him to leave the South?—A. I don't see why they should.

Q. You know of no reason why they should want it done?—A. I do not, but I confess that I think it would be best for them if every year a few hundred of them could go north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi and mingle among those people and learn something.

Q. You mean go to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; I see no reason why they should not.

Q. Well, the chairman lives there.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman would not hurt them.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. You made a remark about some ku-klux outrages, and you spoke of them as being committed by the Democratic party officially, or that the parties who did it were Democrats?—A. I believe it was done in the interest of the Democratic party. I do not believe it was ordered by the Democratic party. When I stated to this gentleman whom I said was the head of the ku-klux in my part of the State, I said to him that "I know, general, you won't do such a thing, and no respectable gentleman will; but," I said, "your low down white trash are doing it, but I cannot reach them, and I will have to hold your leaders responsible."

Q. Then, you say, the outrages stopped?—A. Yes, sir.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 17, 1880.

CROSS-EXAMINATION OF DR. F. M. STRINGFIELD.

Dr. F. M. STRINGFIELD recalled.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Doctor, you said that the relief association interposed every obstacle it could to the return of these people from Topeka; please tell us in what way they did it.—Answer. Well, these negroes, some of them, would make direct application to the board to have means given to them to return to Kansas City for the purpose of going South. They have been refused; that is what I mean to say.

Q. Do you understand that they had any money for that purpose?—A. My understanding is that this fund was for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of these negroes and helping them charitably; it was not for the purpose of keeping them in the State against their will.

Q. Do you understand that any money was contributed to send them back home?—A. Money was contributed to that association for the purpose of benefiting their physical condition—of putting them in a comfortable condition—it was not for the purpose of fixing them in such a way as to make it impracticable for them to return when they were unwilling guests of the State.

Q. To what extent did they refuse these applications?—A. To my best judgment they have uniformly refused, up to within the last month or so. My information comes directly from Mr. J. J. Jennings, a member of the executive board of this refugee committee. He stated to me distinctly that, to his personal knowledge, the other members of the board refused to take any steps towards letting them go South.

Q. So you think they have not done anything of the kind; have not furnished them money to go back?—A. No, sir; they have not.

Q. You say in this speech that Governor St. John made, he gave a direct invitation to the negroes to come. In what language did he give that invitation?—A. In his speech at the opera house he stated that there was room for a million of them; that they were oppressed in the South; that Kansas was free soil—was the home of John Brown; and in that gushing style deliberately indicated that they were wanted in Kansas.

Q. Was not he resisting the idea some had advanced, that they should not be permitted to come to Kansas?—A. There was no occasion for him to do that, for they were in Kansas.

Q. Was there not something of that kind, resistance to their landing, in Wyandotte?—A. I am only speaking in a general way; there was a universal sentiment in the city of Wyandotte and the surrounding country against receiving a pauper element into the State.

Q. Had not resolutions been passed there that they should not be permitted to land?—A. I believe that was true, that some such resolutions were passed in that city.

Q. Was not Governor St. John simply combating that idea and insisting that people should not be prevented from coming if they wanted to come into the State; that there was room for all; was not that the ground he was taking in his speech?—A. No, sir; he was not He was looking at it directly from the standpoint that it would be beneficial for them to come, and he was encouraging their coming.

Q. Have you any more of those circulars "that could be read one way at the North and another way at the South?"—A. I would like to be permitted to offer circulars here bearing directly upon the causes of the exodus. I have a circular here issued from Topeka, addressed to the colored people of the United States of America. The charter it speaks of was drawn up by a lawyer of that city who is now present before this committee. It was made by the negroes themselves, and says:

"COME.

"*To the colored people of the United States of America:*

"This is to lay before your minds a few sketches of what great advantages there are for the great mass of people of small means that are emigrating West, to come and settle in the county of Hodgeman, in the State of Kansas, and more especially the colored people, for they are the ones that want to find the best place for climate and for soil for the smallest capital. Hodgeman County is in Southwestern Kansas, on the line of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad.

"We, the undersigned, having examined the above county and found it best adapted to our people, have applied to the proper authority and have obtained a charter, in the name and style of 'THE DAVID CITY TOWN COMPANY,' in the county of Hodgeman, State of Kansas.

"*Trustees.*

"A. MCCLURE, Topeka.
"JOHN YATES.
"THOMAS BIEZER.
"HENRY BRILEE.
STEPHEN ESSEX.
THOMAS JACKSON.
JOHN GOTHARD.

"A. McCLURE, *President.*
"J. WOODFORK, *Secretary.*"

Q. That is signed by colored people, is it not?—A. Well, yes, sir; and the company was organized in Topeka, and this circular has induced quite a large number of colored people from the South to go to that Hodgeman County to settle there. But quite a number became satisfied that the representations made to them were not true, and some of them organized a similar company located in Dunlap, Morris County, Kansas. Here is one of the circulars of this last named company, which was the outgrowth of the other organization; and the circular I have here was extensively circulated in the South. I am informed that several thousand of them were so circulated, and parties of negroes are now resident in Kansas induced thither by the circulation of this circular among them.

The circular says:

"HO! FOR SUNNY KANSAS.

"*Friends and fellow citizens:*

"I have just returned from the Singleton settlement, in Morris County, Kans., where I left my people in one of the finest countries for a poor man in the world. I am prepared to answer any and all questions that may be asked. The Singleton settlement is near Dunlap, Morris County, a new town just started on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway. The surrounding country is fine rolling prairie. Plenty of stone and water, and wood on the streams. Plenty of coal within twenty-five miles.

"I have this to say to all:

"NOW IS THE TIME TO GO TO KANSAS.

"Land is cheap, and it is being taken up very fast. There is plenty for all at present.

"BENJAMIN SINGLETON,
"*President.*

"ALONZO D. DE FRANTZ, *Secretary.*

"JOSEPH KEEBLE, agent, real estate and homestead association.

"For full information, address COLUMBUS M. JOHNSON, Topeka, Kans., general agent."

The WITNESS. Mr. Singleton, the president of that settlement, is before you; Alonzo D. De Frantz, its secretary, is now in the city of Topeka; this Columbus M. Johnson, whose name is upon this circular, is in the employ of the Kansas Freedman's Relief Association, and has been from its organization to the present time; he told me that he had made several trips in the interest of this scheme, to locate these people in Kansas.

Q. Trips where?—A. To Tennessee, to incite them by personal persuasion, and by making representations that the facilities of Kansas were superior to those of the Southern States.

Q. That circular is signed also by colored men, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir; entirely.

Q. Have you any reason to suppose that they were gotten up by the relief board, or by persons connected with it, to induce these people to come to Kansas?—A. Not at all.

Q. They are simply invitations of colored people themselves that had tried Kansas, and were asking others to come?—A. That was a scheme gotten up by the negroes themselves to induce immigration.

Q. When was it gotten up?—A. It started, I believe, away back in '77.

I want to say that there is not one of these circulars issued by that board but will fully bear out my statement.

Q. Which circulars—what are some of them?—A. Mrs. Perry's for one, I will say.

Q. You are sure that that was issued by the board?—A. Yes, sir; I am certain of it.

Q. And paid for?—A. Yes.

Q. By whom?—A. By charitable people of the country.

Q. Have you that circular?—A. Yes, sir; here it is:

KANSAS AS THE UTOPIA.

BY MRS. S. T. PERRY.

Kansas to the colored people of the South is what Utopia was to Sir Thomas More. Topeka is the capital of that Utopia, and the refugees are coming here in large numbers every week, full of bright anticipations and beautiful dreams for the near future. The barracks are crowded to overflowing all the time; the people being packed in, as some reporter said, like sardines in a box. They seem very happy, however, and it is evident that they firmly believe that the Lord has sent them up to the land of Canaan, and will give of it as He did the children of Israel after He released them from their bondage. But the children of Israel were forty years in the wilderness before they reached that goodly land, and it is to be feared that there must necessarily be much suffering among these poor pilgrims before they find the "milk and honey" they are looking for in such plenty in this new land to which they have come. At the present time there is much sickness among them, pneumonia being the prevailing disease, the results of exposure and change of climate. One convalescent who had been very sick, on our inquiries as to her health, said: "I reckon I'se some better, but I still feel quite chillified." Most of these refugees come with very little clothing, perhaps sufficient to keep them warm in their own climate, but too thin and light for our Northern States. Quantities of clothing and supplies are being sent here from all parts of this country and from England, but the demand exceeds the supply oftentimes. It is the duty of the visiting committee to call upon every applicant for relief, and find out what the necessities of the case are. The applicant is then given a ticket with the most needed kinds of clothing or provisions written upon it. The majority of these tickets, when presented at the relief rooms, are found to call for garments for a family numbering seven, eight, or ten, of all ages and sizes; consequently the shelves are very soon lightened of their load. Undergarments, of all sizes, are most needed.

It is the aim of the relief association to get these people in positions where they can be self-supporting, and to teach them how to take care of themselves. Two-thirds of the women who come here have been field hands, and know nothing whatever of house-work or sewing. We are hoping to soon get an industrial school started, so the girls can be taught how to make good house-servants and seamstresses. A number of the men have put up little cabins for themselves and their families, and are doing any kind of work they can get to do, while their wives take in "white folks' washing." Nearly all of them show a disposition to be self-sustaining. We called upon these new-comers in their cabins a few days ago, and found nearly all the women hard at work, washing, scrubbing, or mending. The babies were out sunning themselves in front of the doors, and the older children were in the colored school just started there, by a colored Oberlin graduate. The Baptist preacher had built himself a cabin, too, and used the front room for his church on Sundays. We found an old couple, between eighty and ninety years old, living under one of these cabins, right on the ground. They had a stove, a bed, and a bench, for furniture. It was a warm day, and as we went down the steps that led to this underground dwelling, we saw the old man sitting in the open door reading. He gave us a hearty welcome as we came in, and when asked what he was reading, he said, "I'se readin' the 'ciplina, missus,"—the discipline of the Baptist Church. "So you are a Baptist, uncle," I said, "and believe in going down under the water." "Dat bese de only way, missus." "But I am a Presbyterian, uncle; what will be done with me?" "I don't know nothing about dat, I'se a poor ignorant nigger, and can't argerfy with eddicated white folks, but I reckon the Lord will pull me through somehow. That bese a mighty powerful good book," he continued, handing me a copy of the Bible, which had been well read and well worn; "there's been a heap of comfort in it for my ole woman and me, and I reckon there's plenty more yet thar still for times to come."

"Haven't you any children?" I asked.

"Yes, missus, but the traders sold 'em all 'afore the war, and I don't know whar they bese now. 'Pears as if we'd meet 'em some whar afore long, but if we don't find 'em here, I reckon the Lord will bring us all together in hebben. Dat's what me and my ole woman pray every day, and de Lord is good for all de promises He makes His people. He's promised to answer prayer, and He won't break his word to old folks like us, no how."

We learned a lesson of faith in that little cabin that we shall never forget. We found this old colored man was renting this "dug-out" himself, and doing all sorts of odd jobs about the settlement to pay for it, so he would be independent of the relief fund and be self-supporting, but the visiting committee are going to have him and his wife removed to an upper room, where it will be drier and more comfortable for them, and give them something to do in payment for the rent, so he may still preserve his independence of character.

The WITNESS. Here is another of these circulars (producing); it is printed from the West Chester, Pa., Daily Republican.

Q. Who is the author of it?—A. It is written by some person who claims to have visited Topeka.

Q. Do you know that the board authorized the printing of that?—A. I know it was printed at the expense and by the direction of this Kansas relief board.

Q. Printed in a West Chester, Pa., paper, at the expense of the Kansas relief board?—A. I don't know anything about that, but the extract was printed; for Mr. Irwin, an editor in North Topeka, told me that it was brought by the secretary of the North Topeka Relief Association, and paid for out of the funds of the association.

Q. You know that to be a fact?—A. Yes, sir; I know that to be a fact.

Q. By the way, how do you know it to be a fact?—A. I know it to be a fact from the fact that Mr. Irwin printed it. This copy I obtained from his office; he himself stated that he received the manuscript from Mr. Watson, secretary of the association, and that he was paid for it. I will read the circular.

(Reading the circular.)

It is headed—

"THE EXODUS.

"A VISIT TO TOPEKA, KANSAS.—AN EXAMINATION OF THE WORKINGS OF THE KANSAS FREEDMEN'S RELIEF ASSOCIATION."

And it proceeds:

"The steady and increasing exodus of the colored race from the late slave States, although ridiculed by Democratic politicians and their newspaper organs, is an established fact to which they cannot shut their eyes, and which will in time have a disastrous effect on those sections thus bereft of their working population. The objective point of the fleeing refugees is Kansas, which holds to them the same position that the Promised Land did to the persecuted Israelites when endeavoring to escape from oppression and injustice, and when the freedman first learns that he is on Kansas soil he is filled with and manifests a joy and satisfaction which appear rather exaggerated to those who have lived where life and property were always secure and every man was permitted to indulge in his own views."

Here is a direct invitation to these negroes to come to Kansas, the promised land to them, and a warning that they must leave the South on account of the Democratic persecution, which is largely imaginative.

Q. You swear to that?—A. I am positive of it.

The circular then goes on to state that—

"Cars loaded with these unfortunate people are constantly arriving in the various cities of Kansas, and more particularly at Topeka, the State capital, which is considered headquarters. The destitute and pitiful appearance of these arrivals is painful to behold, but to their credit complaints are rarely heard, or regrets for the comfortable homes which many have left behind them, fleeing at night with what clothing and food they could hastily gather together, and pursuing their journey across the country in terror, lest their vindictive foes be lying in wait to shoot them down in cold blood, or rob them of the scanty pittance which they have brought to pay their way to the land of freedom."

Q. You think that would tend to bring the negroes there, do you?—A. Yes; it would have a tendency to open the purses of the charitable people of the country, and that would furnish the money to bring the negroes there.

Then it says:

"The details of the sufferings which many of them have experienced in their journey Kansasward are often of a harrowing nature, the aged and feeble dying by the wayside of fatigue, hunger, and exposure, some frozen to death and others maimed for life, but the survivors are still pressing forward and refusing tempting offers made by the agents of the Southern planters to return."

Q. And you think a statement like that induces the negroes to come to Kansas?—A. Well, that is the first part of the circular, and he don't read that.

Q. O, he is expected to pick out the parts that suit him!

The WITNESS. I will submit the rest of this circular and some others I have here that I would like to have go on the record, if the committee please; they all bear upon this exodus business.

(The circulars were directed to go in. They follow.)

(The circular partly quoted above goes on to say:)

"So great has been the influx to Topeka that the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association has been organized at that place, and with the co-operation of Governor St. John, to whom applications for assistance from all sides are daily presented, was established; a system of relief which is ably administered and which has done an incalculable amount of good in caring for these people on their arrival, and providing them with employment, or forwarding them to the colonies which have been established in various sections of the State.

"Frequent applications for men from Illinois, Iowa, Colorado, and Nebraska are constantly being received by the committee, who make up the details and procure transportation for them to their new homes.

"During a recent visit to Topeka a desire to examine into the workings of the association prompted a visit to their offices, which were found in the second story back room of an agricultural warehouse, where preparations were going rapidly forward for a removal to the new quarters in a more convenient and commodious building, which is about completed in a portion of the city nearer to the quarters occupied by the refugees.

"The new building which is built so as to answer for storage purposes, and also for the residence and offices of the committee in charge, was designed by an intelligent colored man by the name of John M. Brown, who was at one time sheriff of a county in Mississippi, but had to flee for his life, leaving his wife and children, who subsequently joined him North, but who have since died from diseases aggravated by exposure and fright. He now devotes all of his time to the alleviation of his race, and is looked up to by the colored people with reverence and respect.

"The work on the building has been principally performed by men taken from among the refugees, and the materials were donated in great part by the business men of Topeka, who realize the importance of the task undertaken by the committee. The warehouse was visited and was comparatively well stocked with boxes and barrels which had been sent by the generous, but which had not been yet unpacked in the confusion of getting into their new quarters. Several willing assistants were actively engaged, among them Wilmer Walton, a former Pennsylvanian and instructor of freedmen, who during his labors in Missouri was cruelly maltreated by the ex-rebels, beaten and threatened with hanging, but persisted in pursuing the path of duty laid before him, was finally permitted to live in peace until his removal to his present sphere of labor.

"Elizabeth L. Comstock, a Friend, residing in Michigan, leaving a comfortable home some three months ago, has taken up her residence in Topeka and devoted herself entirely to this cause. Friend Comstock is a lady somewhat past middle age, but acts and speaks with an energy which has exerted a remarkable influence in soliciting aid in this country and England where she is well known.

"With the charitable inclinations of a tender and generous heart, she combines the business ability and tact which is so necessary to the success of any organization, and it is needless to say that she commands the respect and confidence of all brought in contact with her. The desire of the association that the public should be informed of the actual condition of the freedmen led to a visit of inspection to the barracks, as their quarters are styled, where some two or three hundred men, women, and children were huddled into a series of one-story frame buildings, constructed of rough boards, stripped at the joints and divided into compartments, containing each about ten bunks or sleeping places. These bunks were in two tiers and around the room on three sides, the one stove that furnished heat and did the cooking for the thirty or forty occupants being situated near the center of the room. As they were in a crowded condition the bunks were well filled at night, a whole family of several persons frequently occupying a single one.

"Seated around the stove, in the majority of the compartments visited, were the women and children, clad in the garments which had been sent them; some of the former sewing and knitting, while others had their head between their hands—the picture of distress and discouragement.

"Sickness is common among them, and the doctor was going his daily rounds among the ailing at the time of our visit. In one barrack the corpse of a half-grown girl was lying in a bunk, where she had expired a short time before, while the living hovered around the stove, the little ones hushed by the dread companionship of death.

"A suitable hospital building was in the course of erection, where the sick will be cared for apart from the well, and this painful association of life and death will be avoided. The mortality has been considerable each week, but it is thought that the new accommodations, which have heretofore been impossible for want of means, will do much towards preserving health. Taking into consideration the difficulties under which the association has labored, the large number of refugees which have applied to them for help and want of means, the results accomplished have been encouraging and gratifying.

"It is estimated that ten thousand persons have been provided for since April last, and that that number will be increased tenfold during the coming season, so great proportions has the movement assumed. If this be the case the demands for pecuniary aid and contributions of clothing and food will be greatly increased and should meet with a hearty response from those who enjoy the comforts of home and political liberty in regions where the law has sufficient strength to protect the weak and helpless. Removed from the surroundings which have repressed his development, and thrown on his own responsibility, the colored man will be forced to make his way in the world on his own responsibility, and in coming generations, with the advantages of education and equal rights, will be in a position to cope fairly with the problem of existence."—West Chester (Pa.) Daily Republican.

The other circulars follow:

A LETTER OF GREAT INTEREST TO EMIGRANTS.

Being a citizen of Topeka, Kansas, and a member of the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association, also extensively known in the South, at a regular meeting of the executive board, held March 15, 1880, by a unanimous vote, I was instructed to proceed to Cairo, Illinois, and empowered to use such means as I may deem prudent and expedient to turn the tide of emigration from the South into other States than Kansas.

Not that Kansas is getting weary of well doing, but because it cannot reasonably be expected that Kansas is able to do all that must be done for our people, while other Northern States are willing to help bear the burden.

Those who have read letters from Governor St. John can see that Kansas has never raised any objections to our people coming into that State, since they have understood this exodus movement from the South is something of more than human character. Governor St. John has spoken for the State. Please turn to that letter of his to Mr. H. N. Rust, of Chicago, Illinois, and read what he says:

"Having in view solely that which is best for these poor people, you will pardon me if I suggest to you and through you to the philanthropic friends in your city, that, in my opinion, the great State of Illinois, that furnished to this country Abraham Lincoln, who issued the proclamation that set these people free, and Grant, at the head of the grand army that enforced it, could do no greater honor to herself and her martyred heroes, than to open wide her doors to these unfortunate refugees, and furnish homes for 50,000 of them, where they could earn their own living, instead of sending supplies to them to a State that is already overcrowded with them to such an extent as to render it almost impossible to secure labor for them, so that they may be self-supporting. I beg of you not to understand me as intimating that Kansas in any sense is complaining.

"Our people know what it is to struggle for freedom. We know its cost and shall never turn our backs upon any law-abiding human being who is willing to put forth an earnest effort to make an honest living. I only make these suggestions to the people of your State, for the benefit of the people. As you are, of course, aware that Kansas, being yet in her infancy, can absorb only a limited number of this unfortunate race, who depend upon their labor for support," &c. And at a meeting that was held in Chicago, Illinois, March 11, 1880, in the interest of our people, by Mrs. Elizabeth L. Comstock and others, another letter from Governor St. John was sent to Mrs. Comstock, in these words:

"If you can only induce the people of Illinois to form an organization through which employment can be obtained in Illinois for the poor blacks that are coming northward, you will have accomplished not only a good work, but will save a large expenditure of money that is now incurred in sending refugees from Kansas to other States. The colored people will gladly go to Illinois, if they are only made to understand that they will be fairly treated there."

At that same meeting a resolution was adopted inviting 50,000 colored people to settle in Illinois, and the executive committee was instructed to make such arrangement for receiving and distributing refugees in the State of Illinois.

Now, having a personal knowledge of the condition of our people, both in the South and in the State of Kansas, I concur with Governor

St. John and other friends of our people in saying that our people must go into other States where they can find employment. I do not mean those who are able to go to Kansas and purchase property. If a man has money enough he can go where he pleases, and do to suit himself; but those that are without means to take care of themselves after getting to Kansas.

Take my advice and go into other Northern States, where labor is more needful and wages are higher.

I do not say that our people should remain in the South, as some have stated without giving a single reason for it; while I know that all our people would rather live South, if they could only enjoy their civil and political rights, and acquire property and have legal protection.

All those going northward, wishing to find homes in any of the Northern States, may stop at Cairo, Ill., where they will be met by parties authorized by the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association, also by the executive committee of the organization at Chicago, Ill.

From Cairio more than 300 heads of families have found homes in different parts of Illinois and Iowa.

They are doing well, and more laborers are wanted.

I have had an interview with several of the emigrant agents in the South, and they agree with us in the change of the tide of this emigration as being for the good of the colored people themselves and the friends of Kansas.

We have hundreds of applications for laborers to come into Colorado, Nebraska, Iowa, Michigan, and Ohio. Those wishing to go into either of these States may stop at St. Louis, where arrangements will be made through which they can find homes, without having to lie over on expense to themselves.

Done in behalf of the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association.

For further information address me.

W. O. LYNCH,
Topeka, Kansas.

MARCH 25, 1880.

THE REFUGEES IN TOPEKA.

We have questioned hundreds of the exodites as to why they come, and nearly all of them tell us the same story: "We come because we wanted to be free." "Yes," we reply, "but you have been free ever since the war." "We know dat bery well, but twasn't the right kind ob free. Colored folks back thar haven't got no kind of a show. They hasn't got no law like white folks. If the white folks does anything to the colored folks we can't say nothing, 'cause if we does they'll kill us sure as you lib. We bese afeered to stay thar." There are a large number of widows among the refugees whose husbands were taken out of their homes in the night and were shot dead or hung upon some tree in sight of their own dwelling. "That's why I come," said my colored refugee washerwoman to me yesterday. "You see I done quit thar as soon as I could, 'cause I didn't know how soon my husband's turn would come to be dragged out of bed and shot down like a dog, too. I'd a heap rather lib back thar, 'cause its the country whar I was raised; but I tell you, missis, I'se afeerd to stay thar. They broke open my door one night, looking for somebody, and I never got no peace arter that. I tell my ole man, let's git out of dis and go to Kansas, and we come for sure." This woman told me of a little colored boy, who bragged to some other boys that his folks were all going to Kansas in a few days. That night the boy did not come home at all, and in the morning some of the neighbors found him hanging to a tree dead. Every day some such shocking incident as this just related is told to us.

It must be apparent to the minds of those who believe that the Lord rules, and that he will hear the cries of his oppressed people, that he it is who is leading them away from the land of bondage. The following words of Scripture are as applicable to them to-day as they were to the children of Israel thousands of years ago:

> And the children of Israel sighed because of the bondage, and God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob. And God looked upon the children of Israel, and God had respect unto them. * * * And the Lord said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry, by reason of their task-masters; for I know their sorrow, and I am come down to deliver them out of the land of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey.

At the present time the barracks located here are filled to overflowing, but though "strangers in a strange land," the people there seem very happy. "Cheerfulness" has been said to be "the bright weather of the heart," and the negro character has this element in a large degree—this element so essential to human happiness. Five hundred persons were drawing rations last week. A few days ago we saw six women getting dinner for as many families on one small cook-stove in one of the small apartments at the barracks. There was no contention among them; they were all laughing and joking together except one of them, who was evidently more religious than the rest; she was singing, in a wonderfully loud tone of voice, "I have been redeemed," &c.

The main idea of the relief association is to get these people into a condition of self-support, to have them learn the truth of the old Scotch proverb. "The gear that is given is never as sweet as the gear that is won." Notwithstanding the appellation so often applied to the colored race, "shiftless and good for nothing," we have found them quite the contrary. The majority of them are anxious to get work, and show a disposition to be independent of the relief fund. Hundreds of men have found situations among the farmers, and a large number have gone to work in the coal mines in different localities. Last week we fitted out a company of fifty young men for the mines near Trinidad. We gave each of them a blanket, shoes, and what second-hand clothing they were in need of. They went off in the best of spirits, promising to write us and let us know how they got along in their new home. Some of the colored refugees brought a little money with them and built themselves little cabins to live in. The women are taking in washing, and the men are doing any kind of work they can find to do. At the present time, however, there are a great many sick ones among them, pneumonia being the prevailing disease; the exposure consequent upon their journey, their insufficient clothing, and change of climate, being adequate causes for this disease. Very few people have any correct idea of the amount of work that is being accomplished here by the relief association and its devoted, efficient helpers. As the children of Israel were a long time getting through the wilderness before they got into the land of Canaan, so these poor pilgrims will have many weary miles to travel, suffering and privations to contend with, and many disappointments and discouragements to encounter, before they can get the "milk and honey" so long promised.

S. T. P.

EMPLOYMENT BUREAU,
KANSAS FREEDMEN'S RELIEF ASSOCIATION,
North Topeka, Kansas, ——, 18—.

DEAR SIR: This office has hundreds of applications for colored laborers and offers of homes for boys and girls and women, to which we cannot respond as desired because they are not put in practical shape. Nineteen out of twenty call for "a man and wife without children," or a "boy" or "girl" or a "single woman." Few families that come to us are without children, and it is not right to let them lie here in the barracks till the children all die, nor can we send the parents and keep the children. But while we feel that it would be wise and best for them to accept kind offers made of homes for children and women with Christian people who desire to do them good, yet it is impossible for us to find boys and girls or women willing to go alone among strangers. In the cursed bondage of the past the breaking up of families was the most bitter trial of their hard lot, and now they shrink from anything that looks like separation. Put yourselves in their place. Remember that they cannot read or write; that communication by mail is practically denied them; that they have been robbed all their lives of all those things wherein you are different from them; that family attachments constitute their *worldly all*, and you would shrink from the dangers, undefined and imaginary in fact, but just as real to their ignorance, that lie in going away from each other. We are anxious to find homes and employment for these unfortunate ones who have come to us unsolicited, but, in the hope of escaping the evils of their lot in the old slave States, have been drawn here by the magic name of Free Kansas, and the questionable methods of land agents and transportation companies, and reach us in poverty and want. But their greatest want is a chance; and we desire the co-operation of all friends of humanity in scattering these people to homes all through our State. Our pecuniary interest demands that we aid these people to become self-supporting as soon as possible. Our experience has taught us that to make them contented and profitable as laborers we must adopt so much of their old plantation system as will give them a home by themselves close by that of their employer. This plan offers great relief to our overworked farmers' wives, taking the labor of caring for the hired help out of the farm house and placing a woman at their doors ready to do the washing and ironing and hard jobs in the house. It removes the objection to the children, who must be provided for, and offers the employer in providing home, fuel, provisions, &c., for the family from his farm, an easy way of paying quite a portion of their wages.

With just treatment and kind usage these people will be happy and contented, and will, by their labor, add rapidly to the wealth and development of our State. So scattered, family by family, to the extent of 10 per cent. of our population, which would absorb more than are likely to come, they will never be felt as a disturbing element in the social or business life of our people. We can send them out comfortably clad and fairly well off for bedding, but our treasury will not allow us to pay railroad fare; and our plan is for parties applying to send us the money to pay the fare, and deduct it from wages as earned; that the debt be as small as possible on them, it is best for those who will employ this help to obtain the same as near home as it can be found. At Emporia, at Parsons, at Fort Scott, at Columbus, at Kansas City and other points there are many colored people who ought to be out on farms as well as here in Topeka. Those in other States that can be reached easier and cheaper from Saint Louis and Cairo should apply there, for it is very hard to induce any to leave Kansas.

It is but just to those in whose interest this association is at work, that parties who apply for this labor send us assurances that they are proper persons to intrust them to, and we urge all their employers to bear in mind that they owe to those unfortunates an effort to teach and elevate them; to give them opportunities, as far as possible, for mental, moral, and religious culture. By giving us these assurances and asking for such families as we can send, and sending us the means to pay R. R. fare, we will do the best we can to send you such help as will please you. As a rule, almost without exception, the numerous families sent out are giving unexpected satisfaction.

Very respectfully,

LAURA S. HAVILAND,
Secretary.

THE HEGIRA OF THE NEGRO.

By Hon. M. W. Reynolds, *Parsons, Kans.*

The year 1879 has been an eventful one in the history of an entire race on this continent. That it has brought them blessings innumerable or woes unnumbered the future alone can determine. Whether for weal or woe, it is destiny not of their own seeking. They have not been driven madly, wildly, on by the cruel hand of fate, but circumstances rather over which they have had no control have forced them from "home and all its pleasures," if it be not a mockery to call such surroundings as the fiendish bulldozer furnishes "the pleasures of home."

With the early opening of the spring the first wave of emigration from the South began to flow north-land. It was unusual, contrary to the history of the migration of all peoples, and came unannounced and unheralded. It was like the swelling tide of the ocean that had been stirred by the storm king miles and miles out upon its heaving surface, and each refluent wave of this mighty stream of immigration rises higher than the preceding one, threatening to overflow all this Northern country. The Southern exodus has only begun. The great migratory movement has been preparing for fifteen years. In the lonely cabin by the "moonbeam's misty light," with no sign in the heavens but the friendly north star as a watch and beacon to guide to a land of freedom, or real liberty and love and respect for law; in the rudely constructed church, with sentinels placed on guard to give warning of the approach of the fiendish bulldozers; in secret clubs and the dark hours of the night the great change has been talked over. For years the Southern colored man has felt that "he must go." There was neither bread for his family, hope for his children, or protection for himself, such as the meanest slave received in the darkest hours of brutal serfdom. Liberty had become a mockery; emancipation a curse, a crime; freedom a delusion and a snare. And when, in 1877, the black man's friends at the South were stricken down, troops for the protection of white and black alike withdrawn at the insolent importuning of black-hearted traitors, boldly declaring they would gain in cabinet and council what they had lost in the field, and governors of States duly elected, and by majorities that left no question of their choice, were banished and the machinery of State governments turned over to the representatives chosen by the bulldozer and the tissue ballot, the heart of the loyal Republican of the South sunk within him. It mattered not that his labor had made the South bloom with fertility and its chosen places transformed to beauty with the airy-winged blossoms of the cotton field. He had few ancestral ties to bind him. The wild Indian of the plains will fight to save his children, the homes and graves of his ancestors. Slavery was not conducive to the growth of rude but generous sentimentalities of this nature. It had but little regard for the sanctity of family ties and social relations. And so, when the black man saw himself abandoned by the representatives of the party that he would willingly give his life for, he knew that his time had fully come, and that he must "go."

Do you seek for the philosophy of this movement? There ought to be some excuse for such a simultaneous, wide-spread movement and migration of such a quiet, non-migratory people as the negroes are. Did any people ever migrate from the homes and graves of their ancestors without some impelling motive?

The tawny devotee of the sun comes not to the cold and cheerless North of his own choosing. Ambition does not impel him; wealth does not allure him. The land of magnolia certainly has greater charms for him than ice crops and fields of snow. His ancestors for nearly two hundred years have lived in a land much better adapted to his tastes and more suited to his disposition. Singular, is it not, that while slavery with its majestic crimes and monster iniquities could not drive the negro from the sun-land of the South—in the days of freedom, the miserable mockery of its name is driving him steadily, sadly, solidly, in the direction of the north star?

What is the cause? If it be politics, if the object be to secure colored votes in strong Republican States, the evidence ought to be forthcoming. Some letter from some responsible person ought to be shown, advising this movement. Some editorial from some Northern person favoring the migration ought to be shown and republished. The Western papers teem with productions urging the migration of people from every land to these broad and blossoming plains of the West, blooming with fertility and productiveness. But I do not call to mind one that has urged a negro exodus. The ambitious and ubiquitous real-estate agent, the voluble vender of silica and sand, not yet made indictable by statute or placed quite as high in the ranks of perigrinating dead-beats as the lightning-rod peddler, the book-agent, and the well-drive fraud, has deceived the Dutch, defrauded the Danes, inveigled the Irish, enticed the English, allured the Austrian, fooled the French, and cheated the very elect by his misrepresentations, but he has not stretched his hand to Ethiopia. He has not seduced Dinah into coming to Kansas. Why are Groat and Schmidt in Europe if the railroads of Kansas simply want persons on their lands irrespective of color? Cannot the melodious voices of our real-estate friends be tuned to chanting pæans of praise to productive Kansas in the responsive and receptive ear of our colored brother, if the land grant railroads are at the bottom of this negro hegira? Why are not Groat and Schmidt waltzing with wenches in the South, and singing like Sankey in 99, at colored camp-meetings, instead of wining and féting the facile Frenchman and the lager-loving German, to induce him to leave his vine-clad hills and purple skies to come to the great Arkansas Valley and the greater valley of the Kaw, over the "Banana Line" and the "Golden Belt Route." What carrotty-headed fanatics they must be who can see in this great, extraordinary, and unusual movement of the colored people from the South only an attempt of politicians to make Kansas, with its 75,000 majority for Grant already assured, a Republican State, while it takes from the

South the only element that can ever make the South Republican! When the colored man had a voice at the polls, the South was loyal and Republican. When he was bulldozed and suppressed, the South became again refractory, revolutionary, devilish, Democratic. We don't need the colored man to make the loyal North Republican. He is needed in the South, not only to promote its economies and develop its industries, but to preserve the semblance of loyalty and liberty. In the meanwhile we shall have to conquer our prejudices, if there be any left who have them, and give the South what they most fear and hate—another dose of Grantism, that a recognition of American citizenship and its property and personal rights under the law may be rendered possible in one and all sections of the country alike.

Is it a wonder that the movement is nearly simultaneous, that it is anamolous, that it has no parallel in history, that it seemingly is without philosophy, object, or purpose? It matters not how unphilosophical it may seem, this great and unusual migratory movement is upon us. It is a fact, in respects not a few, an unwelcome fact, but a fact nevertheless that must be met, and that it would be cowardly to ignore. The colored brother has come in great numbers. The colored people are gregarious. They move in squads, in companies, battalions, in regiments. About 1,000 have landed at Parsons from Grimes County, Texas, within the last three weeks. Many have gone on to Fort Scott, to Chanute, Emporia, and other places. Many have gone into the country. Still many remain. Grimes County alone will send 2,000 before April next. Those who have come thus far are generally well clad, and a majority have a little means. They are nearly all field-hands, with some mechanics, smiths, carpenters, &c., among them. They want to lease lands, and some are prepared and expect to buy small tracts.

Why have they come, and what are we, the people of Kansas, going to do about it? I have interviewed a great many exodists. There is but one voice among them. "You ask me why I come to Kansas. I will tell you. The laws in the South in letter and spirit are against us. Society is organized against us. We cannot live there with any degree of safety. Such a thing as free expression of opinion and freedom of the ballot is unknown and debarred us. In our consultations at our churches concerning our rights and interests, we never think of meeting without darkened windows and placing sentinels on guard to warn us of danger. The white folks charge us with meeting to devise some mischief against them, and in protection to themselves, as they pretend, they are determined that these meetings shall be broken up. Thus advised and counseled by the best of the white men, it is an easy matter for the young bloods to become night-riders and bulldozers. Nothing delights the young element better. Supported by the sympathy of the better class, as the bulldozer and night-rider is, and protected and shielded more or less by the laws, the outrages come as a matter of course. We are powerless to resist. The arms, organization, discipline, wealth, leisure to prosecute their deviltry, are in the hands of our white foes. The strong arm of the law, that ought to protect the weak and defenseless, grapples with us at every turn. For cotton lands that sell at $10 per acre, we have to pay $6 per acre rent. Our landlord markets the cotton, weighs it, and gives us what he chooses for our share. Many of our people cannot read or count money in paper currency, and in paying the small pittance due us we are cheated out of the little that belongs to us. Our young men are arrested upon the most trivial, trumped-up charges and fined from $5 to $25. This has to be worked out at 25 cents per day, and the result is that the prisons and the poor-farms are filled with our young men. Our lot in slavery was hard enough, but the outlook for our children is far worse. Justice before the courts is a mockery. I have never known a white man in the South to be hung for killing a negro, nor a colored man to escape conviction of such a crime. Many of us who have emigrated from Grimes County had some property there. On property worth a thousand dollars we have had to pay as high taxes as white men who own $30,000 worth. We have come to Kansas because we have heard that all men are protected in their property and their rights. We have come to work. We do not desire to live in towns. Most of us are field-hands and are used to hard labor. We are determined to get away from the bloodhounds and the shot-guns."

The above is the substance and nearly the language of a score or more of these exodists, as they have related it to me.

What are we going to do about it? They are here not of our seeking, nor on invitation, except as Kansas from the first hour of its birth in the tumult and travail of blood, in the first wild, passionate cry of freedom, sent an all-hail and welcome to the oppressed everywhere to come and make these prairies, consecrated in a baptism of fire, "the homestead of the free." We have invited all, specially inviting none, excluding none. No agent of the State, no representative of any party, has urged or invited these people here. They are not needed for political purposes in Kansas. But they are coming all the same. They cannot be stopped. The only way to stop the perpetual, resistless flow of immigration to these plains is to burn our agricultural reports and pray for the second coming of our old-time frisky friends, the grasshoppers, in clouds of impenetrable magnitude and continuous visitation. This hegira of the negro can only be stopped by submission to and acknowledgment of the logical results of the war. Otherwise it will continue and increase in volume and strength. When the old colored man came to the governor of the State with his pitiful story of outrage and wrong, and the governor, to test his fidelity and determination, gave him such counsel and advice as any good and smart Northern Democrat would, suggested that the climate was better suited to him in the South, that the labor market was overstocked, that he would find it difficult to get work here, that he would try and assist him in getting free transportation back, with tears streaming down his old black face, and in agony of soul, he said, "Foah God, massa, you can shoot me down in dese heretrack, but to return to the South *I never will.*" And when the colored man from Mississippi, with an economy and thrift that ought to shame the persecutors of the black man, came to Topeka and built a little shanty and returned for his family, and the chivalrous barbarian bulldozers rode around and seized him, and chopping off his hands threw them back in the poor man's lap, exclaiming, "There, d—n you take them back to bleeding Kansas with you," the spirit of the colored exodist determined not to remain. The body of the dead victim of Southern barbarity only remains in the land of the cape-jessamine, the myrtle, and the magnolia. The North is powerless to stop this exodus. The South alone can do it. Let the South treat the black man as every man, black and white, is treated at the North, and the colored man will stay in the South.

The remedy is simple. The greatest and most implacable diseases are frequently cured by the simplest remedies. One thing is certain: the South must make up its mind to treat the colored man with at least homœopathic doses of kindness and fair treatment, or it may expect an allopathic dose of Grantism, which means that the rebel yell of '60 is to be met with the shout and refrain of a loyal united North that *there shall be an enforcement of equal rights.* Is not this fair? Is it asking too much? Do not the civilization and Christianity of the nineteenth century demand it?

Great ignorance, in part willful and maliciously mean, and in part innocent and harmful, is shown in connection with the Negro Hegira. The exodists are blamed for coming at this unseasonable part of the year. In the dead of winter labor is short, and shelter almost impossible to secure in country or town. Great suffering must almost inevitably ensue. It is unfortunate that the colored people could not have delayed their coming until spring, if they were to come at all. But it should be remembered that they are obliged to make their contracts at Christmas for the year. If they lease land and contract leases at all for the year they must lease for the entire year. They must either come now or contract for the year.

Every effort should be made to diffuse and scatter this immigration as much as possible. The Southern exodists, especially the Texas exodists, fortunately, have no desire to bunch in towns. They come from fields and farms, and prefer country life. They must be aided and advised to seek homes in the country. The rich and rapidly developing counties in the west and southwest of us can easily work up and absorb several thousand. The flourishing cities of Winfield, Wellington, Arkansas City, Eldorado, Wichita, and others, might be more or less generously supplied with these people than the cities in the eastern part of the State. Not less than 1,500 are now on the way from Central Texas in wagons and by cars. Parsons is naturally the objective point of all coming from Texas by rail. But all of course cannot be provided for here. It is, however, unquestionably the duty of our citizens, and the people of the North everywhere to treat this question in a manly, courageous spirit. Every good citizen should consider and reflect and act with generosity and prudence rather than rave and curse in impotence and despair.

THE EXODUS.

It is upon us, whether we desire it or not.—An interesting and pathetic letter from Elizabeth L. Comstock.—A matter to which the attention of Congressmen is earnestly called.—It is a fact not to be gainsaid.

Let people reason or philosophize as they please as to the propriety or impropriety of the exodus of the colored people from the Southern States, it is a fixed fact that cannot be gainsaid. They are coming in large and increasing numbers. Even if the people desire to do so, they have no power to restrict the right of free emigration. The question ceases to be a question of political economy, and becomes one of humanity. Starving, freezing, and in most cases penniless, they appeal to all people with warm blood in their veins with a force irresistible. Having been the victims of a long oppression, supporting and enriching by their labor a great section of the country, they now ask the privilege of a little land to be worked for their own benefit. They have strong arms and willing hands, and are ready to do their share toward making the untilled soil of the Great West bloom and blossom as a garden. The man or woman who can read the following letter from Mrs. Comstock, who, with the earnestness of a philanthropist and the devotion of a Christian, is laboring among these poor people, without a desire to do something to aid in the work of relief, is not to be envied:

MRS. COMSTOCK'S LETTER.

WM. PENN NIXON:

ESTEEMED FRIEND: Thy letter of the 31st ult. to hand to-day. Accept our grateful thanks for the remittance of $174.25 for the colored refugees, and extend the same to the kind donors. Tell them that their gifts are greatly needed, highly appreciated, and most gratefully received by the poor, suffering, shivering, starving multitudes who have sought refuge here from the cruelty and oppression of the South. Notwithstanding the cold weather the emigration continues—a steady stream. I have been here now four months, trying in some degree to alleviate their sufferings and satisfy their wants. I have conversed with hundreds of them, and, in reply to my question, "Why did you come?" the answers are all alike. The same story from hundreds and thousands; the cruelty and oppression; laws different for black and white; liberty, property, and lives not safe; not protected by law; no white man ever punished for wronging, cheating, mutilating, or killing a colored man; no colored man ever escaped the utmost severity of the law for the slightest offense against the white race; no liberty to vote as they wish.

AND STILL THEY COME.

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, 600 came last week, 100 last night, and 900 families, we hear, are now on the way from Mississippi. The exodus is assuming such gigantic proportions now that we have felt the urgent need to claim the co-operation of the Northern and Western States, and have sent an appeal to the governors of Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, and Ohio to aid us. We have invited them to organize freedmen's relief associations in every State and every county for such co-operation, to ascertain how many families of refugees they can find homes and employment for, and assist us in locating them.

AN INSULT FROM THE GOVERNOR OF INDIANA.

The governor of Indiana has replied to me in the most uncourteous manner, charging us with enticing the colored people from their Southern homes, and declaring that "this is a political scheme." We greatly hope and quite anticipate that the governors of the other States will co-operate with us, and turn the rapidly increasing stream into other channels.

Thou wilt greatly oblige me by making two points clear to the public through the columns of the Inter Ocean:

1. That we are still in *urgent need of lumber*.
2. That Congress is holding in bond for duties a large quantity of warm blankets, overcoats, shoes, and other necessaries of life that I have begged from my English friends for these poor refugees! It is a blot on the page of our history, a shame and disgrace to a civilized community, that 50,000 pounds weight of supplies are thus held for duties and customs, while the poor people to whom they were given by the benevolent abroad are freezing and dying for want of them.

What will foreign nations think and say of our "glorious republic" that is too weak to protect the liberty, property, and lives of its poor subjects, and yet stretches out a grasping hand to seize nearly half of what the charity of a foreign land has bestowed.

Our Representative, Thomas Ryan, introduced a bill into Washington for the release of these goods duty free. Fernando Wood and the

"Speaker" sent it into the "Committee of Ways and Means," where it remains, and has done for many weeks. I wish you would send a bombshell into the Capitol that would make Fernando Wood tremble, and shake the Speaker in his chair, and loosen the bolts and bars of the custom-house and free the gifts of our English friends.

Some years ago, when the Irish famine aroused the sympathy of this land for the hungry, famished people there, and when ship-loads of grain were sent as gifts from the benevolent in this country, England did not lock them up in her custom-houses, nor take one-half for the Queen's government. Thy friend, respectfully,

ELIZABETH L. COMSTOCK.

A NOBLE RESPONSE.

WAUKON, *Allamakee County, Iowa, February* 2.

To the Editor of the Inter Ocean:

Inclosed you will find post-office orders of $60, for the relief of the colored refugees in Kansas. My father, John Vile, sends $25; my mother, Mary Vile, $10; and myself, $25. I would hire a single man to work on the farm if he would come so far north and the expense was not too much. I think the fare from Saint Louis to Waukon would be less than from Topeka. If a few of them should come up here, say two or three, I would do what I could to get them situations. I hope that a goodly number of them will get away from the cruel South, and find homes in Kansas or elsewhere where they would be treated as they should be. Would like to correspond with some one in Kansas with regard to hiring a hand to work. Have subscribed for the Inter Ocean for the fifth year, and think it the best paper.

JAMES VILE.

The Inter Ocean acknowledges the following receipts of money since its last report:

Jan. 31.—Mrs. Bell, Hyde Park	$2 50
Jan. 31.—Mrs. C. E. Whitman and daughter, Evanston, Ill	1 00
Jan. 31.—"Friend," Dover, Ill	5 00
Feb. 4.—Ichabod Warner, Libertyville, Ill	5 00
Feb. 5.—Mrs. Winski, Waukegan, Ill.	1 00
Feb. 6.—John Vile, Waukon, Iowa	25 00
Feb. 6.—Mary Vile, Waukon, Iowa	10 00
Feb. 6.—James Vile, Waukon, Iowa	25 00
Feb. 6.—Congregational Church, Wataga, Ill	8 00
Feb. 6.—Lady, Chicago	5 00
Total	87 50

A MEETING CALLED.

The committee appointed to complete the organization of a Freedmen's Relief Association has called a meeting for the purpose of doing so, at parlor 1, Grand Pacific Hotel, on Monday afternoon at 3 o'clock. They earnestly invite all that can to be there.

The WITNESS. Now, there has been an attempt to make a difference in the matter of the personal and official relation of Mrs. Comstock to this movement and to this board—to disconnect her entirely from any relation to the board. Now, Mrs. Comstock is an advisory member of the board. I myself have seen her present, and if they have no knowledge of her doings, they are certainly to blame for not attending to their duties.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. You mentioned Mr. Jennings as a member of this board?—A. Well, he has been employed in it, or connected with it in some service.

Q. In point of fact I am informed he was not a member of the board at all, and I thought I would call your attention to it.—A. I mean to say emphatically that he was a member of the executive board of that relief committee, under the State organization. I am informed that Mr. Jennings and Mr. McFarland and our county treasurer, who was elected last fall, were active in the organization.

TESTIMONY OF BENJAMIN SINGLETON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 17, 1880.

BENJAMIN SINGLETON (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Where were you born, Mr. Singleton?—Answer. I was born in the State of Tennessee, sir.

Q. Where do you now live?—A. In Kansas.

Q. What part of Kansas?—A. I have a colony sixty miles from Topeka, sir.

Q. Which way from Topeka—west?—A. Yes, sir; sixty miles from Topeka west.

Q. What is your colony called?—A. Singleton colony is the name of it, sir.

Q. How long has it been since you have formed that colony?—A. I have two colonies in Kansas—one in Cherokee County, and one in Lyon, Morris County.

Q. When did you commence the formation of that colony—the first one?—A. It was in 1875, perhaps.

Q. That is, you first began this colonizing business in 1875?—A. No; when I first commenced working at this it was in 1869.

Q. You commenced your colony, then, in 1869?—A. No, I commenced getting the emigration up in 1875; I think it was in 1875.

Q. When did you leave Tennessee, Mr. Singleton?—A. This last time; do you mean?

Q. No; when you moved from there to Kansas?—A. It has been a year this month just about now.

Q. You misunderstand me; you say you were born in Tennessee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you now live in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did you change your home from Tennessee to Kansas?—A. I have been going there for the last six or seven years, sir.

Q. Going between Tennessee and Kansas, at different times?—A. Yes, sir; several times.

Q. Well, tell us about it?—A. I have been fetching out people; I believe I fetched out 7,432 people.

Q. You have brought out 7,432 people from the South to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; brought and sent.

Q. That is, they came out to Kansas under your influence?—A. Yes, sir; I was the cause of it.

Q. How long have you been doing that—ever since 1869?—A. Yes, sir; ever since 1869.

Q. Did you go out there yourself in 1869, before you commenced sending them out?—A. No, sir.

Q. How did you happen to send them out?—A. The first cause, do you mean, of them going?

Q. Yes; What was the cause of your going out, and in the first place how did you happen to go there, or to send these people there?—A. Well, my people, for the want of land—we needed land for our children—and their disadvantages—that caused my heart to grieve and sorrow; pity for my race, sir, that was coming down, instead of going up—that caused me to go to work for them. I sent out there perhaps in '66—perhaps so; or in '65, any way—my memory don't recollect which; and they brought back tolerable favorable reports; then I jacked up three or four hundred, and went into Southern Kansas, and found it was a good country, and I thought Southern Kansas was congenial to our nature, sir; and I formed a colony there, and bought about a thousand acres of ground—the colony did—my people.

Q. And they went upon it and settled there?—A. Yes, sir; they went and settled there.

Q. Were they men with some means or without means?—A. I never carried none there without means.

Q. They had some means to start with?—A. Yes; I prohibited my people leaving their country and going there without they had money—some money to start with and go on with a while.

Q. You were in favor of their going there if they had some means?—A. Yes, and not staying at home.

Q. Tell us how these people are getting on in Kansas?—A. I am glad to tell you, sir.

Q. Have they any property now?—A. Yes; I have carried some people in there that when they got there they didn't have fifty cents left, and now they have got in my colony—Singleton colony—a house, nice cabins, their milch cows, and pigs, and sheep, perhaps a span of horses, and trees before their yards, and some three or four or ten acres broken up, and all of them has got little houses that I carried there. They didn't go under no relief assistance; they went on their own resources; and when they went in there first the country was not overrun with them; you see they could get good wages; the country was not overstocked with people; they went to work, and I never helped them as soon as I put them on the land.

Q. Well, they have been coming continually, and adding from time to time to your colony these few years past, have they?—A. Yes, sir; I have spent, perhaps, nearly six hundred dollars flooding the country with circulars.

Q. You have sent the circulars yourself, have you?—A. Yes, sir; all over these United States.

Q. Did you send them into other Southern States besides Tennessee?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. Did you do that at the instance of Governor St. John and others in Kansas?—A. O, no, sir; no white men. This was gotten up by colored men in purity and confidence; not a political negro was in it; they would want to pilfer and rob at the cents before they got the dollars. O, no, it was the muscle of the arm, the men that worked that we wanted.

Q. Well, tell us all about it.—A. These men would tell all their grievances to me in Tennesee—the sorrows of their heart. You know I was an undertaker there in Nashville, and worked in the shop. Well, actually, I would have to go and bury their fathers and mothers. You see we have the same heart and feelings as any other race and nation. (The land is free, and it is nobody's business, if there is land enough, where the people go. *I* put that in my people's heads.) Well, that man would die, and I would bury him; and the next morning maybe a woman would go to that man (meaning the landlord), and she would have six or seven children, and he would say to her, "Well, your husband owed me before he died;" and they would say that to every last one of them, "You owe me." Suppose he would? Then he would say, "You must go to some other place; I cannot take care of you." Now, you see, that is something I would take notice of. That woman had to go out, and these little children was left running through the streets, and the next place you would find them in a disorderly house, and their children in the State's prison.

Well, now, sir, you will find that I have a charter here. You will find that I called on the white people in Tennessee about that time. I called conventions about it, and they sot with me in my conventions, and "Old man," they said, "you are right." The white people said, "You are right; take your people away." And let me tell you, it was the white people—the ex-governor of the State, felt like I did. And they said to me, "You have tooken a great deal on to yourself, but if these negroes, instead of deceiving one an other and running for office, would take the same idea that you have in your head, you will be a people."

I then went out to Kansas, and advised them all to go to Kansas; and, sir, they are going to leave the Southern country. The Southern country is out of joint. The blood of a white man runs through my veins. That is congenial, you know, to my nature. That is my choice. Right emphatically, I tell you to-day, I woke up the millions right through me! The great God of glory has worked in me. I have had open air interviews with the living spirit of God for my people; and we are going to leave the South. We are going to leave it if there ain't an alteration and signs of a change. I am going to advise the people who left that country (Kansas) to go back.

Q. What do you mean by a change?—A. Well, I am not going to stand bulldozing and half pay and all those things. Gentlemen, allow me to tell you the truth; it seems to me that they have picked out the negroes from the Southern country to come here and testify who are in good circumstances and own their homes, and not the poor ones who don't study their own interests. Let them go and pick up the men that has to walk when they goes, and not those who have money.

There is good white men in the Southern country, but it ain't the minority (majority); they can't do nothing; the bulldozers has got possession of the country, and they have got to go in there and stop them; if they don't the last colored man will leave them. I see colored men testifying to a positive lie, for they told me out there all their interests were in Louisiana and Mississippi. Said I, "You are right to protect you own country;" and they would tell me "I am obliged to do what I am doing." Of course I have done the same, but I am clear footed.

Q. Now you say that during these years you have been getting up this colony you have spent, yourself, some six hundred dollars in circulars, and in sending them out; where did you send them, Mr. Singleton?—A. Into Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, Texas, Tennessee, and all those countries.

Q. To whom did you send them; how were they circulated?—A. Every man that would come into my country, and I could get a chance, I would put one in his hand, and the boys that started from my country on the boats, and the porters on the cars. That is the way I circulated them.

Q. Did you send any out by mail?—A. I think I sent some perhaps to North Carolina by mail—I think I did. I sent them out by people, you see.

Q. Yes; by colored people, generally?—A. Some white people, too. There was Mrs. Governor Brown, the first Governor Brown of Tennessee—Mrs. Sanders, she was a widow, and she married the governor. He had thirty on his place. I went to him, and he has given me advice. And Ex-Governor Brown, he is there too.

Q. You say your circulars were sent all over these States?—A. Yes, sir; to all of 'em.

Q Did you ever hear from them; did anybody ever write to you about them?—A. O, yes.

Q. And you attribute this movement to the information you gave in your circulars?—A. Yes, sir; *I am the whole cause of the Kansas immigration!*

Q. You take all that responsibility on yourself?—A. I do, and I can prove it; and I think I have done a good deal of good, and I feel relieved!

Q. You are proud of your work?—A. Yes, sir; I am! (Uttered emphatically.)

Q. Well, now, some of those people that go there suffer a great deal; what have you to say about that?—A. I tell you how it is. I speak plainly. It is "root hog, or die." I tell the truth. Kansas is not a warm climate.

Q. Do you think that your people suffer more from the climate there than they do at home?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you talked with the people that have gone there lately as to the reason for their going?—A. Yes.

Q. What reasons did they give?—A. They say they have been badly treated in their countries. I speak for my country—Tennessee.

Q. In what way did they say they were badly treated?—A. Bulldozed, you call it; bulldozed, I suppose.

Q. In what way?—A. Well, they say they have been cheated and defrauded, and I know for myself, in my county—I better talk about what I know, when there is so much hearsay—our people in times of their little social gatherings at nights—quilting, perhaps, and weddings, throughout the country, you will see a dirty, low-lived, trashy man out in the town, and he will send some weak-minded one there to tell some colored man's daughter or wife he loves to come out, he wants a word with them. He will stop along the road and have some talk with them, and then that poor black man daren't say nothing; or there will go to his house, a lot of them scoundrels—I am not talking of Democrats only—a lot of scoundrels will go in there and take that negro out and kill him. I know lots of folks they took out. Julia Haven; I made the outside box and her coffin, in Smith County, Tennessee. And another young colored lady I knew, about my color, they committed an outrage on her and then shot her, and I helped myself to make the outside box. And other cases I could tell you. I did see a white man tied down and drowned in the river by these scoundrels, and he was carried to Dick Somers' shop in Cherry street, Nashville. But I have a thousand hearsays, that I don't care to talk about—not much.

Q. Well, have any of your people got employment that came in large crowds from Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana?—A. The greater part of them have.

Q. Are they disposed to work?—A. Yes, sir. Let me tell you somethink about that, and you will agree with me. Now listen; these people that comes from these large farms have been used to—and I am sorry for that habit—living where there was a hundred or two hundred of them, where they can sing and go on, you know, and amuse themselves after the day's labor. Now when a gentleman comes in Kansas and says "I want a good man or woman,"—I have heard them testify that they came in and told these miraculous tales, when it was not so—they went out there and got lonesome. They are just like a hog that is used to a drove, take him out and he is a crazy hog; and they became just lonely, that is all; the people treated them well, and they got good prices, and they slept in the same house and the same room that these white people slept in, but they got lonely and wanted to be where their own people were, and I know that to be the facts; but they came rushing in very fast. Now I see where some of them said from eighty to a hundred thousand was coming. I am the very man that predicted that. It was me published it. I thought in eighteen months there would be from eighty thousand to one hundred thousand leaving the South. It was me done it; I published it; they say other folks did it. No, Governor St. John or other folks, they did not do it, it was me; *I* did it.

Q. Well, what do you think of it now?—A. I think it will come; it is sure to come.

Q. Is there any way to stop it?—A. No way, sir, on God's earth to stop it.

Q. Suppose the white people where they come from were to treat them well, give them their rights as American citizens, and give them what they earn, would not that stop the exodus?—A. Allow me to say to you that confidence is perished and faded away; they have been lied to every year. Every year when they have been going to work the crops, they have said, "I will do what is right to you," and just as soon as that man sees everything blooming and flourishing in the flowers and cotton blooms, he will look at that negro who has been his slave, and when he sees him walk up to take his half of the crop it is too much for him to stand, and he just denies his word, he denies his contract; and we will leave that country, and they will leave, till these people actually refrains from this way of treatment, and gives the negro the right hand of fellowship and acknowledges their wrongs, and then we have got no wrongs to acknowledge. My plan is for them to leave the country, and learn the South a lesson; and the whole of America—this Union—will have a lesson when cotton is from forty to fifty cents a pound, and you can't get it at that.

We don't want to leave the South, and just as soon as we have confidence in the South I am going to be an instrument in the hands of God to persuade every man to go back, because that is the best country; that is genial to our nature; we love that country, and it is the best country in the world for us; but we are going to learn the South a lesson. I have talked about this, and called a convention, and tried to harmonize things and promote the spirit of conciliation, and to do everything that could be done in the name of God. Why, I have prayed to the Almighty when it appeared to me an imposition before heaven to pray for them. I have taken my people out in the roads and in the dark places, and looked to the stars of heaven and prayed for the Southern man to turn his heart.

Q. You believe, then, there is no way to stop the exodus except by stopping the abuse of these people, and by treating them fairly, and thot it will take some time to get their confidence, even then?—A. They will then go back. I have heard some say they will never go back; but they will go back.

Q. Has there been anything political in this move of yours?—A. I never had any political men in it, white or black.

Q. Have leading men in Kansas had any talk with you about your movement as a political one?—A. No, sir; this thing was got up by an ignorant class of men, and I will prove it to you. I am the leader of it, and have been at for thirteen years, and I am the smartest man in it, and I am only an ignorant man.

Q. What is your age?—A. Seventy years past.

Q. Do you know anything that Governor St. John has done to encourage your people to leave their homes in the Southern country?—A. I have talked with him on the subject; his view is like mine about it.

Q. Has he sent any circulars out, as you have done, encouraging them to come?—A. No, sir; I have heard false tales told on him.

Q. In what respect?—A. Why, that he persuaded people to come there without money or price. Not so. He welcomed them all in there, but his advice was to bring something to sustain them. I wish you could read this, and see my sentiment about that (referring to one of the earlier circulars sent out by witness). I have never asked a man to come without money; I have told him not to come without money, but to stay there; and I am the man that has done this, and I can prove it that I have never asked one of them to go to Kansas if he was without money, but I have told him to stay there.

Q. Well, can you tell us anything more on this subject of the exodus?—A. Why, my dear friends, I am full now.

Q. Well, if you can think of anything more that will give us any light on it, do so.—A. I think you have got all you want. I will tell you, now, that I do not want to hurt anybody; I love the South, and I want every one of my people to come out, to teach the South a lesson, that she may know if she thinks more of bulldozing than she does of the colored man's muscle; the colored man's muscle is her interest; and these dare devils that ride around in the night and abuse the people, when the country ought to be harmonized, then I say to them go, and whenever they change from that, then I want them to go back.

Mr. WINDOM. You consider yourself the father of the exodus, then, Mr. Singleton?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; I am the father of it!

The CHAIRMAN. You are called "Pap Singleton," I believe?

The WITNESS. I am sir; I love everybody!

The CHAIRMAN. They call you "Pap" Singleton, because you are father of the exodus, is that it?

The WITNESS. I reckon they honor me with that name for my old age, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Whereabouts is this colony of yours in Kansas?—A. It is sixty miles rather southwest of Topeka.

Q. And you say there are a thousand acres in your colony?—A. Not that; that is in the Cherokee County. There was one hundred and sixty thousand acres, I think, of the old Indian reservation—Indian lands;

at first it was appraised too high; well, then, the government could not sell it; then it was reappraised at a dollar and a quarter an acre; so that I think it is now pretty well all taken up.

Q. Yes; and you have encouraged nobody to come unless they have had some means?—A. O, no; I have never encouraged or advised nobody to come to a prairie country without means. I am bitterly opposed to it. I am not that man.

Q. I am requested to ask if you allude to the half-breed lands?—A. Well, sir, I really don't know whether they are half-breed or not, because when I went there there was none there but a few only.

Q. Your home was in Tennessee?—A. O, yes, sir; my home was in Tennessee.

Q. Until how long ago?—A. Well—(hesitating)——

Q. How long since you moved from Tennessee, I mean?—A. April a year ago; I think I got to Topeka this last time perhaps on the 16th of March, or the latter part of March it was.

Q. In what county did you live?—A. In Morris and Lyon Counties my colony is.

Q. I am speaking of the county in Tennessee where you lived.—A. O! in Davidson County.

Q. How long did you live there?—A. Well, I don't know long, but I know I was raised up there.

Q. Were you born in Tennessee?—A. I was, sir.

Q. And raised there?—A. Yes, sir; and raised there.

Q. And spent all your life in Davidson County?—A. No, sir; I spent part of my life running through Indiana and going to Canada.

Q. Did you acquire some property in Tennessee; had you something to go on?—A. I did not; no, sir.

Q. You had nothing when you went to Kansas?—A. Nothing; I only worked there in the cabinet business.

Q. You lived there until about a year ago, but you had been going there for some time before that; do I so understand you?—A. Yes, sir; that is it.

Q. And you want us to understand that there is trouble between the white and the black races in Tennessee at this time, do you?—A. I do, sir; and I will prove it to you. Wherever there is people that has got no homes, and the State prisons enlarging every day—I am not talking about bulldozing and all that sort of thing—I am talking about a community; yes, there is trouble there between the white and the black races.

Q. How old a man did you say you were?—A. Seventy years past the 15th day of last August, sir.

Q. Do you think that the negroes have anything to complain of in Nashville, Tenn.?—A. Well, not really now in the city.

Q. Nashville is inDavidson County, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; that is the county.

Q. Well, is there any complaint in the city?—A. No; I think they do very well in the city.

Q. They are treated well?—A. Yes; in the city.

Q. Well, what have they to complain of out in the country in Davidson County?—A. They say they are cheated. They get $8 a month; in fact, the lands, in Middle Tennessee particularly, is worn-out, and I do not really believe they are able to pay as much money for labor there as they can in the lower cotton States.

Q. You think that the farm lands in Davidson County a pretty well worn-out?—A. I do.

Q. How much do they pay the colored people there?—A. Eight to ten dollars a month.

Q. Don't they pay as high as twelve and sometimes fifteen dollars a month?—A. I don't know it, sir; no, sir.

Q. You have not heard of any troubles between the whites and blacks at elections in Tennessee of late years, have you?—A. Well, no; I saw a great many of them around the city, who told me they was turned out of their places on account of their political sentiments.

Q. You always voted in Tennessee, didn't you?—A. Yes; I voted there very often.

Q. What ticket did you vote?—A. I voted for both parties, whichever one I liked, Democrat or Republican.

Q. Nobody tried to get you to vote one way or the other, any more than in the usual and proper methods of electioneering, did they?—A. Running for office, do you mean?

Q. No; I do not allude to that—but to your freedom to vote what ticket you please?—A. They sometimes would ask you if you wouldn't vote this ticket or that.

Q. But they never threatened you to induce you to vote any one ticket?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you never saw any one molested for voting either the Democratic or Republican ticket?—A. Right in the city?

Q. Yes; in Nashville?—A. No; I have not.

Q. Well, out of the city?—A. I have not been out of the city at these elections.

Q. That is what I supposed. Did you ever hear anybody tell of any difficulties they ever saw at the polls in Davidson County between the whites and the blacks?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. When?—A. At nearly every election, pretty much all the governor's elections.

Q. What governor's—Brownlow's?—A. Any of them.

Q. But that won't quite do?—A. Well, any of the governor's elections, I mean.

Q. Do you mean that they always have trouble whenever they have an election for governor?—A. It appears so, from what they say.

Q. Who say?—A. The colored people of the county; they are turned off for voting against their interests.

Q. Did you ever know of any one who was turned off for voting as they pleased?—A. They say so.

Q. But did you ever *know* of such a case of your own knowledge?—A. Never.

Q. Well, you have become perfectly wrapped up in your colony of colored people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I do not blame you for it, not the slightest in the world.—A. No.

Q. And you state that you are the whole cause of the movement to Kansas?—A. I am, sir.

Q. When did you commence it?—A. Years ago.

Q. Well, uncle, the committee would have been saved heaps of trouble if you had let them known sooner that you were the man they were looking for!

The WITNESS. I have a couple of charters here of my colony.

The CHAIRMAN. Charters granted by whom?

The WITNESS. By the State of Tennessee.

The CHAIRMAN. Charters granted by Tennessee for what?

The WITNESS (handing a paper to the chairman).

The CHAIRMAN. This seems to be a letter from Governor St. John and others, dated at Topeka, Kans. ——

The WITNESS (interrupting). O, not that! I did not want you to have that! Don't read that! You are not humble enough yet! (Laughter.)

The CHAIRMAN (playfully returning the letter). Why won't you let me read it? Please do!

The WITNESS. No, no; not that. This is the charter (handing the charter of the Singleton Colony).

The CHAIRMAN (reading): "I, Charles N. Gibbs, secretary of the State of Tennessee, do certify that W. A. Sizemore, Benjamin Petway, Houston Molloy, Benjamin Singleton," that's yourself, isn't it?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; that's me.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing):

"Washington Anthony, senior, A. McClure, Washington Anthony, junior, Thomas Winston, and Richard Battle, all of Davidson County, Tennessee, have filed this day in my office a properly certified and registered copy of a memorandum of incorporation under the name and style of the Edgefield Real Estate Association, registered in the register's office of Davidson County, in book No. 46, page 441, on the eighth day of September, anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, and which said copy so filed in my office has been duly noted on page 2 of the corporation acts of 1873, chapter 117, section 3.

"In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my official signature, and by order of the governor affixed the great seal of the State of Tennessee, at Nashville, this twelfth day of September, anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four.

"CHARLES N. GIBBS,
"*Secretary of State.*

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION.

THE SINGLETON COLONY.

I.

The name of this corporation shall be "The Singleton Colony of Morris and Lyon Counties, State of Kansas.

II.

The purpose for which this corporation is formed is to promote emigration and the encouragement of agriculture and the acquisition of homes for colored people.

III.

The place where its business is to be transacted is at Dunlap, in the county of Morris, State of Kansas.

IV.

The term for which this corporation is to exist is fifty years.

V.

The number of directors or trustees of this corporation shall not be more than thirteen; and the names and residences of those who are appointed for the first year are Benjamin Singleton, W. A. Sizemore, A. D. De Frantz, Fuel Williamson, George Wade, George Moon, John Elliott, Austin Dozier, John Davis, William Shrout, John Wade, and all of Dunlap, Morris County, State of Kansas.

In testimony whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names this twenty-fourth day of June, anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine.

A. D. DE FRANTZ.
W. A. SIZEMORE.
WILLIAM SHROUT.
JOHN WADE.
BENJAMIN SINGLETON.

Attest:
WILLARD DAVIS.

STATE OF KANSAS,
Shawnee County, ss:

Personally appeared before me, a notary public in and for Shawnee County, State of Kansas, the above-named Benjamin Singleton, W. A. Sizemore, A. D. De Frantz, William Shrout, and John Wade, who are personally known to me to be the persons who executed the foregoing instrument of writing, and duly acknowledged the execution of the same.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name, and affixed my notarial seal, this twenty-fourth day of June, anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine.

THOMAS ARCHER,
Notary Public.

I, James Smith, secretary of state of the State of Kansas, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original instrument of writing filed in my office June twenty-fourth, anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed my official seal.

JAMES SMITH,
Secretary of State for the State of Kansas.

Done at Topeka, Kansas, this twenty-fifth day of June, A. D. 1879.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, were all the persons named in this paper colored people?

The WITNESS. What paper was it you read—the charter, with Sizemore's name in it?

Q. Yes; is W. A. Sizemore a colored man?—A. Yes, sir, he is; and from Edgefield.

Q. Where is Edgefield?—A. Across the Cumberland River—I believe Edgefield is.

Q. In Tennessee, that is?—A. Yes.

Q. Well, that isn't such a bad country there. Did any of the colored people get into the legislature in Tennessee?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. Well, they never did up in Indiana. I have no objection to that, but they never get there in my State.—A. I don't know much about your State. I went through it once, and they told me it was Indiana; but I thought it was "Hurry-ana," the way I hurried through it.

Q. Were you on your way to Kansas, then?—A. O, no, bless yu; I was on my way through to Canada!

Q. Now, were these all colored men in this paper?—A. That chater?

Q. Yes; are they all colored men?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, this certificate of incorporation of the Singleton Clony, were the names in it all of colored men?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, will you let me have that St. John paper now; I am very humble?—A. Not yet; wait a little. (Laughter.)

Q. You say you organized in the State of Tennessee, under th laws there?—A. Yes, sir; and I will tell you how that came to be don We endeavored at first—thirteen years ago it was I proposed that we ought to look out for homes; and, if we could not get lands in Tennesse that we should go where we could get them to some place where the was government land. I was advised by my white friends to make trial and see if we could not buy land in Tennessee. So we did. W made one or two selections, but the land in Tennessee was sixty dolrs an acre.

Q. Sixty dollars an acre! So you went where you could get ceaper lands?—A. That was it—for my people.

Q. That was all right enough. Only one thing seems to be inconsistent with you.—A. Well?

Q. You have a great deal of feeling about the condition of you folks?—A. Yes.

Q. But you seem hostile to allowing any of them to go to ansas, where the land is cheaper, unless they have money; is not at the same thing as leaving all the poor people among them in a land bondage?—A. I can't help it; that is my sentiments—not to go ithout they have a little money.

Q. But to stick it out, and stand it as well as they can, down here in that awful State of Tennessee?—A. Yes, to stand it.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Mr. Singleton, you say there is no party spirit in this mvement of emigrants to Kansas?—A. Well, there was not; I have alws been a Grant man myself.

Q. Among these people out there in Kansas, who are helpig it on, are there any Democrats?—A. In Kansas?

Q. Yes.—A. Let me tell you, as a positive man, I don't know nothing much about the committee; but let me tell you, right now, o thing, in behalf of my colonies, that the Democrats are just as good to my people there as anybody else.

Q. O, yes, as kind to you personally; but are any of these people in the societies there that are formed to encourage this emigratio of your people and pay their way and get them out of their Southern omes—are any of these Democrats?—A. Just let me tell you right n that I don't know of any white people there that is encouraging thi emigration. I know one thing, the board has sent some two or the; they don't tell that here; well, they sent them to stop the emigratn.

Q. But you know that a good many people out there that elong to these societies, to that State society, are helping the emignts.—A. No; I don't believe anybody in the State of Kansas, Democrs or Republicans, are urging this exodus.

Q. But you heard my question.—A. Yes, sir; and I am rying to answer it.

Q. Do, please.—A. Tell me again.

Q. The Kansas Relief Association that is organized for t purpose of aiding emigrants to come out there I am referring to; is there anybody connected with that, either as a member or officer, who is a Democrat?—A. Not that I know, sir; I don't know, sir, about that.

Q. Well, are any of these branch relief associations there conducted by Democrats?—A. I don't know, sir, at all; if I knew I would tell you.

Q. As far as you know they are conducted by Republicans?—A. As far as I know, I suppose they are. You ask me for facts, and I carry them with me to give to the people.

Q. You carry only the facts with you to give to the people. Well, that is right.—A. My people that I carried to Kansas ever since 1869 have generally, sir, come on our own resources, and generally went on our own workings. We have tried to make people of ourselves. I tell you to-day, sir, this committee is outside of me, for I don't know nothing about it hardly; my people depends upon their own resources.

Q. Then you don't know anything about bulldozing in Mississippi and Louisiana?—A. Didn't I tell you I have never been there?

Q. But you talked very hard about them—called them scoundrels, rascals, and so on?—A. I have heard about it, and if the men there bulldozes and wears these false-faces, they ain't nothing else but what I called them; they ain't right, nohow.

Q. Do you believe it?—A. It is the proof of fifty or sixty thousand of them, and it occurs to me that every one of them can't lie about it.

Q. But it is all hearsay with you?—A. I told you I have not seen it myself. You don't think fifty or sixty thousand of them could all tell a lie, do you—you don't think they are all cheating?

Q. O, yes; there are instances where whole nations have lied.—A. Well, mebbe these have lied. I know what I have seen. I have seen women and children in wagons and teams come in, and they said they was run in by the Kuklux into Nashville, and the Democrats have housed them there and given them victuals, and administered to them and cared for them; I have seen that.

Q. Well, that is clever.—A. I am a man of realities; I am a man that will live in a country where I am going to cope with the white man, where the white man will lift himself to the level of justice; but when the white man will think that equal rights under the law to the colored man is a violation of his (the white man's) dignity, then I am going to leave. Suppose now that out in the country there the colored man goes to law to get his contract carried out with a white man; if the Democrats don't say anything, there is a lot of men there that will go around and run that black man out of the country because he took that gentleman up to the law; and suppose he beats that gentleman; why, it is a violation of his dignity, they think, and they won't stand it.

Q. You never saw anything of that sort, did you?—A. No; not myself, I didn't, sir.

Q. You just heard of it?—A. I just heard of it from others, who told me it was so.

Q. Do not the colored people get justice in the courts in Tennessee? Have they not good, fair judges there and good, equitable laws?—A. I reckon they are like me; a good many of them don't know when they have justice.

Q. I think that is very likely. I never heard any imputation upon the honesty or fairness of Tennessee judges.—A. Well, there is somebody else has alarmed these people—the threats made to them; I have heard them threated.

Q. Did you never hear any threats made by Republican speakers against them if they didn't do as they advised them to do?—A. What?

Q. I say, did you never hear the Republican speakers tell the colored people that they would be put back into slavery if the Democrats got into power, and if they did not vote against the Democrats?—A. I have heard something about that.

Q. What have you heard?—A. Well, these threats I have heard myself—I have heard the Democrats stand right up, that is, when the colored man was getting the rights of suffrage, and say, "You damned niggers, we've got you now, and we don't ask you for your suffrage, we don't care for it." Well, that was a chill on them. And there is another thing——

Q. But what was the threat? I don't see what your meaning is.—A. Why, that's threat enough; "You damned niggers, we've got you now."

Q. You called that a threat, did you?—A. Yes; that was enough to scare us.

Q. Did that scare your people?—A. Well, that scared *me*. Then there's another thing. They have got up and looked up in these upper galleries, you know, where they see these stacks of arms, and they ask, "What are those stacks of arms put up there for?" And they tell them, "They are not for *you*," and they keep wondering what they are there for, and that excites us, and makes us want to get away.

Q. Well, you are scared without cause; "The wicked flee when no man pursueth."—A. Mebbe that's it.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Shall we have that letter now, Mr. Singleton?—A. O, yes; you may have it (handing it to the chairman).

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

OFFICE OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
Topeka, Kans., October 22, 1879.

To all to whom this may come:

From the best information it would seem that the Tennessee Real Estate and Homestead Association, formed at Nashville, in 1869, with Benjamin Singleton as president, began the work of the emigration of the colored people from the South into Kansas. From that date Mr. Singleton has given much of his time to this work as a benefactor of his people, and now being far advanced in years, he is worthy of the highest respect and consideration of all good people, and as such we commend him to the good will of all.

F. G. ADAMS,
Secretary of the Historical Society.
JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Governor of the State.
ALBERT H. HORTON,
Chief Justice.
N. C. McFARLAND.
W. A. SIZEMORE,
President of the Singleton Colony.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is a good paper for you to have, and I am surprised you didn't want me to read it. That is all, Mr. Singleton.

TESTIMONY OF G. W. CAREY.

G. W. CAREY sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Judge Carey, where do you reside?—Answer. I reside, sir, in Topeka, Kans.

Q. Have you any connection with the Emigrants' Relief Board there;

and, if so, what?—A. I have, sir; I am vice-president of the association.

Q. How long have you been connected with that association?—A. I think since September; I am not sure, however, but for some months.

Q. Have you given a great deal of attention to the arrival of these colored emigrants from the South into that county?—A. Well, yes; I have given considerable attention to it, as much, in fact, as I could consistently with the claims of my other business and duties.

Q. State what has been the condition of these people when they have arrived there, judge.—A. Generally they have been in a rather destitute condition; some are in reasonably good condition—that is to say, for the West; some have been able, in other words, to take care of themselves; others not.

Q. What proportion do you think have been able to take care of themselves?—A. A very small proportion; perhaps not over twenty-five per cent. of those that have come there have been able to take care of themselves at the start.

Q. About how many of these emigrants have arrived in Topeka?—A. Not far from fifteen thousand, sir.

Q. You have had temporary barracks erected for them there, have you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. About how many of them are supported by the society there now, as near as you can state it?—A. I can only answer that in a general way; the barracks there are not intended to support anybody any further than to give temporary relief as they come in, and temporary assistance until they can be disposed of, either in the country around Topeka or in response to applications from a distance.

Q. State if they are coming and going all the time?—A. Yes, sir; they are coming and going all the while. I have received local papers from home since I came here, giving accounts of the arrival of several hundreds of them since I left on the 2d instant.

Q. State about how many are there now that have not as yet been able to get employment?—A. I could not state that; I can state what were there the day before I left—the morning I left, in fact. On the Sunday before I went over to the barracks, as I was in the habit of going there frequently to inquire the number that were there, and they told me at the time I asked that they numbered one hundred and fifty-one.

Q. And up to that time you say some twelve to fifteen thousand had arrived?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And only one hundred and fifty-one were left?—A. Yes; that was the number, as represented to me. On the Wednesday following that Sunday there was an arrival of two hundred, perhaps one or two extra, say two hundred and a few over; and on the day I left I think there were one hundred and twenty-six in the barracks—that is, between the Sunday that I was there and the Wednesday and Friday following—there was that difference in the arrivals and departures.

Q. Give us as exact an idea as you can of that society; what it has attempted to do, and what it does do.—A. Well, the only mission of that society and all it does do really is to give temporary relief to those who are suffering or who are in a condition to be unable to help themselves. I have here the charter and by-laws of the society, which would give as much information on that point as I could give myself. The purpose of the society really is, in a few words, to give temporary relief to those who come in there, who would otherwise be a burden upon the county and the State.

Q. Was it organized as a purely benevolent society?—A. Well, yes; for no other purpose whatever.

Q. Was there really nothing political in its organization?—A. No, sir; it never was intended to be political in any way whatever, and never has been.

Q. Has it done anything to encourage the colored people to come to Kansas?—A. No, sir; on the contrary, the constant effort has been to turn the tide, and if possible, to some extent, to prevent its coming from the South, if the people could take care of themselves down there and be properly treated, but we have never insisted upon their staying in the South and being misused by any class of people. I regard it as the right of every one to better his condition; and as a member of that society—I speak in that capacity now—I will say that we are perfectly willingly to do what we can, if we can do anything as a society, to relieve the condition of these people and give them temporary aid and relief, and to get them to go, or let them go, to the North or the East. We think, however, as a number have stated here, that we have, perhaps, our proportionate share of this emigration.

Q. And you never have made any efforts to induce them to come to Kansas?—A. No, sir; on the contrary we have now agents in the South, and I have received word by letter from one of these agents in particular, stating that they are endeavoring as much as possible to turn the tide and prevent their coming to Kansas.

Q. Is it any part of the business of these agents to encourage them to go away anywhere?—A. No, sir; only in cases where they are determined to go, we have tried to turn their attention to other States—to Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, or Michigan, or to some other point than Kansas.

Q. Is there anything political in that movement?—A. No, sir; it is simply to save ourselves from being overburdened. We have established, I might say, a sort of bureau at Cairo, Illinois, in conjunction with some other parties from Chicago who are endeavoring, as I am informed by letter and otherwise, to turn the emigration to Illinois. We have heard from there that Chicago alone did, in fact, in a public meeting there, agree to take fifty thousand of these people, and we are endeavoring to get these emigrants who are determined to go north to go there, and to points farther east.

Q. That is, to intercept them at Cairo, and to get them to go to other points than Kansas?—A. Exactly. And Kansas City and Saint Louis are working with us in this effort to turn the tide of emigration.

Q. Is there any motive whatever in this movement, except to divert them from Kansas?—A. That is the only interest we have in it, to save ourselves from an overflow of this pauper emigration.

Q. Have you ever talked with any of these people who have come into your State, as to the causes of their coming?—A. I have, very frequently, sir.

Q. What do they give as a reason?—A. They give various reasons; the burden of their song is, that they cannot make a living down there, that while they have got plenty of work and good wages yet, at the end of the year or "outcome," as they term it, they complain that they are in debt; in other words, that they do not get their rights there as the white men do; that seems to be the principal cause of complaint. Then others, not all, complain of not being allowed the elective franchise. Others again say, and a great many state that, they haven't the privileges for their children there in the schools that they think they ought to have. I do not know that they complain that they have not as good schools as the white people, but the school privileges are not such as they want, and they seem to be very anxious about that matter—the question of education. And again, some complain that they have been badly treated in the way of bulldozing, as they term it, whatever that may be. I have seen but a few, three only, who have complained of personal violence. I talked with one party the Sunday before I left, that came the day before from Mississippi, who said that himself and fifteen others were voting in 1872, I think in Mississippi, and after voting they had made their way through a dense crowd from the polls late in the evening, and that they were all more or less hurt, and he himself was knocked down and stabbed twice, and he was unable then, as he said to me, to straighten himself up. I think none of them in that melee were killed, but he and others have stated to me that such things have occurred. One other man complained of having been shot; another said that he had been knocked down at an election and pounded by various and sundry parties, and had received a cut over his eye that he claimed was done on that occasion.

Q. Were all these men Republicans?—A. They claimed to be; these parties that I talked with on Sunday, speaking about that first crowd, were from Mississippi; they were attacked in 1872, and they said they had not attempted to vote since. I asked them how it was now, and they replied that they couldn't say, as they had not attempted to vote since they were attacked in 1872.

Q. How many of these people that you talked with have expressed a desire to go back?—A. Well, I do not think that I can now recall a single one to mind.

Q. Do you know of any inducements being offered to them to go back?—A. O, yes. I do not remember the exact date, but some time during the last summer, I think it was, perhaps in the fall, a number of parties came up from Mississippi, colored and white, on an excursion to see if they could not get some of our people to go back. I went down with the party as far as Lawrence, some twenty-six or twenty-eight miles, and they started back home. They told me that they had not been able to induce anybody to go back with them at all, although efforts and inducements were held out to them. For instance, I have heard that there was a standing offer from Kansas City—and I do not know but there is yet—of some parties there to defray the expenses of those going back, either in whole or in part—whether outright or not I cannot say; and I have heard of some few going back, urged by these and other inducements, but it is not a general thing at all. The fact is there are very few who do go back.

Q. What do you hear about those that have passed out of your care as a society receiving employment in Kansas?—A. Well, as a general rule they do receive employment, and I think they give satisfaction. Of course they are not accustomed to our mode and style of farming, but I have talked with some farmers that have employed them, men belonging to both political parties, and they express themselves as really very well satisfied. Some few who had gone to the country have returned to town.

Q. Are there large numbers in town who are not in the barracks?—A. Do you mean of the exodus people?

Q. Yes.—A. No, sir; excepting those who are employed, I do not think there are but very few; we have a number of regular citizens in town, forming a part of the colored population that was already there.

Q. Then up to this time the population of Kansas have substantially absorbed and employed the negro labor that has come there?—A. Well, they have done so to just the extent that they have not been sent out of the State. The day I left there—on the morning I left—they sent some sixty of them, I think it was, to Nebraska, and we have sent some to Colorado; we have sent quite a number to Illinois, as we had applications from that State for coal hands, for men to dig coal in the mines and to work on the railroads, and from farmers also. Several hundreds in this way have been sent outside of Kansas, and several hundred of those who went to Illinois and Colorado and other places have been employed in the mines and in shops, and quite a number have gone to work on railroads, both on the Kansas and Pacific and the Santa Fé Roads.

Q. Have you heard any complaints of their work?—A. None whatever; they seem to have given general satisfaction, at least so far as we know.

Q. What do you think of the demand for their labor; is it equal in proportion to the number of arrivals?—A. Well, we have had to work very hard to relieve ourselves of the numbers that are coming in. I imagine that if it continues to any considerable extent in the future, or to the extent that it has been coming in the past, that we will be very glad indeed to get them off our hands, and we shall endeavor more than ever to divert the tide at Cairo or some other point south of us to other places.

Q. It has been stated here, judge, that circulars have been sent out by your association designed to encourage these people to come to your State; is that true, or is it false?—A. There is not a word of it true, sir; it is a clear mistake upon the part of those who make such a statement. It never has been the purpose of this association, as I said before, to encourage any sort of emigration, that is, any pauper emigration there; in fact it has not been the purpose of our association to encourage any emigration at all. Our very excellent secretary of agriculture there has gotten up some very good reports and they have been very generally distributed, and at the Centennial I think he did a great deal of good for our State by the circulation of these reports, as they had an influence in getting quite a large influx of a very excellent class of emigrants to our State.

Q. The circulars were of the nature of facts and statements setting forth the advantages of Kansas for emigrants, were they?—A. Yes, exactly; they were of that nature. And I may say that the railroads have been very active; they have had great quantities of land for sale, and, as I understand it, they have sent out a great many circulars East and South and North, setting forth the advantages of Kansas, and so forth. Aside from that, I know of no emigration association in our State that was designed to induce colored people more than anybody else to come into our State to take up these lands and to settle there. The simple design has been to fill up our State with an enterprising, industrious and thrifty class of people, and this has been the desire of parties who have had lands to sell.

Q. Now, you have had frequent conversations in the board with each other; do you speak the entire sense of that board on that subject?—A. Yes; I can say this: that it has been a matter of considerable concern to us as a board about a number of things that have been done that have been charged to the board, but which we have not indorsed nor encouraged and are not responsible for. A number of things have been done by parties outside that would be misunderstood and charged on the board as a board, and we have finally, some time ago, passed a resolution that no circular or letter should be brought out or published from the association until it had passed through the hands of a public board of three, of whom Mr. Knox, myself, and Mr. Bosworth were members since which time we have been able to control the matter. Now, as to the circulars used, Mr. Irwin, who has done some printing for the association, also printed these circulars. I was not aware of the existence of these circulars until I saw them here, and the association was not aware of it. Mrs. Comstock is a very excellent Quaker leader, through whose friends ninety or ninety five per cent. of the money and goods received have been obtained. She also has a kind of general fund received from her friends in England and the East. In sending these sums they say to her to take the money and use it as she sees best. That she retains herself, and has a book in which she keeps a record of every item received, and what she does with it. If she sees any person outside of the board whom she thinks she can help, she goes and helps them, and she, in her enthusiasm, gets up some of these circulars, some of which I have seen, but none of them are these circulars here. They are not published by the board, and she is recognized by us all as a friend of humanity, and it has been through her that we have received this money largely. While we have refused to recognize many things she has done, we have not suffered her to do many things, believing that in a political sense it was not best, while in the sense of humanity it was all right. She resorted sometimes to means that we thought might be construed to be political if coming from us, to get money to relieve these people, and for that reason we passed that nothing should be published from the board without authority. Mrs. Haviland, being a friend of Mrs. Comstock was sometimes influenced to lend her name to circulars published which we did not approve of, and which were sent abroad without our authority.

Q. Will you tell us Governor St. John's sentiments on this subject, if you know them?—A. I think I know them. His expressed sentiment has been universal, that while he, as every other true Kansan, feels that the colored people should go where they please, yet he has never said any word to encourage them to come in there, any more than to encourage other people. At that meeting in the opera house I do not know what he did say, and such a thing might be as his being a little indiscreet at that time. I think he has the confidence of both the Democrats and Republicans in Kansas, as an honest and excellent man, who has made us a good executive. For one, I feel that his heart is always touched with the sufferings and wants of any people.

Q. Do you know whether he has written any circulars or letters encouraging this movement?—A. I know, on the contrary, that he has written a number of letters discouraging anything of the kind. I talked with him on the subject the morning I left. I went down and had a chat with him and I know from what he said that he has written a number of letters, several of which I have read, and always discouraged any sort of pauper emigration to Kansas.

Q. If you have one there, will you let us have a sample of them?—A. I have a number of them, eight or ten, sir, written by him, and some written to him by people in the South. I have seen a number of these letters at his office and at the exodus headquarters. These are letters sent to Mr. Haskell, a member of Congress here, by Governor St. John. These were inclosed to him, and I had better read his letter to Mr. Haskell.

(Reading):

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Topeka, December 26, 1879.

HON. D. C. HASKELL,
Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR: I inclose herewith copy of letters which have passed between myself and colored men in the South. Of course this constitutes but a small part of the correspondence had with them in relation to the exodus. I also inclose a true copy of a bill of goods bought by one Lewis of S. D. Currie & Co., at Edwards Landing, Miss. This bill is a fair sample of nearly a hundred others now in my possession. All the refugees that I have talked to, numbering, perhaps, more than a thousand, say that they did not come north as a matter of choice, but simply because they were so badly treated in the South that they could not stay there any longer and feel at all secure in life and property. I have, at all times, advised them against coming north provided they were protected in their rights in the South. I think at least 3,000 have left Texas for the Northern States during the last thirty days, and still they come.

Very truly, your friend,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Governor.

Q. Give us one or two of the other letters, a sample of each kind.—A. Well, sir, they cover a period and length of time during the existence of this movement. Here is one of October 20, 1879.

(Reading):

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Topeka, October 20, 1879.

JACK P. JAMES,
Ridgeway, S. C.:

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of the 6th instant, I will state that the State of Kansas extends no aid to any class of emigrants. The only inducements consist in rich soil, healthy climate, free schools, free ballot, full protection, under the law, to the life and property of every law-abiding human being, without regard to race, condition, or color.

Very respectfully, yours,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Governor.

And here is another, written October 8, 1879, to William Brown, as follows.

(Reading):

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Topeka, October 8, 1879.

WM. BROWN,
P. O. Box 94, *Lexington, Miss.:*

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of the 1st instant I have to state if your people are getting along well, and are not deprived of your civil and political rights as is stated in your letter, I see no reason why you should leave. Kansas offers no inducements, except rich soil, healthy climate, free schools, free ballot, and full protection to the life and property of every law-abiding human being. If you enjoy all these rights my advice is to stay. All who come here are expected to make their own living. The State extends no aid to any class of emigrants.

I am glad to learn that the colored people are in the full enjoyment of all their civil and political rights, as stated by you. Among all the letters I have received from colored men in the South, numbering 2,000 or more, you are the *first* one that has assured me of these facts.

Very truly, yours,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Governor.

And here is one written to Governor St. John.

(Witness reading:)

GRENADA, MISS., *September* 5, 1879.

Governor ST. JOHN:

SIR: I write you; our National Aid Society gave us your attention. We desire to organize and come out West in Kansas soon where, and we don't know exactly what to do without some advice from higher authority. Please advise me what to do soon as you can, if you please; please don't fail to help us in our effort in emigrating. We want to come out, and have no money hardly, and the white people say we have to stay here because we have no money to come on; we can organize with a little, because since the white people have heard of what we are trying to do they won't hardly let us have bread to eat; and as soon as we can come out on a cheap scale we are getting ready to come out soon. Are almost bare naked and starved. I, myself, are in a very bad condition. We are banding together without any instructions from you or the National Aiding Society at Saint Louis, Mo. We are all Republicans and we won't have any other, and hard-working men, and men of trust. We have to be in secret or be shot, and not allowed to meet, and we would like to leave before we are found out, and are all shot at and scattered abroad. We have about fifty widows in our band that are workwomen and farmers also. The white men here take our wives and daughters and do them as they please, and we are shot if we say anything about it; and as for voting, if we vote any other way than their way we can't live in State our country any more. We are sure to have to leave or be killed. They have driven away all of Northern whites or colored leaders, and we can't leave on account of qualification.

We can get together and leave here if we can get any aid to come on. Please don't fail to give us your attention soon as possible; we are in haste to know our standing and condition of getting away. You will oblige us very much by sending us a document; maybe it will enlighten us some in our endeavors in getting ready; some are very hard to believe, they have been fooled so often. A little instructions from you will help the committee greatly in getting them together. Without you or the president of National Emigration Aid Society we can't do much in getting out there. Now, sir, we will close. Hoping soon to hear from you in regard to request, we remain very truly.

Yours, &c.,

JOSEPH S. STARKS,
Secretary.

Here is still another from Governor St. John, which shows what has been the burden of his song all along.

(Witness reading:)

(Copy.)

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Topeka, September 9, 1879.

EVAN H. HARRIS,
Box 31 *Mayersville, Issaquena, County Mississippi:*

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of the 15th instant, making inquiry in relation to the exodus of the negroes from the South, I have the honor to state that neither the State of Kansas, nor the general government extends aid to any class of immigrants. The only inducements now offered, or that ever have been offered by the State of Kansas to immigrants are rich soil, healthy climate, free schools, and a free ballot, with full protection to the life and property of every law-abiding citizen, irrespective of race, condition, or color.

Kansas has large bodies of land subject to be taken under the homestead laws of the United States; but it must be borne in mind that these lands are unimproved, and that it requires not only a team and the necessary farming implements to put them under cultivation and make them productive of a living for the owner and his family, but also a free exercise of muscle coupled with the means necessary to provide provisions to sustain it until a crop can be produced.

I would advise no class of people to come here in a destitute condition; but any one, who has a small capital, sufficient to purchase a team, farm implements, and provisions until a crop can be raised, if he is industrious, sober, and economical, can do well.

Kansas has done nothing to encourage the emigration of colored people from the South; she has simply said, and still says, that she will not place a sentinel at her portals to ascertain, before permitting those who desire to enter, what political party they belong to, where they were born, whether they have been sprinkled or plunged, or what particular shade their *skins* happen to be. All that Kansas requires of parties coming into the State is to obey the laws, be honest, sober, and industrious, and join with us in helping to make a great and prosperous State, populated by a happy and free people.

It seems to me that the whole question in relation to the exodus rests with the white people of the South. I respectfully suggest that if the merchants and traders will sel to the colored man the necessaries of life at reasonable prices, and the landlord wil rent him land at a rate that will enable him to live, instead of charging him 20 cent per pound for bacon and other provisions in proportion, and from six to ten dollars per acre rent per annum for lands—as I find has been the case by reference to hundreds of merchants' bills, and by numbers of leases handed to me by colored refugees—the exodus would soon cease. But as long as such outrageous prices are charged for provisions, and so long as the landlords of the South charge the colored man from six to ten dollars rent per acre per annum for lands, the quality of which is no better than can be purchased here in Kansas at $1.25 to $3 per acre, and the negro, in matters of politics, made a slave to unscrupulous political demagogues, you may expect an unsettled condition to continue among the colored people.

Negroes of the South do not come to Kansas or to any other Northern State because they prefer it to the South; but they come here simply because they are protected in their life and property; are permitted to exercise full freedom in politics, unrestricted by bulldozing influences. They also enjoy the right of educating their children in our free schools, and they absolutely receive protection under our laws to the same extent that any other class of people do. And unless these rights and privileges are given them in the South, of course it is but natural that they should seek a home where they are extended to them.

I send you by to-day's mail a copy of the report of our State board of agriculture, which will afford you much valuable information about Kansas.

Very truly, yours,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Governor.

The WITNESS. Governor St. John and everybody else in Kansas, I believe, have but one sentiment: that if anybody comes there with money they are glad to receive them, no matter what their color and condition; but if they come there in a pauperized condition we regret it. Still, I do not believe any considerable number of the people there would take up arms to prevent it.

Q. Have not you had some fears out there of Kansas going Democratic?—A. No, sir; I never heard of that idea until yesterday, when I heard Dr. Stringfellow testify. We have been claiming forty or fifty thousand majority this year.

Q. Have you that bill of goods to which you referred?—A. Yes, sir; and I will state that I saw this original bill; the governor refers to it, and I saw it myself. I also saw the requisition on him from the governor of Texas, and he told me he had talked with the man for whom the requisition was issued.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What is the date of that bill?—A. It is "Edwards, Mississippi, January, 1877."

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Do you say Governor St. John talked to the man for whom the requisition was issued, or to the man who had that bill?—A. He told me he had talked to the man, who drew out this bill and showed it to him. He called attention to the renting of the mule here at thirty dollars.

Q. For how long?—A. For the season.

Q. Please put that bill in so that we may have a list of those prices. (The bill follows:)

[Highest market price paid for cotton.]

EDWARDS, MISS., *January*, 1877.

Mr. Wm. Lewis bought of S. D. Currie and Co., dealers in dry goods, groceries, boots, shoes, and hats, and general plantation supplies.

1876.			
Mar. 31.	To am't a/c rend	66	44
Apr. 1.	" ½ lb. tobacco		65
	" salt		35
	" 10 lb. sugar	1	25
	" coffee	1	00

1876.			
	To ½ lb. tobacco	75	
April 8.	" 1 keg molasses	6 00	
14.	" 1 pair shoes	2 50	
	" 1 " cloth gaiters	2 50	
18.	" 15 lbs. bacon, 20	3 00	
21.	" 27 lbs. " 20	5 40	
	" 14 lbs. shoulder, 18	2 55	
27.	" soap	25	
	" 1 lb. soda	25	
	" 1 lb. coffee	30	
29.	" 20 yds. prints	2 50	
	" 1 pr. cloth shoes	2 50	
	" 1 lb. tobacco	1 50	
May 4.	" cash	2 00	
	" 5 lb	50	
12.	" 1 file	75	
18.	" 1 lb. tobacco	1 25	
	" 2 lbs. sugar, 12½	25	
23.	" 32 lbs. bacon	6 40	
	" flour	1 25	
	" 1 molasses bbl	1 50	
	" 3 yds. cottonade, 40	1 20	
	" soap	25	
	" 1 ball cotton	10	
30.	" 1 bbl. meal	6 50	
	" ½ " flour	5 50	
June 1.	" 18 lbs. "	1 25	
10.	" 1 pair shoes	2 50	
18.	" 25 lbs. bacon, 18	4 50	
July 1.	" 24 " " 18	4 32	
	" 1 bbl. meal	6 50	
	" 1 lb. tobacco	1 00	
5.	" 1 gal. molasses	1 00	
19.	" bal. due, brought from old book	7 69	
24.	" 20 lbs. bacon, 18	3 60	
	" 1 plug tobacco	50	
Aug. 1.	" ½ lb. tobacco	63	
2.	" 20 lbs. bacon, 18 cts.; 1 bush. meal	5 10	
			$165 73
	To am't brought over	$165 73	
Aug. 24.	" 15 lbs. bacon, 17	2 55	
Sept. 1.	" 2 lbs. rice, 11	25	
	" 2 lbs. coffee, 30	60	
	" 4 lbs. sugar, 11	50	
	" flour	3 00	
	" 2 bars soap	25	
	" 1 lb. tobacco	85	
	" 20 lbs. bacon, 15	3 00	
	" cash	2 00	
	" " for ginning	4 50	
11.	" 1½ gal. molasses	1 20	
22.	" 50 yds. bagging, 15	7 50	
	" 2 bundles ties, 3.75	7 50	
29.	" cash	8 00	
Oct. 2.	" 13 lbs. bacon, 14	1 82	
7.	" cash paid cotton picking	14 40	
12.	" 2 lbs. sugar	30	
	" 1 lb. coffee	25	
19.	" tobacco, 20	20	
21.	" cash, pr. ginning	15 50	
	" " " self	10 97	
	" " " recording deed of trust	2 00	
			252 87
	" "	10 00	
	" "	1 00	
30.	" 17 lbs. bacon	2 00	
Nov. 11.	" 1 p'k salt	25	
	" 2 lbs. sugar	25	
	" 1 lb. coffee	27	
15.	" 2 lbs. shot, 30	60	

1876.		10	
	To ½ lb. powder	1 25	
Nov. 17.	" 7 yds. bagging, 15	75	
	" ties	3 50	
23.	" 1 pair boots	1 50	
Dec. 2.	" 15 lbs. meat, 10	25	
	" 1 lb. coffee	50	
6.	" flour	10	
11.	" tobacco	50	
	" cash	10	
12.	" tobacco	5 25	
	" 35 yds. bagging	3 50	
	" 1 bundle ties	30 00	
	" 1 mule rent	42 33	9-15-7
	" cash paid Mrs. Hall rent+	47 81	
13.	" " " " " "+		404 28
			404 48

CREDITS.

		45 66	
Aug. 31.	By 1 1 B. c	207 21	
Oct. 23.	" 2034 lbs. cotton c., 10$\frac{3}{16}$	151 41	
Dec. 14.	" 3 "		404 28
			xxxx

E. and O. E.

S. D. CURRIE AND CO.
Per HAMPTON.

Q. What were you going to say about that requisition?—A. Well, he rather amusingly said "Look at this," and I found it was a requisition accompanied with the finding of a grand jury and affidavit of a colored man, stating that he had sold ten bushels of rent corn without the consent of the landlord; and he said the idea of sending such a paper out here with that large red seal on it and blue ribbon was quite amusing to him.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Have you that requisition with you?—A. No, sir; I did not think to bring it with me. I think it was dated January 20, and was a regular requisition from the State of Texas. He said to me that the man was there, and if the agent came in person of course he would honor the requisition. Here are a number of other letters on the same line as those I presented, which I desire to put in in justice to Governor St. John.

The letters were admitted as follows:

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Topeka, June 9, 1879.

JOHN H. KERN,
Care Mess. Sello and Company, Saint Louis, Mo.:

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of the 6th inst., I have the honor to state that the State of Kansas has never done anything to encourage or repel colored immigrants. All that has been done is simply to aid the destitute. This humanity dictates should be done, and is being done, by the Freedman's Relief Association of this State.

It seems to me that the best way to stop the exodus of the colored people from the South is to cease charging them from $7 to $10 per acre rent, and from 30 to 35 cents per pound for bacon and $1 to $1.50 per gallon for 40 cent molasses and 20 to 25 cents per yard for 5 cent domestics, and like fabulous prices for other articles that the colored people are compelled to have. Judging from the accounts and pass-books exhibited to me by the colored people who have come here, which accounts are in the handwriting of the merchants and traders themselves, it is not to be wondered at, in view of the outrageously high prices charged these people for everything that they do not succeed in the South, and are compelled, in order to have a living, to leave a country and go where they will be fairly dealt with. Had I been told that the colored people of the South had been charged such outrageous prices for rent and for the necessaries of life I would have placed little reliance upon such stories; in fact would have been inclined to the opinion that perhaps they were told for political effect; but after examining into this matter, and having an opportunity to examine many of the accounts and books in the possession of the colored men in the handwriting of the merchants and planters of the South, I am forced to the conclusion that the manner in which this people has been dealt with is but little better than robbery itself. If land is rented to the black man at anything like a fair and reasonable price per year, and the necessaries of life furnished them at a like reasonable rate, in my opinion, the exodus of the colored men from the South would soon cease.

That climate is well adapted to their race. They are accustomed to farming in that country. They can sustain themselves there and do it well if they are only given anything like a reasonable show.

There is no reason, political or otherwise, for inviting this immigration to Kansas. Kansas is already receiving immigrants at the rate of over 100,000 per annum. She has a Republican majority of over 40,000; and even though all these black people were Republicans from a political stand-point, they are not needed here; yet, if they come, they may rest assured that they can buy goods as cheap here, enjoy the fruits of their own labor, educate their children, and have equal rights before the law just the same as every other class of human beings.

If a negro is under obligation by a contract to a planter in the South, he should fulfill that contract strictly to the letter just the same as a white man would be required to do. I would advise all colored men there, if they feel that they are safe in life and property, and are honorably dealt by, and have guaranteed to them, and *given* to them full protection to exercise their political rights the same as white men, to stay there. But if these rights, or any one of them, are denied to them, they not only have as much right to leave that country as has any white man to leave this; but, in my opinion, they should leave it. Every colored man who has employment for the season where he now is in the South had better stay there, for the present at least, for the farming season here is nearly over, and there would be but little opportunity for him to obtain work until the commencement of the farming season next year; and it certainly would not be advisable for him to come to this country, or any other, without being able to be self-supporting, or at least soon to become so.

Very truly, yours,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Governor.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Topeka, Kansas, June 24, 1879.

ROSELINE CUNNINGHAM,
West Point, Miss.:

MADAM: Your letter of the 18th instant has just been received, and in reply thereto I have the honor to state that neither the State of Kansas, nor the general government, nor any society, so far as I know, extends any aid to enable immigrants to reach Kansas.

Kansas has no immigrant agent, and any person representing himself as such is an impostor. I am informed that parties have represented to the colored people in your State that by coming to Kansas they would receive 40 acres of land, a mule, provisions for a year free. All such representations are without any foundation whatever in fact, and are intended to deceive the colored people and mislead them to their detriment. Kansas offers no inducement save and except such as her fine lands, excellent climate, and other advantages presented; nor are any advantages extended to any one class of people that are not alike extended to all classes.

Lands can be bought at from $2.25 to $10 per acre—one-tenth down, balance on long time, at low rates of interest.

But it must be borne in mind that these lands are wholly unimproved, and that it requires a team and farming implements, and a free exercise of bone and muscle to put these lands under cultivation and make them productive of a living for the owner and his family. Wages for laborers are about as follows: Farm hands from $12 to $18 per month and board; house servants from $1.50 to $3 per week and board. During the last ninety days about three or four thousand colored people have come to Kansas from the South, a large proportion of them having been in a destitute condition; but now, as a general rule, having obtained employment, are supporting themselves. I would advise, however, the colored people not to come to any of the Northern States entirely destitute of the means of support; for if they should, and especially in large numbers, it will retard very much the success of their movement. I deeply sympathize with them in their distressed condition. I know that they have never enjoyed that degree of freedom that under the Constitution and laws of our country they are entitled to, yet I believe, if they act judiciously in the present movement, that God will cause a brighter day to dawn upon their race, open the way to a more prosperous future. In Kansas the life and property of every human being who obeys the law, receives full protection, and all children possess equal educational advan tages under the law. Should a large number from your section of the State sire to immigrate northward, I would advise you to select some discreet, reliable son to first come north, select a location for your settlement, to the end that when n start you can continue on your journey directly to the point selected, and in this y save a great deal of money that otherwise would be expended in looking up loca s.

Very respectfully,

JOHN P. ST. JO

rnor.

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTM

July 1879.

ALLEN HAROLD,
Jewett, Leon County, Texas:

DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of the 13th instant, I have the honor t ate that on yesterday I wrote to R. F. Bemers, at Jewett, informing him, as I now i rm you, that neither the State of Kansas nor the United States Government furnis aid to any class of immigrants. The only inducement that is offered to any one come to Kansas is a good country, rich soil, healthy climate, with full enjoyment o ll rights before the law guaranteed to every human being.

All that come here, black or white, are expected to make their own living ich they can do if they are only honest, industrious, sober, and work hard enough. ring the last four months about 5,000 colored people have come to Kansas from vario portions of the South, and as a general rule I believe are getting along very well, a l events none have starved to death, nor have I heard of any returning to the Sou rom the State.

I send you to-day an agricultural report, which will give you much infor on about Kansas.

If you are doing well in Texas, making a support for yourself and fam and enjoying the rights and privileges of the laws of the country guaranteed to y you had better stay there than to sacrifice what you have in an effort to come to nsas, but of this matter you should decide and not me.

Very truly,

JOHN P. ST. N,

vernor.

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE DEPAR NT,

Aug 2, 1879.

C. P. HICKS, Esq.,
Brenham Tex.:

MY DEAR SIR: In answer to your letter of the 30th ultimo, I desire to nd to you my thanks. It is full of wise and timely suggestions. I have just wr n at some length to Judge Hackworth, giving to him some of the reasons why the ple of the North are not aroused on the exodus question to the extent that they ou to be. I have written hundreds of letters to colored men in the South, stating them the whole truth in relation to Kansas and the North, and what they might a night not expect if they came here. I have stated to them that neither the State n e general government extends aid to any class of emigrants. That all who com re are expected to make their own living by their own exertions independent e help of State or association. That Kansas offers *only* as an inducement good so ealthy climate, protection under the law, coupled with a free ballot and free sch . But all this seems to have had no effect upon the colored people. They still co e to come in their squalid poverty, penniless and breadless, and I can say to you th nless they change their present policy and cease to come in such large numbers in such a perfect state of destitution, there will necessarily be suffering among th uring the coming winter. Kansas now has about seven thousand refugees. We dispose of that number and take care of them, although our State is young and o eople as a class are not wealthy; yet if as many more should come it would not only rstock the labor market, but would render it utterly impossible for us to provic r them. I desire to impress upon you and through you your people the importance ot coming North unless they come prepared to take care of themselves. If those desire to come are friends of their race, and are anxious that the present moveme hould succeed, they will have to heed and be governed by this advice, otherwise t movement will end in a failure.

I have always been and am now and always expect to be a true friend he colored people, and I speak thus plainly to the end that should they continue t be entirely destitute, and suffer by reason thereof, no one can be blamed but t selves. In other words, they cannot say that any citizen of Kansas has misled n. Kansas presents a fine field for those who are sober, industrious, and economica d have the means to start with. Your suggestions in relation to the Freedmen's A ation sending agents through the South to make correct representations is a very good one, but I doubt its practicability, for if such agent would talk as I talk to you and you to me, stating the truth, they would not believe him, and would think he was working in the interests of white people, sent out and paid by them to prevent the colored race from reaching the "promised land."

It is very difficult to induce some of them to believe that I am the author of letters already written to colored men in the South, stating to them the truth as I state it to you in relation to this matter. I know of no better way now than to continue to tell those people the plain truth, and then if they continue to come to do the best we can with means at our command, and if it ends in their suffering they will have no one to blame.

Yours, very truly,

JOHN P. ST. JOHN,
Governor

HAZLEHURST, *August* 31, 1879.

Governor ST. JOHN:

DEAR SIR: In obedience to the request of many of my race, will you allow me to address you a few lines on the subject of our condition here. On my return from your State, I found my people all wanting and looking to hear the news about Kansas. I told them of your kind advice to us, and they all determined to emigrate to that glorious country next fall and spring. The white people here got on foot another way by which to prevent us from leaving. They have got up a written petition going around to see who they can get to sign it, not to pay the colored people any money for anything they have got to sell here. We have a bad way of getting off. If, therefore, I am not presuming too much on your kindness, may I ask you if your committee couldn't make some arrangement with some steamboat company to carry us there with teams and wagons at reduced rates, as the railroad will not bring us all through. I should be very sorry to trespass on your valuable time, or give you useless trouble, knowing as I do that your committee has done so much for our down-trodden people; yet if I could insure your kindly interest and influence, it would confer a very great favor on me, and one which I shall ever appreciate, as I shall feel very highly gratified by a line or two at your leisure.

With many thanks for past favors, and best wishes for your present and future happiness,

I remain, your obedient servant,

E. HANDY, SR.

HAZLEHURST, MISS.

SAN FELIPE, AUSTIN COUNTY, TEXAS,
September 8, 1879.

His Excellency, Governor of the State of Kansas:

DEAR SIR: Hearing that you are a friend of the freedmen and take an interest in the welfare of the colored race, I appeal to you in behalf of myself and brethren of this section for a little light or information on the following: What will we have to pay for land in Kansas? Can we school our children there if we pay the tuition? Are we treated there like here, like brutes, or human beings; can we vote for who we please; can we bring our stock and horses and mules with us; can you not send an emigrant agent to Hempstead, Texas, for a short time? Please answer by letter or circular, and all other information about the State, &c., that you can. There are a large number from this section of Texas that want to go to Kansas, or somewhere else out of the South, but we have no one to give us any information in regard to Kansas; but, on the contrary, are told by people here that we would freeze to death there, and that you just want to get us there to make slaves of us. We want to know the truth of all.

There are at least one thousand families anxious to leave here, but they want to bring their cows, oxen, horses, and mules with them. Some of us own over a hundred head of cows. These that I speak of will all be able to buy their supplies for another year. We have blacksmiths and mechanics and can do our own building. We are peaceful and law-abiding and can do as much work as anybody. We cannot better our condition here, and we are satisfied that if we are allowed to live that we cannot do worse nowhere else. We are cheated and swindled out of our cotton, and that is our main dependence for money; the land-owner and merchant sweep us up every year, so that we get but little of anything out of our crops. Lands here are held at $15 to $20 per acre, part cash, and interest at 12 per cent. from date; some have bought at these prices and nearly paid out, and are now sued for their lands, as claimed by other parties; absent heirs and minors and married women have all the good land here in a state subject to litigation, titles doubtful to all of it, old Mexican claims, &c., all to swindle the negro. The young people growing up are being sent to the penitentiary and hired out on sugar farms, and I expect in a few years, if we stay here, that we will all be reduced to slavery. Please let us hear from you.

Yours, truly,

SCIPIO McKENZIE.

EPES STATION, ALA.

Confidential.]

Excellency Governor ST. JOHN:

DEAR SIR: By accident I procured your address through your letter in the Cincinnati Gazette of August 9, in regard to refugee colored people, and I most respectfully ask your indulgence and answers to a few questions in which thousands of the same class of unfortunate people are vitally interested. We infer that refugees from tyranny and oppression are welcome in your State if they can get there.

Please inform us what number can find an asylum with you in the West; is there room for all who can get there, for nearly all want to go; can you furnish statistics of the resources of your State, how many willing workers can find employment, what character of work, what price of wages, cost of living, &c., what route from Alabama the best, probable cost of transportation; is an overland private conveyance route practicable for able-bodied men and women with a few wagons and teams to haul provisions and light baggage; is the water line preferable to rail for women and children and old men; can contracts be closed with reliable companies (to wit, railroad companies) or others for a large number of laborers, to wit, lots of one hundred to two hundred; can any assistance in the way of transportation or necessary supplies be obtained, the same to be returned in labor; or money when made; is it best for the able-bodied to go ahead of the feeble and procure subsistence, or can all move together without the fear of great suffering and privations? A brief statement of our condition here may not be out of place. As Republicans we are completely hedged in socially, politically, and financially, the bitterness intensified against native whites who dare utter or entertain sentiments opposed to Bourbonism; the more helpless and ignorant colored people who submit more readily to oppression and who aspire to nothing higher than slavery, fare better, but the better class of colored people who have higher aspirations find the South a hard road to travel; the criminal code of our State is so framed that it is a mere question of time when three-fourths of the colored people will be remanded to a condition worse than slavery; these horrors, coupled with the fact that few, very few of the toiling thousands are permitted to lay up a dollar from his hard year's toil (owing to the downright swindling of his landlord and master,) has after years of suffering and patient forbearance unsettled and demoralized the average workingmen of the South, and with charity for all and malice to none, like Israel of old, he proposes to pull out and try his fortunes in other climes, even if it takes him through the wilderness and across the river.

Asking pardon for trespassing so much on your valuable time, I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

B. R. THOMAS.

P. S.—Any information your friends may be able to furnish us will be sent to me to the care of John A. Thomas, route agent Alabama and Great Southern Railroad, Chattanooga, Tenn., who will hand it to me without risk of personal safety.

YALE SEMINARY, TEX., *November* 15, 1879.

Governor ST. JOHN:

DEAR SIR: I am an applicant for appointment of superintendent of census for Eastern Texas, or a part thereof. I have just received a letter from Judge A. B. Norton, of Dallas, Tex., who says he met you in Kansas a short time since. He advised me to notify you of my application, and said you would doubtless write me a commendation to Hon. Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior, which would be of service to me. This, if consistent with you, I respectfully ask you to do, not as a relative, but as a Republican. I am branded as a radical of extreme stamp, which I do not deny. I have severely criticised the administration for its leniency towards those who forfeited their lives by treason, and charged it with fostering in the South "treason as the passport to office, emoluments, and honors." I do not withdraw the charge, nor do I deny that his policy has worked well for Republicanism in the North; but while in reconstruction I did not desire the literal fulfillment of the constitutional requirement of "death for treason," I never had, nor expect to ever have, any sympathy with a reconstruction surrendering the "lives, fortunes, and sacred honors" of the loyal men of the South to the vengeance of unreconstructed rebels. I have suffered enough to be bitter. For the last six years my life has been worse than a living death. Myself and family ostracized, stripped of the earnings of a lifetime by rebel malice, and thrown out of any business I am competent to fill—you know I have been a cripple from childhood—so we are so poor we can hardly live with a tantalizing, Northern people cannot even imagine, for the fiendism is beyond belief—you may imagine that I am not only bitter, but expect to remain bitter. Every white Republican that I know who has not accepted rebelism has been hounded down to destitution and disgrace, while the condition of the colored citizen, as a rule, is much worse than when they were slaves. Courts are mockeries of justice. Engines of oppression for all who cannot shout the rebel shibboleth. I know some fifty colored men now in the penitentiary for the prime cause of being Republicans. They were hounded into violation of law by those who should never have been pardoned for their murders. I do not know a single colored man of talent who has persisted in his Republican faith but has been hunted, persecuted, robbed, killed, or the victim unjustly of rebel administration of law. They are afraid to complain of their wrongs even to each other. I will burden you with but a single instance: A colored man rented a place two and a half miles from Palestine, Tex. He and family worked steadily until his crop—his portion of it—was worth $500. He was Kukluxed under a trumped up charge of theft, taken from home, and whipped unmercifully, part of the Kuklux band regular rebel officers. I have the names of the crowd; was told that if he attempted to go back to the place he would be killed. The next night his wife was visited by the same crowd—she was looking to be confined—and was notified to leave at once, under penalty of death, and her fright kept her long near the verge of the grave. He lost all his labor; dare not ask for fear of his life any recompense for his labor. I could fill volumes of similar cases, and though there is silence now, it is the silence of fear, for we all have felt, and still feel, there is no redress.

Reconstruction is a failure. The loyal element is stripped to destitution. Let the rebels pay the war debt. This is but simple justice. Give them something to do instead of playing Kuklux. Punish them for the violation of their amnesty oath. Let "treason cease to be glorious." When I first proposed to apply for the superinteadent's position, I had but little hope. I wrote ex-Governor Davis, the best governor Texas ever had, and one of the best men who ever lived, to say a word in my behalf. He told me the administration had very roundly notified him none of his advice was wanted, and that his commendation would work more against than for me.

Like Governor Davis, my pride revolted against asking a position under an administration whose policy spread death and desolation to the loyal men of the South; but it is said "necessity knows no law." Please excuse the tiresome length of this letter.

Yours, respectfully,

Prof. JASPER STARR, P. M.,
Yale Seminary, Texas.,

Henderson County.

Q. I want to ask you about the barracks that were said to have been destroyed at Topeka.—A. That was in the inception of the thing, during the yellow-fever excitement. The barracks were rouhgly erected; and I would state that there was a feeling between the north and south sides of the town. Those on the south side thought the people on the other side were trying to impose on them. They drew up the lumber for the barracks, but the people there were afraid of the yellow fever being brought there by the negroes, and some of the lumber was thrown into the river that night, and the barracks, with whatever work was done on them, were torn down. It was the next day taken out of town to its present location.

Q. Then they were not torn down on account of the opposition to the negroes?—A. I think it was the fear of this contagious disease; I think they were very properly moved away from there.

Now there has been something said about the new headquarters here, and I desire to say something on that subject, particularly as to the amount of goods received and the purposes of the association. I was not connected with this association until in September. The former board met one evening and resigned one after another, and elected other officers. I was one of those elected, and was informed of it the next morning. While I think it is injurious to a man in office to hold any position in that board, I felt that somebody would have to take hold of it, and I was willing to take my share. We found, however, that the matter was growing on our hands in the way of contributions, and, in fact, everything connected with the exodus. We were renting property up town where we stored the goods and held the meetings and made the distributions. We found it necessary to build there barracks, and we had the lumber either donated to Mrs. Comstock or to the board. I was going to state that where so many people were arriving, it was absolutely necessary to have a larger place, and we built the barracks to store the goods in. It was built on land belonging to Mr. Brown, with the understanding that after the exodus was over he was to buy it at an appraised valuation.

Q. What about the goods?—A. The goods have been honestly distributed as a rule. The distributions are made by men who receive no pay—colored men; and so it was with regard to the barracks, for they were built by colored men.

Q. Can you state the amount of money and goods handled by your association?—A. You mean that has been received?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. There were about $10,000 received before, and about $20,000 since, my connection with the association; and two or three tons of goods have been received since.

Q. Who are the salaried officers of the association?—A. Nobody but Colonel Brown, and he since January only, at $60 a month.

Q. He furnishes a horse and buggy, does he not?—A. Yes, sir; he does.

Q. Do you have any physicians' bills to pay?—A. Yes, sir; and I have the amount here; I will state that I was very much dissatisfied with this statement reported by Dr. Hibberd. I called on him and told him I would expect him to give me a statement of the number of cases treated by him, the character of the disease, and the amount of pay received, and I said to him I wanted it tolerably full. I failed to get it until the day I left, at twelve o'clock. He gave me this statement, which is not satisfactory, and I do not suppose it will be to the committee:

TOPEKA, ———, 18—.

								$37 50
From	Sept. 15	to	Nov. 1,	No. invalids,	75,	amount	received	40 50
"	Nov. 1	"	Dec. 1,	" "	80,	"	"	70 00
"	Dec. 1	"	Jan. 1,	" "	100,	"	"	112 50
"	Jan. 1	"	Feb. 1,	" "	200,	"	"	110 50
"	Feb. 1	"	March 2,	" "	100,	"	"	138 50
"	Nov. 1	"	April 1,	" "	300,	"	"	

Prevalent diseases:

Among adults; pneumonia, typhoid fever, dysentery.

Among children; pneumonia, with complications of typhoid, measles, mumps, diarrhea.

Q. How long was Dr. Stringfellow the physician?—A. He was tending the patients before I became a member of the board.

Q. Do you know of any dissatisfaction with him?—A. I heard it from members of the board, who told me there was a complaint that the doctor did not attend to them promptly, and they discharged him; and also they objected to his bill.

Q. Did he receive some compensation for his services?—A. Yes, sir; I understood so.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You spoke of a bureau that was established at Cairo?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who is there attending to it?—A. We sent Mr. Lynch down there to superintend it, and I have a letter from him stating what he did.

Q. He is a colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there any person associated with him?—A. There is some party there from Kansas City, I think, but I do not know who it is.

Q. Who else has anything to do with that bureau?—A. Mr. Brown has an order to go there; there is a standing order on the board minute books to that effect.

Q. Well, that bureau is established there to keep immigration off of you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is a sort of sentinel outpost to turn it away from Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say you have agents for that purpose in the South?—A. Yes, sir; and those agents are Mr. Lynch and this colored man from Kansas City.

Q. Does he go down into the South for that purpose?—A. He wrote last, I believe, from Tennessee.

Q. Why should he go South on this business if you are not trying to encourage it?—A. Well, sir; we sent men to Saint Louis to try to stop it, but when the emigrants got there they had tickets to our city, so we sent them to Cairo to try to turn them away.

Q. Why did these agents go to Tennessee?—A. He wrote to me that he heard they were about to start in large numbers from Nashville, and he went down there to divert it from our State.

Q. I notice that you have made a distinction in your testimony, that while Kansas would welcome all immigrants who were self-supporting, that you do not want any pauper immigration.—A. No, sir; we want none of that sort, white or black

Q. Is not nine-tenths of this emigration from the South a pauper emigration?—A. Yes, sir; and that is the trouble with it.

Q. Then the real public sentiment of your State is against it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Governor St. John is a candidate for re-election, is he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And one of the points made against him is whether or not he is in favor of this immigration?—A. That is one of the points urged against him, that he is in favor of it.

Q. Is it not true that he was afraid of the effect of that, and that he has sent these copies of letters here to Mr. Haskell in order to make his position clear, out at home?—A. I do not know, sir. Mr. Haskell said he expected to have debated this question with some one, and he thought it necessary to have these letters.

Q. I understand you that this point is made on Governor St. John, and you have his letters here to make his position clear on that subject. —A. I went to him before I left, and he spoke to me about it, and I suggested to him to give me these letters, and he said they were here.

Q. Have you his authority to use his letters?—A. He told me they were here.

Q. You spoke of a meeting in the city of Chicago, in which it was stated that the city of Chicago would take fifty thousand of these emigrants.—A. Mrs. Comstock told me about that.

Q. Don't you know that it has not been two years since the military forces were called out in Chicago to put down a bread riot?—A. I don't know anything about it or about this meeting, except as Mrs. Comstock and Governor St. John told me.

Q. Do you think fifty thousand of them could be landed in that city peaceably?—A. I think fifty thousand pauper immigration were distributed in the community in which they were landed.

Q. What court are you judge of?—A. The probate court.

Q. You say that only three of these emigrants told you they had suffered personal violence in the South?—A. Yes, sir; that is all.

Q. And that was in 1872?—A. Yes, sir; but they said they had heard of others.

Q. I do not care to investigate how you have disposed of the money that you have received, but I suppose you will be able to account for it?—A. Yes, sir; we have kept regular accounts of it.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Was it your understanding that the city of Chicago would take fifty thousand of these people and accommodate them?—A. No, sir; I understood that at a citizens' meeting, they agreed as a State that they would take up and absorb fifty thousand of them.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Are you or your agents sending any of them to Indiana?—A. I wish we could, but I do not think they are.

Q. What county in Indiana do you come from?—A. I came from Spencer County, in the first district. I wish, myself, that I could send some of them in there to the first district. It is a good State. That is Mr. Heilman's district, and I doubt whether he can get back from there.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Was any offer ever made to you to send them there?—A. No, sir; none, except the suggestion to avoid sending them out there to us. I think, in fact, all the Southern States have emigration boards to bring immigrants into other States, which is a thing we have not in Kansas.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN D. KNOX.

JOHN D. KNOX sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Mr. Knox, where do you reside?—Answer. I reside in Topeka, Kans.

Q. Have you had any connection with the Relief Board of Kansas?—A. I have been a director since September 12, 1879.

Q. Have you held any office in the board?—A. I have been its treasurer, sir.

Q. Tell us how much money has been received by the board, and what has been done with it?—A. Mr. Bosworth stated to me that he was the first treasurer, and I find that the money he had on hand was turned over to Mr. Francis, his successor, and the State treasurer of Kansas, on May 13, 1879; that was $2,193.12. Then from the 13th of May to the 12th of September there came into the hands of Mr. Francis $6,202.76. Mr. Francis paid out on order $7,783.49. Then on the 12th of September Mr. Francis paid over to me $612.39. Then there came into my hands in addition to that, from September 12th up to the first of April, 1860, $29,908.33.

I believe I was requested by the committee to be able to state the amount of money in my hands on the first day of this month. Now, on the first day of this month there was a balance to the credit of the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association of $7.653.02.

Q. How much money passed through Mr. Bosworth's hands during the thirty days from the meeting in the opera house to the day he resigned on the 13th of May?—A. I do not know that.

Q. Where did the money come from?—A. The most of it, as far as I recollect, came from checks, mainly from New England, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and quite an amount from England. It was directed that all the money should pass into the treasurer's hands, and that he should give a receipt for it to the secretary.

Q. What was it used for?—A. I have a statement here which will give it in a few words. The extract is from the forthcoming report of the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association.

(Reading:)

About the Exodites.—The forthcoming report of the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association shows the amount of donations received by the association from October 17, 1879, the date of the last report, up to March 31, to be $29,495.71, while the expenditures during the same period have been $23,488.79. Prominent among the expenditures are the following items: Groceries and provisions, $2,884.85; dry-goods for underclothing, etc., $1,806.14; boots and shoes, $2,578.07; coffins and funeral expenses, $468.25; medical aid and medicines, $633.50; freight, $1,686.69; transportation of refugees, $1,371.10; from which some idea may be formed of the nature and the amount of the labor performed by the association in furnishing homes and providing for the wants of the exodites. Mrs. Elizabeth L. Comstock, who came here last fall to look after the interests of the refugees, has been indefatigable in their behalf, and has through her personal exertions and influence raised $23,000 of the above amount, besides several car loads of lumber and agricultural implements, and an indefinite number of boxes and barrels of clothing, crockery-ware, garden-seeds, etc. More than $3,000 has been sent here from England in cash; also a large lot of crockery and clothing, which she succeeded in getting duty free, under a special act of Congress.

We hope to give a detailed statement of the affairs of the association as soon as the report is printed.

Q. What are the purposes and objects of that association?—A. To relieve the immediate necessities of the refugees as far as possible, and to find them places in which they can make a living.

Q. Are there any political motives that entered into it?—A. I have no knowledge of any.

Q. Have there been any efforts made by your organization to get these people to come there?—A. Since my connection with it in September, we have done everything we could to discourage the people from coming there, especially if they could get along where they were.

Q. Why?—A. Because we thought it was best for these people not to come there when they could not support themselves, and we thought that enough had come to fill all the places that were open to them.

Q. Did you hear Mr. Carey testify?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you talked with any of these people about their leaving the South?—A. Not so much as others have. Before they went out of the north side I was at the fair grounds, and talked with some of them. They seemed anxious for work and said that all they wanted was a chance to work and make a living.

Q. What did they say as to the causes of their leaving?—A. I had not much talk with them, but I talked several times confidentially to the Rev. Mr. Lynch. I said, "Brother Lynch, why do these people leave the South and come here?" and he said that one reason was that their children were outraged down there, ill-treated, and sometimes their wives, and they could not resist unless they resorted to personal violence. I met two others, and asked them "How long have you been here?" and they said, "One year." I asked where they were from, and they said, "From Mississippi." I asked them why they did not stay there, and they said, "We could not get along there; we were in debt sometimes as much as five hundred dollars at the end of the year."

Q. What do you know about any of them going back?—A. I know of none of them going back.

Q. Do you know of any inducements held out to any of them to go back?—A. I saw a statement in one of the papers that some persons in Texas had worked for them. I am of the opinion that quite a number came there able to take care of themselves. Then there were many who came and went right on through without going to the barracks or telling anybody about their being there.

Q. You are a Republican, are you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you not scared along with other members of your party, for fear that you would lose the State on account of these immigrants coming there and creating a disturbance among the whites?—A. No, sir; I think there are one or two thousand good honest Democrats in Kansas who will help us to take care of them.

Q. Where would you find them, do you think?—A. I think there are some there—I hope a good many.

Q. What do you know of the manner in which the colored colonies are getting along in Kansas?—A. Last fall I had occasion to go thirty or forty miles west of Topeka, and I was glad to see the colored people about there in Wabaunsie County getting along well, and their children there were even a little better fixed up than those of the white people who had been there for some length of time.

Q. These people had been there for some time?—A. Yes, sir; I judge they had been for some time.

Q. Was not something said, at one time, about raising money to support that colony out there, and it refusing it?—A. No, sir; that was Nicodemus Colony. I did not hear of it until it was started, and the people were a little indignant that the railroad would let these people go out there on the high black prairie to live when they had nothing to go on. I saw a man from there, however, who said that it was wonderful how they were getting along. They went to work and dug up the ground until they made it look like a garden. One man whose legs were frozen went out there and settled in one of these places. They finally needed help, however, and at a conference held at Salina, aid was raised for them, and men sent out there with teams to help them. But still it was astonishing how they were getting along.

Q. Well, these colored people that went out there needed no more help than white people that went there under the same circumstances?—A. No, sir; we had to help the whites out there, too. We thought it wrong, at first, in the railroad to send them out there without civilizing the climate for them beforehand.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. If they can get along so well out there, why is it necessary to have that bureau down at Cairo?—A. It is not a "bureau," sir; I have not so termed it.

Q. Judge Carey so called it, I believe?—A. Well, he is right, probably, to give it that name if he thinks so.

Q. Why have you got it there now?—A. I never authorized Mr. Lynch to go there at all.

Q. Do you think it right for them to come to Kansas?—A. Many of them can do well there. In the western part of the State I think the farmers have plenty of work for them.

Q. Have not you discussed this proposition, that, as the negroes were moving it would be a good thing to put a number of them into Indiana, and that it would be a good political move on the part of the Republicans?—A. No, sir; we never discussed that; I do not think we care a cent whether it is Democratic or not.

Q. Do you mean to say that that board, all of whom are good Republicans, would not care a cent about carrying Indiana for the Presidential candidate this fall?—A. I say that that thing has not been discussed.

Q. Don't you know that these men on that board are Republicans?—A. I do not know them all. I do not know that they are Republicans; but I hope we have not deceived ourselves. When I was elected some of my friends said for me not to take the place; that if I did, it would be supposed to be a political matter, and the other board resigned for the same reason.

Q. But do you think, Mr. Knox, that the board does not care whether or not Indiana goes Democratic this fall?—A. Well, perhaps, it is putting it a little too strong to say that.

Q. What discussions have you had about diverting this stream of emigration into other States, and, if so, where to?—A. The board has spoken of different places. The Rev. Mr. Gilbert, who has been president, thought we could open up a large colony in Dakota, while a little north of there still there are winds that make it genial enough to raise fruit. He thought the government could be gotten to help settle them there.

Q. Have you or your board seen the able and learned speech of the honorable Senator from Minnesota on that subject?—A. No, sir.

Q. Has Minnesota been suggested as a place to which to send them?—A. I cannot recollect that Minnesota has been named. They have named Nebraska, Iowa, and Illinois, I know.

Q. And Indiana?—A. I do not think that Indiana has been mentioned as much as Illinois, and I cannot say whether it has been avoided purposely or not.

Q. Have you seen a notice of a meeting in Chicago, which promised to take fifty thousand of these people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you see it in the papers?—A. Yes, sir; I understood that there would be arrangements made in the State to place fifty thousand there, but not wholly in the city.

Q. Do you know who took the responsibility of pledging the State of Illinois to take fifty thousand of these people?—A. No, sir; I do not know the parties.

Q. Was Mrs. Comstock there at that meeting?—A. I think I heard her say that she was at that meeting.

Q. Now I do not know that I have got your own true position on this question?—A. Well, sir?

Q. I think you would make a pretty good politician. You have not stated yet whether you are in favor of this exodus to Kansas or not. You say that Kansas is a good place for them, and yet you have picketed men out there at Cairo to keep them out. Now I want you to say whether you are in favor of this immigation or not.—A. Well, sir, I would not want to see them coming there very fast.

Q. You want them to sort of "slow up," do you?—A. Yes, sir; I might say this, by way of explanation, that more of the labor might have been employed in Kansas if the white folks had not told them, when they got there, to ask too high for their work.

Q. How much were they asking?—A. Well, sir; corn is very cheap there, and they can live quite economically, yet they wanted a dollar and a quarter a day, when I thought they could have gotten plenty of work at a dollar a day—which is about five bushels of corn. I think the white folks stood in their way, and kept them from getting work by this advice.

TESTIMONY OF G. C. WEST.

G. C. **West** sworn and examined.

By Mr. **Windom**:

Question. Where do you reside, Mr. West?—Answer. In Topeka, Kans., sir.

Q. Have you had any connection with the Freedmen's Relief Association of Kansas?—A. No, sir; I have had no connection with that association whatever.

Q. Have you talked with any of these people who have come from the South?—A. I have talked with them a little bit—only occasionally, however; I have not made any extensive inquiries among them. When they first commenced coming there, I talked with a good many of them. They came into my office there when they were talking about getting up this relief association.

Q. What reasons did they give for coming to Kansas?—A. They had two or three reasons. Some of them had a sort of vague, indefinable fear of being bulldozed occasionally in the South.

Q. What was the appearance of these people when they came there?—A. They had the appearance of people who were extremely destitute, sir.

Q. Have the people of Kansas, and outside, taken some pains to relieve their immediate wants?—A. The people of Kansas had to do it, for somebody had to do it, and it fell upon them to do it. There was a vast number of paupers coming in there on the town, and something had to be done for them.

Q. Do you know how many of them got employment?—A. I have heard nothing about it except through this relief board. In fact, I do not know much about it, and I think I have told you all I do know.

Adjourned to Thursday, April 22, 1880.

FORTY-NINTH DAY.

Washington, D. C., *April* 22, 1880.

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m. Present, Messrs. Voorhees (chairman), Vance, Windom, and Blair.

TESTIMONY OF H. RUBY.

H. **Ruby** (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. **Windom**:

Question. Please state where you live, Mr. Ruby.—Answer. I am residing in Kansas.

Q. At what point?—A. Oswego, Southern Kansas.

Q. Where has been your home for the past few years?—A. For the last ten years I have lived in Texas.

Q. What part of Texas?—A. From the county of Galveston to as high up as McLennan County.

Q. Where were you born?—A. I was born in New York City.

Q. Did you come from New York to Texas?—A. I went from Central America to Texas.

Q. Did you emigrate from Texas to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did any others go with you?—A. Yes, sir; ten families went when I did.

Q. You had some reason for going, I suppose; what was it?—A. Well, sir, last July there was a colored man's conference held at Houston, and I was a delegate from my county. The county delegation from my district elected me as a commissioner of emigration; and these colored men that wanted to leave got me to go and pick out locations for them.

Q. You attended the convention at Houston?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the desire among these people to emigrate?—A. The call for the convention was issued the 20th of May, and in the call it was stated that it was a convention for the colored men to take into consideration the religious, political, and educational interests of their race.

Q. Were any complaints made at that convention as to their treatment in Texas?—A. Yes, sir; a majority of the delegates claimed that there were reasons for leaving; and the idea was to impress on the people to get away from there on account of the obnoxious laws of the State.

Q. What features of the laws did they complain of?—A. They complained of this law making qualifications for jurors—that they must be freeholders and know how to read and write.

Q. That is to say, they must own lands?—A. Yes, sir; be a freeholder or householder; then they also complained of the inefficiency of the school law.

Q. Does that jury law apply to whites and blacks alike?—A. Yes, sir; the colored men rent houses and lands but they are not freeholders.

Q. Were there any complaints?—A. Well, they go on to complain that as they did not put the colored man on the juries a good many of them were prosecuted wrongfully and convicted because the white people did not like the blacks.

Q. What powers have the courts or county judges in the way of fining people for minor offenses, and hiring them out?—A. That is one feature that has helped them away; that a colored man, or any other man, can be arrested on a pretext and convicted, and that while they used to send them to Huntsville to the penitentiary they now hire them out. Where a man gets intoxicated or plays a game of cards, he is tried before the county judge and fined, and the courts work in the lawyer's fee, until the whole thing amounts up to sixty-five, seventy-five, or one hundred dollars; and it is a law of the State that makes it the duty of the county judge to hire the man out at any figures he pleases.

Q. Does the law limit the judge to any price per day?—A. No, sir; he can make it as high or as low as he pleases.

Q. What are they hired out to do?—A. To work out their fine and costs and the lawyer's fees.

Q. Do you know of any instances of that kind?—A. I know of many instances in Burleson County. I know of one instance where a colored man went to work out his fine, and a white man who was convicted just the same was allowed to stay in jail.

Q. Do you know of any place where white men or women are hired out in that way?—A. No, sir; the men who do the hiring claim that they have got no use for white men or women. If he is an ordinary colored man they keep him in jail, too, because they don't want him, though the judge is supposed to hire him out.

Q. At what rates generally do they hire?—A. I know of one instance in the county of Matagorda, where I used to live before I went to Burleson County—Galveston, Brazoria, and Matagorda Counties are in the same district. Over in Matagorda County, where the county judge was a member of the sixteenth legislature, a colored woman was arrested, and the judge hired her out at a quarter of a cent a day.

Q. To work out how much of a fine?—A. I think thirty dollars, or something of that sort.

Q. Do you know of any other instance?—A. I know of others where they would hire out, but not at as low figures as that. I know of many who have been working for the last three years to pay up their fines.

Q. Do you know for what amount of fines they are condemned to work for three years?—A. This man who was arrested in Milam County for carrying a six-shooter was fined sixty-five dollars; I think the costs and lawyer's fees amounted to sixty-five dollars. He wanted them to give him time to send for a white man to work out the fine, and he went and made an arrangement with the judge, but he did not allow him to work it out with the man that he wanted to, but hired him out to another man.

Q. How long has he been at work?—A. He was at work all last year and the year before last, and the year before that again.

Q. Was that on a county farm?—A. No, sir; they call these people county convicts, and if you have got a farm you can go and hire them out of the jail. They have got that system, and the colored men object to it. I know some of these men who have State convicts that they hire and they work them under shot-guns. A farmer hires so many of the State, and they are under the supervision of a sergeant with a gun and nigger-hounds, to run them with if they get away. They hire them and put them in the same gang with the striped suit on, and, if they want, the guard can bring them down with his shot-gun. Then they have these nigger-hounds, and if one of them gets off and they can't find him, they take the hounds, and from a shoe, or anything of the kind belonging to the convict, they trail him down.

Q. Are these the same sort of blood-hounds they used to have to run the negroes with?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What kind of dogs are they when they catch a fellow?—A. They are liable to eat him up if somebody is not there to keep them from it.

Q. Is there any penalty for running away which renews the fine?—A. Yes, sir; if a man runs away he has to go back and work his fine out. That has been the law from the thirteenth legislature down to the present time.

Q. I suppose you do not mean to say that the law authorizes pursuing them with bloodhounds, but that that is the practice?—A. Yes, sir; the law does not authorize, but it is done.

Q. Do you know of any instance where a man has run away and been caught and fined again?—A. Yes, sir; I know one man who ran away and was caught and went away again; he got away from them and went out of the county and came back about cotton-picking time; he was brought back and served out the original sentence, and then the parties brought in their charges against him for going after him.

Q. And does he have to work that out, too?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know anything of this man for whom a requisition was sent from Texas to Kansas?—A. No, sir; if I heard his name I might know him.

Q. What is the law in Texas with regard to the tenants selling their own products?—A. There is a law on the statute books that no man who runs a place has a right to sell a watermelon or anything he raises until the landlord gets his rent.

Q, What do they call that law?—A. I think it is the landlord and tenant act.

Q. Do you think that that is the intention of the law?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It does not merely apply to persons who have a contract to that effect?—A. No, sir; for very seldom do they make a written contract; it is generally verbal that they shall pay so much per acre, generally five dollars per acre. If the contract were written the landlords would have to stand closer to their contracts. I know in 1871 that we rented fifteen acres at five dollars per acre, and the contract we made bound the landlord to make good fences, and his hogs got in and ate up our corn and he had to pay us. I know another case where the cows got in and eat up a man's crop and he forced him to keep them out.

Q. What is the custom there as to selling seed-cotton?—A. Some of the planters won't allow their blacks to sell their seed-cotton. The gentleman I have been boarding with in Burleson County would not allow them to sell it. We haul the cotton-seed to town and get half for that. If a man hauls two tons he gets half of it and can make a trip in a day and a half. Down on the Carpenter place there were some boys hauling cotton-seed to town, and when they went back to get another load the man asked them what they came for and they said, "for the cotton-seed." He said he would not let them have it until he got an order. That shows you the way that they do when there is no contract.

Q. That was not under a contract, then?—A. No, sir; it was just on his say so. I know of other people on the Dogtown place who would not let them have it after promising it to them.

Q. Are there any difficulties or obstacles interposed in the way of the colored people buying land there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know anything of the Skull Creek colony?—A. Yes, sir; it is west of Columbus and was established about six years ago. There have been several established in Texas but they have been broken up. The only one I know in operation is at Fort Bend County, in the Senegambian settlements. This Skull Creek colony was composed of some of the best people in these counties. They went there thirty or forty years ago, but last June a crowd of men went down there and killed one of the leading men as he was coming from town with his cotton money and groceries. The people heard the reports of the guns and went out and found him riddled with buckshot and one of his mules gone. They made all kinds of threats against them, and when they could not run them out that way they put up placards telling them to "leave this neck of timber or we will make you."

Q. These placards were addressed to whom?—A. To the colored people of that colony.

Q. What was the result?—A. Some of the young men said they would not go away, but a few weeks afterwards they had to go; their fences were burned and so were their cotton-houses and cribs; they were all burned in that colony except two houses, one belonging to a poor white person and another one in which a white man lived.

Q. How many were there in that colony before that?—A. There were twelve families, I think. The only drawback and the fault we find in Texas is that we do not know whether we are safe when we get a homestead. That is what some of them complained of from Lee County.

Q. Tell us what you know about that.—A. In that case even the good people around Giddings say that the outrages were uncalled for. They say that the cow-boys went in there and killed these people at that place.

Q. How many people were there living there?—There were two hundred and fifty or three hundred living there, but they broke up the colony and went back on the farms where they were before.

Q. What do you know about Wharton County?—A. There some of the colored people had paid for their lands and some had not, and a number of cow-boys from Colorado County went in there and killed one of their men.

Q. Have they been broken up in that settlement?—A. Yes, sir. That, I say, is one of the only drawbacks—that they are not safe. Before they left Texas some efforts were made to establish colonies up in the Pan Handle part of Texas, where they could have a chance to make a living, but they said they were afraid of buying land. I know a man who bought from his old master, named Sandy Simmons, in Burleson County, and lost it.

Q. He lost it for the want of a good title?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know Mr. Stafford, who lives out there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where is he?—A. He has gone back to Kansas.

Q. Do you know why he left?—A. He was run out of Grimes County in the night time. He stood pretty high there for a while, but he had to go out.

Q. He was summoned here as a witness, was he not, and was discharged?—A. Yes, sir. I will tell you about him. Two years ago they made him the chairman of the county executive Republican committee. He was a man that ownedtwo plantations himself, and was a prominent colored man. When he bought his plantation of one hundred and sixty acres there was nobody living there at all. Then there were seven or eight families come in and they owned together about four miles square there, four miles of Anderson and four miles of Nova Sota.' He was finally notified that the white people would make up a party to kill him, but he paid no attention to it. He met one of his white men friends and talked to him, and said he talked with him until sundown, and he finally told him, "Yes, Stafford, there is a plan to kill you, and you had better get away." So he left the night before they were to come. He came up the Great Northern Railroad instead of the Central Road, which was his nearest way, going seven hundred miles out of his way to get to Kansas.

Q. Why do you suppose they wanted to kill him?—A. I do not know, unless it was just because he was a prominent colored man.

Q. What about the treatment of colored women down there?—A. That is one of the main grievances of the colored people, and causes of their going out of the South. Another of the main wants of the colored people is education for their children, and in leaving the South they are actuated by the same motives that the colonists were actuated by one hundred years ago. They do not say to the white people, "we will fight you," but they say, "we will leave you." They have to talk up for themselves, or else be like the Indian and be driven from the country. And that which you spoke of is one of the great troubles that is causing them to leave the South. They say that their daughters and mothers and wives are not safe; that they are liable to be insulted at any time, and if a colored man talks up for his family, he is either shot down or taken out at night and bushwhacked or killed. I have talked with them about it, and I have said that if I had any women-folks, and they were insulted, they would have to kill me before I would stand it. But they said to me, "if you lived down there, you have got to take what we give you." I lived ten years among them and did take a good deal. The fact is, the colored people must leave there because of their want of education and of protection for their women, and if a man wants to stay, and buys lots, he pays for the lot four times before he owns it.

Q. Is there much political trouble down there on account of your people now?—A. No, sir; not now. They have devices now for keeping the men from voting. It is a kind of bulldozing the same as they have in the North. Sometimes they deceive them by saying that the day of election is changed, or that the next day after the real day is the day of election, and many times the colored people are fooled in that way.

Q. You said that Mr. Stafford was driven off because he was a prominent Republican colored man.—A. That was the only reason I could see, and he advises them to leave there now and get out of Texas to some place where they can have their rights. He owns two plantations down there, and still he is advising them to leave.

Q. Did you ever have any correspondence with Governor St. John on this subject?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the nature of it?—A. Just after the colored people elected me commissioner of emigration in the fifth district I received a letter from Richard Allen, a prominent colored man of Harris County, who was vice-president of the society to prevent colored men being imposed upon. He sent me a letter and said in it, "As you have been elected as the representative of the colored men, I know you will have uphill work with the preachers and the politicians." And he said, "I hope you will succeed." I wrote a letter to Governor St. John and asked him what were the advantages of going to Kansas. I was opposed to Kansas in the convention, but I was in favor of their going anywhere to get out of Texas, and where they could be treated as men. Some of the people said something about social equality, but I said, "The black men don't expect it or look for it." All we wanted was protection in our rights. Water thrown on the floor will find its level, and so we colored men must find our level in this country. "You cannot be allowed social equality," I said to them, "unless you make yourselves worthy of it." A good many of the colored men were going from Louisiana and Texas to Kansas, and were employed on farms there, and they told me when the dinner-time came they were called in to sit down to dinner with the white people, and that they were so much astonished that they did not know how to behave themselves because they did not expect it.

I wrote to Governor St. John, and he wrote to me in reply, saying, "Your letter is received, and in reply, if your people are desirous of coming I advise you to come in your private conveyances and bring your household goods and plows. You in Texas can come easily overland, but I want to impress this one fact on your people who are coming to Kansas—that you must not expect anything, as we hold out no inducements to whites or blacks, but you will find here a good soil and free Kansas."

Q. Did he say anything about people not coming who did not take care of themselves?—A. He said, "If your people come under destitute circumstances they will be thrown on the charity of the people, and bring discredit on you and the charge that you are coming here as paupers."

Q. He never did anything to encourage you to come, did he?—A. No, sir; if there has ever been a circular sent to Texas, or any of these fine chromos, they have taken good care to send them to only one or two individuals; I never saw one of them.

Q. Have you talked with any of these people who have gone to Kan-as?—A. Yes, sir; I do a good deal of their reading and writing for them, and the only drawback with them is that they came out of Texas to Kansas at a time when they could not get ready work. They came in the dead of winter, when there was nothing to do, and now tht the spring is coming a good many of them are out of employmant, because the farmers there are poor and cannot hire them.

Q. How largely did they express a desire to you to go back home?—A. Very few of them have done so. I know some who said that they were sorry they came, and some parties came after them and they went back.

Q. Do you know what inducements were offered them?—A. Some of them were living on good farms but in poor houses, and they were told "If you will come back I will build you a heaven—that is, a box-house with a brick chimney and glass windows—that is what is called a black man's heaven. These men who came up there got one or two to go back at Parsons, and one or two at Fort Scott. One of them was August Horns, who lives in Grimes County, and they run him out of Parsons because they knew him. He saw Stafford and talked with him about it, and said he was making arrangements to take them back. On his way to Parsons he stopped at Oswego, the second station from the Indian Nation, and made arrangements there with two families to take them back. He went from there to Parsons and Fort Scott, but they run him out of Parsons and he came on back. He took, I think, 54 men and women with him.

Q. Under these promises that you have mentioned?—A. Yes, sir. When he got to Oswego he made this remark to some of our people down there who came down to the depot to see these others go off; but they didn't go; only one of them went, a fellow named Harper. He just said, "Harper, are you going back?" Harper said, "Yes." And August said "Well, come on." He made the remark that it would take these niggers three years to pay him back for taking them home. After the cars passed Denison some of the men tried to jump off, but after securing them, he put them in irons and kept them until he got them to Grimes County.

Q. From whom did you learn all this?—A. This fellow Harper told it. He wrote it to his mother in Kansas.

Q. What do you consider one of the principal reasons for their coming to Kansas?—A. The reasons of their coming is that they have heard such glowing accounts about the education of their children. Every letter I received, nearly, said, "Is it true that the schools are opened nine months in the year? Is it true that the whites and blacks go to school together?" And I have replied to them, "Yes, that is true of Oswego."

Q. Is there anything else that you can state on this subject?—A. Only this, as I told some white gentlemen from Burleson County when this matter came to be agitated, and the exodus was first talked of in 1874. Then the Republicans in Texas were superseded by the Democrats. The Hon. Senator Coke was elected by 45,000 or 50,000 majority over E. J. Davis, and during that election Coke's friends said to the colored men, "If you will vote the Democratic ticket you will be all right hereafter." I know that many of them did vote for the Democratic ticket.

Q. Why?—A. Well, sir, they told me they wanted a change; that they were going to have a retrenchment and reform in the government, and that they were going to reduce the taxes. They said that if they voted that way the Democrats would be their friends; but they laid their trouble to the Republican party, and said that if they elected Mr. Coke he was going to reduce the taxes and treat them right.

Q. Well, are they any better satisfied now with the state of things in Texas than they were then?—A. No, sir; for the Democrats have not carried out their pledges, and they are divided themselves; they have a Greenback defection there, and the colored people are not satisfied there. Now they say that one-fourth of the occupation and *ad valorem* taxes shall go for schools, but Governor Roberts vetoed the bill making the appropriation. He called an extra session of the legislature last June, but there were just enough there in the senate to sustain his veto. The Democrats have cut down the schools in some places to only six weeks. Governor Roberts cut down the appropriations to where they would not run but about three months. The law is on the statute book which says that a person must know how to read and write to be a juror, and now they have passed a law by which a boy, if he goes to school, cannot learn to read and write. They do not put the word "colored" in the law, because that would conflict with the law of the United States. They have made the school age so that, with the short time the schools are opened, the children cannot learn to read and write.

Q. Do you not have colored men on the juries in Texas?—A. Not where I have been living. In Washington County, where there are a great many colored people, they do get a few jurors; they put one or two, for instance, on a petit jury.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What is a cow-boy?—A. They are gentlemen who wear these broad-brimmed hats, and brass spurs, and carry six-shooters.

Q. What do these cow-boys do?—A. They herd stock.

Q. What complaints have you against them?—A. I have not much complaint against them for I do not believe half the time it is the cow-boys who do this devilment—I think it is the people living right about there where the outrages are committed.

Q. When you find a party who has been hurt, it is generally charged on the cow-boys, is it?—A. Yes, sir; but if he does not know who did it, they will say there came a crowd of men, and these people always put it off on the cow-boys. There is one case just eight miles west of Columbus where they arrested a man for killing a colored man for having tried him.

Q. Then this state of affairs is not confined to the localities along the Louisiana line?—A. No, sir; this is away out on the way as you go to San Antonio.

Q. Are these complaints general among the colored people in that State?—A. Yes, sir; but I cannot represent anything to you except as to my district, which was the fifth. Wash. Jones, the Greenbacker, represents it in Congress; but Mr. Gidding before that, I think.

Q. Well, tell us more about those cow-boys. I want to know something about them.—A. I say the people claim it is the cow-boys who do this work. The white people charge it on them, but down in Wharton, at a place called Egypt, there was a prominent white man killed who was a leading Republican.

Q. In the night-time or the day?—A. In the night-time. He was killed by a crowd that must have been some 15 or 20 strong from all accounts. They shot through the house and killed him while he was in the house.

Q. What did they kill him for?—A. Because he had been a leading Republican there.

Q. What was the cause for killing him then?—A. I do not know that there was any special grievance.

Q. Well, is the fact that a man is a prominent Republican a cause for killing him down there?—A. Well, sir, if a colored man is teaching his people anything he had better keep it to himself.

Q. And the fact that this man was a Republican is the only ground you know for his being killed?—A. Yes, sir; he had acquired some property there and was trying to be of benefit to the country.

Q. Do you mean to say there is such a strong prejudice against men for being Republicans?—A. Yes, sir; but I do not mean to apply to all the people of Texas; there are good Democrats there who mean well.

Q. You think there are some good Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; I have some warm friends among them, but they are not safe in defending Republicans; if they attempt to do it, these other fellows tell them to go slow, or they will make it warm for them.

Q. How great a proportion is there of the Democrats who are thus disposed?—A. It is those who want their friends in office and try to control things in that way.

Q. Which class controls the party down there?—A. I think it is the worthless element.

Q. Do you think the state of things is growing better or worse?—A. It is about the same old sevens and sixes. I cannot see any difference.

Q. Now, I would like to know more about those cow-boys; are they an organized band of people?—A. No, sir; there is no society among them that I know of. They might belong to that old kuklux organization for aught I know.

Q. Are there any societies or companies of a political character there?—A. No, sir; but they have military companies there. I had occasion two years ago this July, down in what is called the Senegambian section of Texas, to know something of these organizations. It was on the Sunset route, a station called Walker, about 60 miles from Galveston and 25 miles from Houston. I know there was a colored man taken there and lynched, and the black people came out there in crowds and proposed to reason with certain parties in the matter, and they got up the word that the negroes were rising. They sent to Houston and Galveston for help, and in four hours they had 1,500 to 2,500 men there with their rifles and repeating guns.

Q. I suppose the colored people had no idea looking to the commission of any violence?—A. No, sir. Some of the white people claimed that these men had committed an outrage, but they never tried him at all, and the colored people said, "we are ready to guard this man until you can send him to the county seat and have him tried." The magistrate said all right, that that would be done. But that night he was taken out of jail, and they have never heard of him any more. He has never been seen since.

Q. You say the magistrate said he would take care of him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do the colored people think that these officers are intimidated by this ruffian element?—A. They say that if the civil authorities are not in cahoots with them, they are scared by them. Many of these ruffians do outrageous things, and get off scot-free. There was a colored man down there—I forget the name of the gentleman's place that he was on, but it was eight miles below Hearne—who was an inoffensive black man; but the white men who had something against him called him out in the woods, away from his wife, and killed him.

Q. What was done with him for that murder?—A. I never heard of anything at all, sir, being done. They had that fellow under arrest, but when the deputy sheriff went to arrest him, he had to shoot him before he could get him. They put him in a hotel and got a doctor for him, but when the day broke he turned up missing.

Q. How general is the inclination among the colored people down there to leave?—A. Well, sir, the people haven't commenced to start yet.

Q. That is, the colored people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many are there who will leave there?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. Where will they go?—A. Some of them want to go to one place and some to another. Some talk of going to New Mexico and Colorado, or anywhere where they will have better inducements than they have to remain in Texas. They will go even to Indiana.

Q. Do you think there are better inducements for them in Indiana than in Texas?—A. Yes, sir; I am satisfied of it. I think the laws on the statute books of Indiana are pretty sure to be enforced.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. "Cow-boys" are boys, or men, that herd cattle, are they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They are not a secret political organization of any kind?—A. No, sir.

Mr. VANCE. So I understood; I inquired only to relieve Mr. Blair's fears; he appeared to suppose that they were some dangerous organization.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. These "cow-boys" usually vote the Republican ticket, do they not?—A. I guess they vote pretty much like everybody else.

Q. Aren't they Republicans, as a general rule?—A. I do not think they are. Sometimes one or two cow-boys among a lot of herders might vote the Republican ticket, but not generally, I guess.

Q. But how was it with the cow-boys that did this violence?—A. I did not say the cow-boys did it. I said that whenever anything was done they attached it to the cow-boys; but it is a mighty open question in my mind whether the cow-boys really did half of it.

Q. You think ——?—A. I think it is somebody nearer home.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. What is your politics, Mr. Ruby?—A. I have always voted the Republican ticket when I could. They did not allow me to vote this last election.

Q. I did not ask whether they allowed you to vote or not; I asked your politics?—A. I always vote the Republican ticket.

Q. Did you not at the last election vote the Greenback ticket?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you not canvass for the Greenback ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why did you canvass for the Greenback ticket if you are a Republican?—A. I thought it was the best I could do, sir, under the circumstances.

Q. Were you not paid for canvassing for the Greenback ticket?—A. I cannot say that I ever was paid for it.

Q. Were you not promised pay if you would canvass for the Greenback ticket?—A. Well, promises, you know, like pie-crust, were made to be broken.

Q. That is not an answer to my question. Were you not promised anything if you would canvass for the Greenback ticket?—A. No, sir.

Q. How came you to dodge the question before, instead of answering my question squarely, if you were not promised anything? Do you mean to say that you were not promised anything if you would canvass for the Greenback ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then why didn't you say so?—A. I did not know but you might want to answer the question yourself.

Q. Why did you canvass for the Greenback ticket, if you are a Republican?—A. Well, I am something like some Democrats, in one respect; I have heard some of them say if you were to put up the Devil on the Democratic ticket they would vote for him. The Republican party had no nomination in the field in that contest, and I was ready to do anything to beat the Democrats; so I worked for the Greenback ticket.

Q. What was the Greenbacker's politics before he was a Greenbacker? He was a Democrat, wasn't he?—A. Yes, sir; one of these consistent Democrats that you will sometimes find.

Q. Has he not voted on the Democratic side, regularly, up here, except on Greenback questions?—A. I cannot say that he does.

Q. You could say if you wanted to.—A. No, sir; for I have not kept any very particular track of just how he has voted. I think he has been censured by some of his friends for the way he voted in regard to seating one of the contestants from Florida, at the last session; if I remember right, they sort of hauled him over the coals about that. But I really think he want to do about as near right as he knows how.

Q. Let us look a little at this matter of the qualifications of jurors in Texas. Here are the statutes of Texas—Revised Statutes of the date of 1879. Article 3009 says: "All male persons over twenty-one years of age are competent jurors, unless disqualified under some provision of this chapter." Article 3010 says: "No person shall be qualified to serve as a juror who does not possess the following qualifications: He must be a citizen of the State and of the county in which he is to serve, and qualified under the constitution and laws to vote in said county." Is there anything wrong about that?—A. No; I do not say that there is anything wrong about that.

Q. Let us read a little further: "He must be a freeholder within the State, or a householder within the county." Is there anything wrong about that?—A. No, sir.

Q. Furthermore, "He must be of sound mind, and of good moral character." Do you object to a juryman's being of sound mind and of good moral character?—A. No, sir; that is all right.

Q. Again: "He must be able to read and write, except in the cases provided for in the succeeding article."—A. I have not said I find any fault with that; I can tell better when we come to the succeeding article.

Q. We will come to that after a little. The next we find here is this: "He must not have served as a juror in that district court, or during the preceding three months in the county court." Is there anything in that to complain of?—A. I do not complain of anything there is there.

Q. "He must not be under indictment or other legal action for theft or for any felony." Would you like to have a jury made up of thieves and felons?—A. Of course not; that is all right.

Q. Next comes the "succeeding article," referred to above: "Article 3011. Whenever it shall be made to appear to the court that the requisite number of jurors able to read and write cannot be found within the county, the court may dispense with the exception provided for in the fourth subdivision of the preceding article; and the court may in like manner dispense with the exception provided for in the fifth subdivision when the county is so sparsely populated as to make its enforcement seriously inconvenient."—A. My people say that the way the law in regard to jurors being able to read and write is carried out, they find it oppressive.

Q. You think that is oppressive?—A. My people say so, the way it is carried out.

Q. Do you say it is wrong for a juror to be able to read and write?—A. No; I don't say it is wrong.

Q. Well, those are the qualifications of a juror demanded by the statutes of Texas; do you say that any of them are wrong?—A. No, sir; I do not say that any of them are wrong.

Q. Now, I want to read to you the law in relation to hiring out convicts (Chapter X of the laws of Texas):

> ARTICLE 3602. Any person who may be convicted of a misdemeanor or petty offense and who shall be committed to jail in default of the payment of the fine and cost adjudged against him, may be hired out to an individual, company, or corporation until the money received from his hire is sufficient to liquidate such fine and costs in full.
>
> ARTICLE 3603. Such hiring may be either by private contract or at public auction, as may be deemed best for the interest of the county, or it may be by general contract for any specified term, embracing the labor of all county convicts of the class prescribed in the preceding article, at some fixed rate per day, week, or month.
>
> ARTICLE 3604. Hirers of convicts shall execute a bond, payable to the county judge of the county, with two or more good and sufficient sureties, in the amount of hire agreed upon, conditioned as follows:
>
> 1. That the hirer will promptly and faithfully pay the amount of money mentioned in the bond when the same becomes due, and it shall be stated in the bond when the same becomes due.
> 2. That he will treat the convict humanely while in his employ.
> 3. That he will furnish the convict with a sufficient quantity of good and wholesome food, with comfortable clothing, and with medicine when sick.
> 4. That he will not require the convict to work at unseasonable hours, or for a longer time during any one day than other laborers doing the same kind of labor are accustomed to work.

Q. Is there anything wrong about that, in your opinion, or oppressive to your race?—A. Well, when it is carried out as it says there in the law, there is nothing oppressive about it; but I have seen things a little different from that myself.

Q. You say if this is carried out right, there is nothing oppressive about it?—A. No, sir; not if it is carried out right; not when the white man is subjected to the same law, and hired out in the same way. But when the white convict is allowed to remain in jail and do nothing, when the black man that is sent to jail in that way is hired out, it is not fair.

Q. Are white men who have been committed to jail never put out to work?—A. Not in my section.

Q. When you get to Kansas or to Indiana do you expect to find there a country where the laws are all executed?—A. I cannot tell particularly; my expectation is that they are all pretty fairly executed there; that is the general understanding.

Q. Why should you expect that the laws are executed in Indiana any better than they are in Texas?—A. I do not see anything in the newspapers nor hear anything said by anybody detrimental to the treatment of anybody in Indiana or Kansas.

Q. Do you not know that Indiana has got precisely this law? that this is almost an exact copy of the law of Indiana on that subject?—A. I have always advocated having competent jurors. When my people have some of them said to me, "We cannot sit as jurors, because we cannot read and write," I have said to them, "Suppose we had a case in court in which two or three thousand dollars were involved, and A sued B for it; for instance, suppose the evidence goes to prove that A really owed B the money, with seven per cent. interest, for a term of years, how many of you would be able to figure up the interest, if you were on a jury, and tell how many dollars was owing, and so bring in a just verdict?" That is not what we find fault with; that is not where the injustice comes in. The laws of Texas say that no one shall be a juror unless he can read and write, and unless he is a freeholder and a householder. The county judge in our county always asks us, "Are you a freeholder or a householder?" but he does not say anything about "read and write;" that question he does not ask at all.* I will tell you where the hardship comes in. The law of Texas says that children must be eight years old and not over fourteen years old to be entitled to draw public school money and to attend the public school. We have now only about three months' school in the year down there. So, under that law, a boy ten years old can get only fifteen months' schooling in all; and inside of that time he cannot learn to read and write so as to be a qualified juror. That is what is arousing the black people. A good many of them don't know A from B when they see it; but they have their share of mother-wit, and know that the great thing their children need is an education. We can clearly see that the colored people must be educated or they must go to the wall.

Q. You first gave as a reason for leaving Texas, these oppressive laws in regard to hiring out colored people who are committed to jail; and now your complaint is that you don't get so much education as you think you ought to have. Now, I would like to know what you mean?—A. I mean to say that the committing of colored people to jail for small offenses and then hiring them out into slavery is one reason; but the main reason is because there is no chance for them to educate their children.

Q. You say that the law requires that children shall be eight years old and not over fourteen in order to draw school money and attend school?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Does the law say white children or black children?—A. It says "all."

Q. And you say the children have only about three months' schooling in the year?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That law operates just as disadvantageously for the white as for the black?—A. Yes, sir; we understand that; we agree on these things.

Q. I do not suppose your race expects or wants the Government of the United States to elevate you over the heads of the whites—only to give you a fair chance?—A. That is all we want.

Q. In the matter of schools you say you have a fair chance, the same as the whites?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you get any advantage over the whites, when you go to Kansas?—A. No, sir.

Q. Will you not have some disadvantages there?—A. I do not know.

Q. Do you not know that the constitution of the State of Kansas says that black men shall not vote?—A. Vote how?

Q. At the ballot-box. The word "white" is used in the constitution of Kansas, in describing the qualification of voters.—A. You have asked me a great many questions, now I would like to ask you one: Admitting that the constitution of Kansas does say that, does not the

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* From the tenor of the remarks immediately following, it appears probable that the witness, who was talking very rapidly and excitedly, here said directly the contrary of what he intended.

Constitution of these United States say that all men are born free and equal, endowed by——

Q. No, the Constitution of the United States does not say that; that is in the Declaration of Independence; it was Thomas Jefferson, a slaveholder, who said that.—A. Well, notwithstanding that was put in there, has not our race been hewers of wood and drawers of water for the white race for two hundred years, up till the time of the surrender?

Q. Yes; and since then you have been hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Radical party.—A. I don't allow that; I never let the radical party use me for a monkey to pull their chestnuts of the fire. (*Sic.*)

Q. Not if there were any Greenbackers about.—A. I hope I am not such a rabid Radical, and I hope I never shall be such a Bourbon Democrat, as not to wish to do justice.

Q. That is right. Your school-fund, you say, used to be greater in Texas than it is now?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What has reduced it?—A. The Democrats claim that under the Republican administration they stole a great deal of it.

Q. I never knew that to fail in any Southern State yet.—A. I say, they claim that such was the case—that the Republicans stole a great deal of it; but they fail to tell you that under military rule, the last Democratic legislature that convened in Texas stole all the school money, to pay their *per diem* and mileage. But these are facts, that men that live in Texas know.

Q. You have no school-fund, except what is levied entirely by taxation? You have no accumulated school-fund?—A. Yes, sir; there is a fund arising from the sale of a part of the public lands, the school lands, and from some other sources; there ought to be considerable money. Understand one thing, where the shoe pinches worst, is in the interior, on the cotton-farms, and the sugar-farms, and so on. In cities, like Galveston, and the other large cities, they have ten months' school in the year.

Q. For black and white alike?—A. Yes, sir. That is because the people of those cities allow themselves to be taxed.

Q. That is local?—A. Yes, sir. We do not find fault with those cities for having those advantages. You might find that the same way in Kansas.

Q. Is it not the fact that in cities the children have better schools and longer?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. On the whole, then, the colored children have the same chance as the white children, good or bad, whether in the city or in the country?—A. Yes, sir; but we just put it in this way: The law is very well itself, but it is misapplied. The law in its words makes no distinctions; it says that children between eight and fourteen years of age can draw school money and go to school; it says that if colored men can read and write, they can serve as jurors; and then they give us to understand: "We don't intend you ever shall learn how to read and write." They don't say so in words, but sometimes actions speak louder than words. We may take it wrong, but that is the way we take it, when we see that they don't give us schooling enough so that we can learn how to read and write. They are bound to control the black labor. They think they can't control the black man if they educate him. I think that is a mistake. You say: "The negro won't vote the Democratic ticket." I say, educate him, and then if the Democratic party is the party to vote for, he will find it out and vote for it.

Another thing: The law says that a man living in a Congressional district shall have a right to vote for Congressman and President, anywhere in his district; but they won't allow us to do it. I was out of my own county at the last Congressional election and they wouldn't allow me to do it.

Q. Have you a registration down there?—A. No, sir; we have no registration.

Q. You were not bulldozed?—A. No, sir; I never was bulldozed but once, and then I wasn't bulldozed much.

Q. How did you like it, as far as you got?—A. That was when the colored people of Brazoria County nominated me for justice of the peace. I said to them, "I am not the man for the position; you want a man who can do you more good than I can. Besides, if a man insults me, I shall not wait for any process of law; I shall resent it on the spot; and then there will be a fight; and that is not the kind of man you want for magistrate." But they insisted, and nominated me. Then an Independent Republican candidate came out and ran against me, and beat me sixty-six votes. One day, before the election, a rich planter came to me and said, "Ruby, if you are elected, I will make it as hot as hell for you." I said to him, "If I am elected I will make it as hot as hell for you." But I wasn't elected, and so nothing ever came of it, one way or the other.

Q. You bulldozed him about as much as he bulldozed you?—A. I generally try to do that, sir. That is the only thing that has carried me through in this world.

Q. You stated, did you not, that when colored men were put in jail, and hired out to work, the lawyer's fees were included, and had to be worked out too?—A. I did not say that was in the law; but that is the way it works; the lawyer comes and says, "You must be responsible for my fees; you must put them in there, too"; and so the man has to work them out, with his fine, or penalty, or whatever you call it.

Q. So the planter who employs the convicts includes the lawyer's fee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. By private arrangement, and not by law?—A. Yes, sir. You have got the statutes there before you; I do not say that the statutes are bad, but they misapply them.

Q. You said another thing—that the women of your race are not safe down there?—A. No, sir; they are not safe.

Q. I do not want to make imputation on the colored people, or the white ones either, but let me ask you this question: Do the white men ravish the colored women down there?—A. No, sir; not often.

Q. Or do you mean that they seduce them, and so on?—A. That is it. The disadvantage we labor under in that respect is this: If I had a sister, and any white man should insult her, and I should take him to task for it, in Texas, I might be killed for it—hung or assassinated. I am not afraid of that in Washington or in Kansas. There, or here, it is true, my sister, while walking the street alone, might be knocked down or ravished by any wretched cur, at night; but if he insulted her in my presence he would have to be answerable to me. But in Texas, if I should say anything, I should be told, "You are a G—d d——n impudent nigger; the first you know you won't know nothing." And I wouldn't. And although D. C. Giddings, when he was in Congress, used to say that the black women looked like cows, yet we think as much of our women, of our wives and sisters and daughters, as the white people do of theirs. And I say, if a man won't stand up for his women-folks, whether they are white or black, he isn't much of a man. You, gentlemen of the committee, who have wives and daughters, want them treated with respect; and if I have a wife whose name is "Sarah," it don't suit me any better than it would you for some low-bred fellow who was going by to call out, "Hello, Sal!" I want white people to treat me and my women-folks with as much courtesy as they expect me to treat them.

Q. Let us go on. Did I understand you to say that somebody who had been sent to jail in Texas, was hired out to work for a quarter of a cent a day?—A. It was done in one instance.

Q. Where was that?—A. In Matagorda County.

Q. What was the amount of fine?—A. Thirty-odd dollars; I have forgotten the exact amount.

Q. How many years' work would be necessary to work that out, at a quarter of a cent a day?—A. I have never figured it out.

Q. Is he still working?—A. I suppose so. It was a woman.

Q. When was she sentenced?—A. Two years ago last September.

Q. Who was the judge?—A. Judge Fry, a member of the sixteenth legislature. He was re-elected at the last general election, two years ago this coming November.

Q. Do you know Colonel Reynolds, this gentleman?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have any talk with him before coming here?—A. Yes, sir; in Kansas and here.

Q. Did you not tell him in Kansas that you did not know of any cause in the world why these colored people should leave Texas?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you say nothing of that kind?—A. Nothing of the kind. Do you want me to tell you just what conversation did take place between myself and him?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. Mr. Reynolds met me in Kansas, and said to me, "I am getting witnesses on this exodus business, and," he says, "I want to know pretty near what your testimony would be if you were subpœnaed to testify before the exodus committee"; and he asked "Was there any bulldozing in your section?" I said, "No." Then he asked me whether the black children had the same advantages of schools as the white children down there, and I told him just what I have stated to you right here.

Q. Did you not tell him, in general terms, that you knew of no cause in the treatment of the colored people by the people of Texas sufficient to force them to leave and come to Kansas?—A. No, sir; if he understood me in that way, he misunderstood what I intended to say.

Q. I understood you to say that your people had the same grievances in Texas that the colonists had a hundred and four years ago?—A. Yes, sir; I said they were actuated by the same impulse.

Q. You said they had the same grievances?—A. I meant, actuated by as great grievances as you were.

Q. Not me; that was before my day.—A. I am speaking of your forefathers. Of course, I take notice that white people take very good care that the Catholics shall not get control of the country; and the idea is well, because we can never let the mass of the people grow up in ignorance. So with the colored people; we do not want our people to grow up in ignorance.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Almost all the States in the South have no school funds; they were destroyed by the war, and the schools now are supported by tax-levies exclusively, are they not?—A. Yes, sir; that is the understanding.

Q. And almost all the property in those States are in the hands of the Democrats?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they have control of all the legislation of the South?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And when these people levy taxes on themselves to educate your race, can you say that they desire your race to continue in ignorance?—A. I could not say exactly that they desire it, but there is a screw loose somewhere.

Mr. VANCE. Understand me: If your people want to go to Kansas or anywhere else, we have no objection to your going; but we do not want you to say that we have forced you to go by cruel and abusive treatment.

The WITNESS. You are from North Carolina and are a Southern gentleman. I always make it a point to treat a gentleman like a gentleman wherever I meet him. I make it a rule never to abuse anybody, if I can help it; but if I tell the truth about matters and things and they call that abuse, I cannot help it.

By Mr. VOORHEES:

Q. Did you not state to Mr. Reynolds that you did not intend to remain in Kansas; that you expected to return to Texas?—A. Yes, sir; I left Texas with the intention of returning.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Finish what you were saying about the treatment of your people in the South.—A. I say I never have abused the people of the South; I have got some warm friends among them. I am going to Texas inside of eight or ten weeks. I have done nothing that should cause me to run away from Texas.

Q. And you were not run away from there?—A. No, sir; I have had letters from there in which the writers said to me that if they were me they would not go back there.

Q. Have there been any threats against you if you did?—A. A little while before I came away fifteen men armed with shot-guns and rifles came to my house. They said that they were hunting wild geese; but there are no wild geese there where I live. I have said that if anybody came for me they would not find me any Armstead Wilson, whom they threw into the river there.

Q. When was that?—A. It was about six years ago.

Q. These bloodhounds that you speak of are not full bloodhounds, they are crossed with some other breed, are they not?—A. Yes, sir; they cross them with deer-hounds.

Q. You can train almost any dog to run on a man's track as well as an animal's?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Those that you refer to are used only when convicts get away?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The bloodhound, technically speaking, is a very fierce and terrible animal?—A. Well, these are; they keep them chained up all the time, till they become very fierce.

Mr. Windom requested that the remainder of chapter X of the Revised Statutes of Texas (the first portion of which had been read by Mr. Vance during this witness's examination) should be inserted in the evidence. It reads as follows:

Such bond shall be approved by the county judge and filed in the office of the clerk of the county court.

ARTICLE 3605. If the convict, so hired out, escapes from the hirer, such hirer shall nevertheless be liable for the full amount of the bond, unless such convict is rearrested and placed in the custody of the sheriff of the county in which he was convicted before such bond becomes due; in which case such hirer shall only be liable to pay for the time that such convict remained with him.

ARTICLE 3606. Upon the breach of such bond, the county judge or commissioners court shall cause such bond to be sued upon, in any court having jurisdiction thereof; and the amount collected thereon, after deducting therefrom the collection fees and all costs, shall be paid into the county treasury by the officer collecting the same, and constitute a part of the road and bridge fund of the county.

ARTICLE 3607. All moneys arising from hiring out convicts shall be paid over to the county judge, and by him paid into the county treasury; and in every case the convict shall receive full credit for the amount of his labor, to be accounted and entered in discharge of the fine and costs adjudged against him; and whenever his earnings shall be sufficient to pay in full such fine and costs he shall be discharged.

ARTICLE 3608. County judges shall cause a record of all proceedings in relation to the employment or hiring out of convicts to be kept in well-bound books for that purpose. Said record shall contain:

1. A descriptive list of all persons known as county convicts.
2. How such convict has been or is employed.
3. The name of the party hiring a convict.
4. The time when and the price at which such convict has been employed or hired out.
5. The amount credited such convict for such employment or hire.
6. The amount of such hire collected.
7. The amount of fine and costs due discharged convict.
8. Such other information as may be necessary and requisite under the rules adopted by the commissioners' court.

ARTICLE 3609. Whenever the amount realized from the hire of a convict is sufficient to discharge in full the fine and costs adjudged against him, the county judge shall issue a warrant upon the county treasurer in favor of each officer to whom costs may be due for the amount of his costs; and the same shall be paid out of the road fund of the county, or out of any other funds in the county treasury not otherwise appropriated.

FIFTIETH DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Friday, April* 23, 1880.

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m.

Present, Messrs. Voorhees (chairman), Vance, Windom, and Blair.

TESTIMONY OF H. RUBY—Continued.

H. RUBY recalled.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. In your testimony in reference to some laws of Texas, you referred to some acts of the 15th or 16th legislatures.—Answer. I was speaking of that law which says that the children must be eight and not over fourteen years of age to be entitled to school money.

Q. When was that law passed?—A. I think by the fourteenth legislature.

Q. When was that?—A. That was in 1875, I think.

Q. Do you know whether any of the later laws have changed the statutes as they are found in the revised statutes of Texas for 1876?—A. No, sir; not that I know of.

Q. You, stated, I believe, that you knew of cases where parties for a small fine have been hired out several years in order to pay that fine?—A. Yes, sir; I know of them working two years to pay a fine of $75 and cost.

Q. By whom were these fines assessed?—A. By the county criminal courts, presided over by the county judge. The prosecuting attorney's fees are $10 in each case.

Q. It is made the duty of the county judge to hire these people out?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If there is anything else that you can state in connection with this subject, you may do so; I do not know of any other question to ask you.—A. No, sir; I know of nothing else.

TESTIMONY OF ANGELL MATHEWSON.

ANGELL MATHEWSON sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside, Mr. Mathewson?—Answer. At Parsons, Kans.

Q. Are you a member of the present legislature of Kansas?—A. I am a member of the State senate.

Q. What is the name of the county in which Parsons is situated?—A. Labette County.

Q. Has your attention been called to the arrival of colored emigrants at your place?—A. It has.

Q. Where do they seem to be coming from to your place?—A. Those that have come to the southern part of the State are mostly from Texas.

Q. Are there many of them there now?—A. I think there are perhaps 300 estimated.

Q. How many in all have arrived there?—A. As near as I could estimate, perhaps a thousand have come in since last fall.

Q. Where are they scattered to?—A. Many of them have been sent in the Neosho Valley, to the towns up there.

Q. Have they stated about the towns or gone out into the country?—A. Most of them are about the town, but many of them have gone to the country.

Q. How do they seem to be doing?—A. There has not been employment for those who have arrived at Parsons, and up to the time that I came away, they had not been employed except at odd jobs. We have done the best we could for them by a committee there through which the citizens work, and of which the Hon. M. W. Reynolds is chairman, in furnishing them with employment and getting them away.

Q. Is there any demand for their labor in Kansas to justify this immigration?—A. No, sir; there is not.

Q. Do you know where there is any demand for them?—A. I do not, except it be in the western part of our State where they might go and develop the country.

Q. That is on the frontier?—A. Yes, sir; but they cannot do very well in the old settled part of the State.

Q. What, from your experience and observation with them, are their chances for getting along in Kansas?—A. My experience would be that without capital to get through the first year with, it is not advisable for any class of people to go there.

Q. Have any of these people returned South from Parsons?—A. I believe about 50.

Q. Did they return in a body?—A. I think they did. At one time there were some planters or parties from Texas who came and induced them to go back. I have been employing perhaps a thousand of them chopping wood on the Neosho River, at a couple of wood-farms I had over there.

Q. State in general anything else that you wish to communicate to the committee.—A. Well, sir, I know of nothing else except that I took special pains to make inquiry as to whether this exodus from Texas had been caused by any ill treatment there.

Q. With whom did you have such conversation; with the colored men themselves who came from there?—A. I talked with one man named Thomas Duckett, who has a farm in Texas and left it to come to Kansas. He put it in the hands of my firm to sell, but he said nothing of any ill treatment he had suffered in Texas. He said that he had saved that farm since he had been free. I asked an old man from Grimes County about it, and he assured me that it was not through ill treatment that they were coming to Kansas, but through representations of other parties offering land in Kansas at cheaper prices and on long time. He said that they were told that there would be a train to bring them there, having certain flags to designate them, and on which they could ride free. He said from what he had seen, that they could do better in Texas; that the white men there were their friends, and they always got assistance from them if they deserved it. He said that the only cause of complaint with was those who got into debt on the plantations and did not want to pay it. He told me it was customary for the planters to furnish them with supplies, and the only cause of complaint he had heard was from those who got behind and were unable to catch up; but that if a man behaved himself, there was no cause for any abuse or bulldozing of him in Texas. I make these statements as they were made to me.

Q. And these statements are the ones you have heard from all these people?—A. Yes, sir. I never heard a complaint of ill usage or abuse from any of them. I did not talk with the fifty who went back, but I knew the man was there to take them back.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. How do you find those whom you employ?—A. They are very good hands, sir, and willing to work.

Q. Do you know if the others have a disposition to work whether they can get it or not?—A. Yes, sir; I think these men are a better class of hands who come from Texas than those others who have gone further to the North.

Q. Do you know of any inducements that were offered to these fifty who went back to return?—A. I understood they came up there expecting to be given 40 acres of land and a mule.

Q. Was that an inducement to them to return?—A. I was speaking simply in a preliminary way. They were induced to come by these promises, and not finding it the case when they got there, they were glad to go back.

Q. Do you know what inducements were given them to get them to go back?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know whether their fare was paid?—A. I suppose it was, as the class who came there mostly had no money. Some who came had money. One man came into our office and had $3,000 in money. I sold several of them city lots for cash. One man bought a lot for $400. Some of them had money, but the great majority of them had not.

Q. Do you know how many have gone back except this 50 who were taken back?—A. That is the only batch that I heard of. I know of none others.

Q. Are those who came last winter employed?—A. Much of the time some of the old colored population who have been there several years have steady employment. The others get it by a day's labor at a time around the city.

Q. What proportion of the whole number have failed to get employment?—A. I should judge from one-half to two-thirds of them are out employment, by the looks of the number on the street corners.

Q. How many do you suppose have arrived there altogether?—A. I have just estimated it at 1,000 as to Parsons.

Q. Do you think there are five hundred there who are not employed?

—A. The most of them have been sent away from there; I do not think there are more than three hundred there now. I think the most of those who came early in the winter have got employment. There were 180 who came there the day I left, and who were sent up the Neosho division of the railroad.

TESTIMONY OF GEN. THOMAS W. CONWAY.

GEN. THOMAS W. CONWAY was sworn and examined as follows:

By Senator WINDOM:

Question. General, have you had occasion to give special attention to the matter of the removal of the colored people from the Southern to the Northern States?—Answer. Yes, sir; I have.

Q. To what extent have you done so?—A. I have given it a good deal of attention. I devoted my time chiefly from about the first of March to the first of November to it.

Q. Have you been identified with it in any manner, and, if so, how?—A. Well, sir, I was inquired of by some Quakers in Philadelphia when the exodus first began (I having been identified with the work of the education of the colored people on a large scale) about their troubles and necessities. At their instance I began communication with parties in the South and in Saint Louis, and finally was requested to make a trip to Saint Louis and Kansas with the view of inquiring into the condition of the immigrants. I went down there and spent three or four weeks.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What year was this?—A. Last year—1879.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. What time last year?—A. Early in May, 1879. I saw them as they arrived and talked with them; as also with the captains of the steamboat companies and with some parties who came upon the boats with them.

Q. We will ask you to tell us in a general way what you saw and heard bearing on the causes of the exodus?—A. Without any exception the hundreds of colored people whom I saw stated to me that they left the South because of the cruelties and oppressions they endured and their hopelessness with regard to the education of their children. They thought that by going to Kansas they would do better for themselves and be able to educate their children. That was the burden of their complaint and their hope. Some of them had means with which they hoped to buy land, but generally they were poor. I busied myself to get them aid and to write to parties in the North in their behalf, and I succeeded in stirring up a good deal of sympathy for them. I went in the month of September to Kansas and attended a meeting of the "old settlers" at Lawrence, where I met a great many persons—farmers, lawyers, doctors, clergymen—from all parts of the State and from places to which these colored people had gone. I found them pleased with the people and a great demand for their labor, and I was asked to get the better class of them to go to points where they were needed. I visited some of the points and found them generally employed—those of them who were able bodied. Governor St. John wrote to me, as he told me afterwards himself, that not a half dozen, perhaps, of those who went to Kansas were paupers, and he referred to his books of the committee they have organized there to prove they were not an expense to the State.

Q. Do you mean to the county or the State?—A. To anybody, sir. The money used was generally expended in taking care of them in transit and for their assistance immediately upon their arrival.

Q. Give us as specifically as you can the causes they allege for leaving the South. You gave them in general terms; now, did you ascertain specifically the causes they allege?—A. I was particular about that. There were a number of visitors there at Saint Louis, and some correspondents of papers North; but many were there simply as visitors and representing no organization. We tried to probe the thing as far as we could, and the causes which they gave as leading them to come out of the South (to state them more specifically) were that they would work a whole year down there on hired lands, and when they came to settle at the close of the year the owners of the land would manage to bring them in debt; that they would manage, in most cases, to sell the crop, and when they came to settle with their tenants would bring the tenants in debt to them. Others who worked by the month and the year told the same story—that they would work a whole year and at the end of the year they were in debt. They thought they had no redress for these things; that when they would go into the courts and expect justice they were treated with a mockery of justice; they complained that the courts gave them none, and as a last resort they left with a view of doing better in the West and Kansas, where they could have education for their children, and where, if they worked, they would get their wages.

Q. Did they say anything of political troubles?—A. Yes, sir; they generally stated that when elections occurred they could not vote, because they were not allowed to.

Q. What do you know of efforts made to prevent them from coming away?—A. Well, sir, that became a matter of great public concern at the time, some of the newspapers affirming and some denying that there was any organized opposition to their coming away. I went to the proprietors of the Scudder line of steamers in Saint Louis—the only one of the parties who was then in the city—and he said it was undeniable that efforts were made to keep the boats from taking the refugees on, and that the boats would pass points where there were large numbers of them waiting to get on board because the boats were afraid to stop; they were afraid if they did they might be sunk. Suits were instituted against the steamboats at Vicksburg for carrying more passengers than were allowed by law, although such a thing had never been done before this exodus began. It was a trumped-up affair to keep the boats from bringing the people off. He said they knew where, in some instances, colored people who had come aboard the boats were pursued by officers and taken off—sometimes by serving processes issued in Louisiana on the Mississippi side—and thus taking them off by process of law, claiming that they were in debt and were running away without paying their debts.

Q. Did you hear anything of any of them being run by bloodhounds?—A. I saw some who had been pursued by bloodhounds and badly torn to pieces, and their wounds were dressed after their arrival in Saint Louis.

Q. For what cause were they pursued?—A. They were pursued by armed bands of desperadoes, who wished to prevent them from emigrating.

Q. Were there any other complaints?—A. I did hear of cases where they had been shot at as well as pursued by dogs.

Q. Did you take some pains to ascertain these facts and relieve these people?—A. Yes, sir; I took some pains to do so and made haste back to Washington to see the President. I had an interview of probably two hours with the President, myself and Mr. Turner, who was with me. I told him the facts and that Scudder was saying he would stop the boats and let them "lay up" at Saint Louis, as he was afraid they would be sunk or injured by those who were opposing the exodus; that he had been petitioned by twenty-five leading merchants of Saint Louis to make the rates so high that the colored people could not pay them. That petition was sent in while I was out there.

Q. Who were these merchants?—A. They were merchants engaged in the Southern trade, who stated that they had been corresponded with by the planters (who traded with them) along the Mississippi Valley, and who urged them to this course to assist them in stopping the exodus.

Q. Will you please state what your connection has been with the education of the colored race, or your opportunities for knowing its condition generally?—A. I was commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau by appointment of the President. I was superintendent for the Department of the Gulf, under General Banks, in 1864; and when the bureau was organized, in 1865, I was appointed commissioner for Louisiana, and also Alabama until General Swayne was appointed for that State; then I remained commissioner for Louisiana until 1866. Subsequently I was State superintendent of education for that State.

Q. For how long a time?—A. For five years; up to 1872.

Q. Did you live there in 1872?—A. I lived there in 1872. I was there from 1863 to 1873, ten years. I went there as an officer of the Army. I became identified with the interests of the colored people in that way, and am now, and expect to be for some time to come.

Q. From your experiences among them, do you think they have cause to leave the South?—A. Yes, sir; and have had all the time. Even when we had soldiers down there, it was with difficulty we could get the planters to pay them. The disposition there is to get all they can out of the negro, and to avoid paying him if they can.

Q. The negroes having been taken from them by force, do they recognize that as a rightful severance of the relations of master and slave, or do they think they have a right to recover their control of him and his labor, if they can, in any other way? I mean, to regain the substantial benefits of the labor of the colored man because they have been forcibly deprived of them; or, what is their theory?—A. I do not think the general sentiment of the planters is to get the labor of the negroes in that way. I think they recognize that the negro is free, and entitled to pay for his labor, and the better class of planters will say that they are willing to pay him, but the public sentiment of the white people in the plantation region, especially in Louisiana, is entirely averse to dealing fairly with the colored man, not because he was forcibly freed, but because they do not think he has the same rights as a white laborer, and because he is a negro, and they can knock them about as they please.

Q. What is their doctrine as to the right of the negro to vote?—A. They were never inclined to recognize the right of the negro to vote; I was down there when the right was given, and I know the whites were opposed to it, and that they were determined, in one way or another, to so control them as that their votes would not amount to much.

Hence, there were almost yearly riots while I was there, and the negro was invariably the victim.

Q. What is the change, if any, in the condition of things then and now?—A. I think they are worse now than then.

Q. In what respect?—A. I think the courts are in the hands of the whites—the native whites—as also the State government and all the machinery of elections; and all of these are employed to deter the negro from voting freely and according to his choice.

Q. Do the negroes like that state of affairs?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do they value, the same as other people, their right to vote?—A. Yes, sir; but many of them told me they valued it less than they did the payment of their wages and the education of their children; they said they would not leave for that alone, but they saw no chance for improvement of their condition.

Q. You spoke of the maltreatment and murder of the negroes during your residence in Louisiana; do you mean that those acts were numerous or only occasional?—A. They were very numerous.

Q. Did you ever have occasion to ascertain the number of them?—A. I did, when I had official duties to discharge in that connection, but I cannot say now. I have given testimony before several committees here, and that will show. They were very numerous just after the war and during the reconstruction period; in fact, they occurred almost every week.

Q. What was the cause of these murders—the motive for them?—A. It was to overawe them with respect to the elections and bring them into subserviency and subordination.

Q. Have you any recollection of any specific cases of that kind?—A. Away back, do you mean?

Q. Any time in the last ten years?—A. I could cite several.

Q. I suppose they are the same that you say are in the several reports?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know anything about that affair in 1868, in Bossier Parish?—A. I heard of it, but I was not there.

Q. Do you think the same spirit which prompted those murders then continues now?—A. So far as I have been able to learn from these people whom I saw, I think the same spirit exists there still.

Q. Is there any remedy, do you think, then, for this exodus?—A. No, sir; there is no way to stop it. It is assuming larger proportions now than ever.

Q. Don't you think if the planters were to change their policy and treat them fairly, that would stop it?—A. I do not think it would. I think the movement has got to the point where even that would not stop it.

Q. Why not?—A. Because the negro has no faith in the planter, as a rule. There are some exceptions. I have heard of places where the colored people were fairly paid and there is no pressing desire upon their part to leave; but my knowledge leads me to believe that it is the general desire of the Southern negroes to change and go into the North and Northwest.

Q. You think it is too late to stop the exodus?—A. Yes, sir. They feel that they have the right to go, and they are going.

Q. What do you think of the possibility of their finding employment where they are going?—A. I took some pains to ascertain that fact. I stopped in Indiana on my way back and made inquiries, and I had letters from farmers and railroad companies, who wrote that labor was in demand in portions of the West. I used my endeavors to meet that demand and to induce parties identified with the colored people at Saint Louis and elsewhere to have these people scatter, so as to meet the demand. Mr. Osborne, the general freight agent of the Wabash Railroad, thought fifty thousand or sixty thousand of them could be employed in Illinois, and I thought there was a good demand for them in Indiana also. My correspondence led me to think there was a great demand for their labor. I had letters from Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, and some from Vermont, even, stating that the farmers would employ them.

Q. Are you connected with this movement in any way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State what it is, if you please.—A. I am now on my way to New Mexico to pioneer for about one hundred thousand of these people who are coming out of the South this spring and summer, with means to buy land and farm on their own behalf. There is a company formed in New York to buy the land in large tracts, and it will sell the land to them for even less than the government price for public lands.

Q. You say there is an organization in New York for that purpose?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I suppose you do not mean to take them to New Mexico for political purposes?—A. Well, sir; I don't believe in excluding political purposes from any affair where they may properly belong.

Q. You do not expect to carry the next election out there with them?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nor to affect the census, particularly?—A. No, sir; but we think their political future and that of their children will be improved by the change.

Q. I was speaking of the effect on present political parties.—A. Well, so far as New Mexico is concerned they do not enter into any of our plans.

Q. Do you know of any effort to colonize any State with negro voters?—A. There has been some talk about it, and I have been trying to help carry Indiana by their aid.

Q. What have you done in that direction?—A. I encouraged as many of them to go there as I could: first, because I believed they could get good wages, and second, to help out the Republican cause and raise the negro to a higher civilization. I think he is a good Republican and a good loyal citizen, and should be allowed to vote; therefore, I have not liked the idea to exclude politics from the exodus. I think the negro ought to go where he can do the most good for himself and the Republican party.

Q. Hasn't it been something of a failure rather—your trying to get them to go to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; I think so. I have been desirous to see a good many of them go in there. I wanted to see the Democrats beaten, and I wanted the negroes to go in there and help do it.

Q. How many voters do you suppose have gone in there?—A. If all had gone whom I advised to go, there would have been fifteen or twenty thousand.

Q. Well, as they did not go, the movement in that line has been a failure?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you had anything to do with the North Carolina negroes going in there?—A. I have not. I have been written to from several points, and of the others I think from nine to twelve hundred have gone into Indiana. It is a far less number than I calculated on, but it is all I have got to show. And, sir, if I were a black man in Louisiana I would emigrate; I would go where I could get the best wages, where I could see my family educated, and where I could vote without the fear of losing my head.

Q. This organization you speak of, in New York, is not for the purpose of bringing negroes into Indiana?—A. No, sir; but to New Mexico.

Q. Have you ever belonged to any organization to bring them into a Northern State?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then you have expressed simply your own wishes in the matter?—A. Yes, sir, and of other people, also; I have found some who thought as I did; and I thought them right.

Q. What did you do to settle that transportation question, except to come to Washington and see the President?—A. After I saw those parties in Saint Louis, and told them that unless they treated the colored people well. and gave them transportation the same as they did others, we should charter boats and go down the river and bring them up ourselves, I came on here. The general idea was that it would break up the river business, and break up the labor on the plantations; and that if they went down there to bring the negroes away it would cause a riot, and all that. After that interview, and after our talk with the President, some of the committee went to see the Scudders, and said that the company had entered into an agreement with them to do as they had formerly done. So the interruptions in that form ceased. We had gone so far that we had taken steps to charter the boats; still, we discontinued them, and things have gone on easy ever since.

Q. What reason have you for thinking that a hundred thousand of these people will go from the South this year?—A. I have had correspondence which shows me that the number will aggregate that; I have taken considerable pains to ascertain the facts. I knew that they were organized last year to go, but they did not want to go until they knew where to go; where lands where to be had the cheapest. Those who are going are the best and most industrious class.

Q. You think you will take the most of them into New Mexico?—A. Yes, sir; perhaps not this year, but to a large extent. Many, of course, will go whether we advise them to or not.

Q. Is not that about the only way to prevent an inundation of these people into the Northern States?—A. I thing it is the best way.

Q. What would be the effect of this emigration upon the condition of the country generally?—A. I think it will be good. I think that, already, in some instances, the effect has been good. I think it will lead the Southern planters to educate their sons to work, and to work themselves; and to look for a new class of labor altogether. I am satisfied that they will lose this labor.

Q. Do you think the South will be improved by it?—A. Yes, sir; I think if they had labor that was not that of their old slaves it would be better for them. I do not think harmony will ever be brought about between them. The same temper of the old master exists in them yet; and the spirit in which the negro is ordered about is the same as formerly, and he is constantly annoyed, and made to smart under the old spirit, and is eager to get away from it.

Q. You visited several points in Kansas I believe?—A. Yes, sir; I found that the Kansas people were very kind to the colored people; I found that they took work wherever they could get it, and that they were disposed to work. I found that they had bought little lots in several places, and some of the old settlers at Lawrence told me that some of the colored people who had gone out into the State were better off, within the same length of time, than the whites who had come there; their children were going to school—admitted into the same schools, in the country and smaller villages, with the white children without hinderance or friction.

Q. Have you seen any of the colored people who wanted to go back?—A. I saw some of them at Saint Louis, who said they were having their way paid back by the planters, and that they were going to induce their friends to come back to Kansas with them. They were playing a trick on the planters in order to get down there.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. I would like to know a little more specifically about the extent and character of this organization for exodus purposes. I would not inquire solely in regard to such measures as you are connected with, but in regard to all with which you are acquainted?—A. I have knowledge only of the one with which I am connected. That there are organizations for the purpose of aiding colored people in the exodus, in a charitable way, I know; but I have no connection with them in my present work. The organization with which I am connected is of a business character, composed of business men, aiming to buy lands in New Mexico and Arizona, probably, in large tracts, which is cheaper, and which will enable us to sell them cheaper than government lands are sold. They will be divided into tracts of from fifty to a hundred acres, and sold to these colored people.

Q. Giving them time to pay for them?—A. Yes, sir; as cases may require.

Q. At what price per acre do you think you will be able to sell?—A. I think, perhaps, fifty cents per acre less than government lands.

Q. What character of lands are they?—A. They are ordinary valley and plateau lands, adapted to grazing, and to the methods of irrigation adopted by the New Mexicans, which can be done the same by the colored people. I think that in the lower section of Arizona cotton can be raised, the same as in Louisiana and Mississippi; and, in the higher regions, corn and the cereals.

Q. You think it might be made self-sustaining to these people?—A. Yes, sir; besides, there are mining facilities there, and enterprises going on, so that the colored people, when they first go in there, will be able to get employment.

Q. Do you find similar inducements in Arizona?—A. Yes, sir; some of the best valleys there are offered for sale; I have a list of them, and will go out there to inspect them.

Q. From what parts of the South are these colored people going?—A. From all parts of it.

Q. Your communications go into all the States?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And most of the counties?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then the feeling seems to be so rooted as to extend everywhere?—A. Yes, sir; it extends everywhere.

Q. Are there any other of these organizations that you know of?—A. No, sir.

Q. And this, you say, is a purely business organization?—A. Yes, sir; a purely business organization.

Q. Then I suppose you select your men, whom you propose to take out there?—A. Yes, sir; we do not propose to encourage pauper emigration, or people likely to be the victims of exposure in travel, and who would be no better off there than in the States where they are now.

Q. Do you know whether there is any of this feeling in Kansas?—A. Some of it.

Q. By what routes will most of these people go there?—A. We have not clearly defined that, yet. Some propose to go overland, just as the original settlers did; and those who can reach some point on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad, which now runs to Santa Fé, and who can pay the low rates that they are asking, will go that way; but all that I am to ascertain when I get there.

Q. You will be likely to establish towns and villages then of colored people?—A. There is no plan to do that. Our plan is to aid them in being self-supporting.

Q. But if you purchase these Mexican-land grants and take them in large tracts, when these people get there, if they take up the land they will take most of it in these grants, so as to form large communities, and perhaps towns and cities?—A. They can scarcely go anywhere there, where the lands are good, where they will not mix with the native New Mexicans who have squatted there.

Q. Now, tell us of him—I want to know something of these people?—A. Well, they are a good many of them half-breeds, a good-natured, generous, hospitable people. Those that I saw seemed to like the plan, and stated that they would welcome the colored people; and I apprehend that, so far as the race is concerned, there would be no clashing between them.

Q. Which would be the superior race?—A. I think the negro, who now, for a few years, having educated himself and his children, would be, I think, superior to the native New Mexican.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You live in Jersey, don't you?—A. No, sir; in Brooklyn.

Q. You did live in Jersey—in Vineland?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You stated that you had become interested in this exodus something over a year ago?—A. Yes, sir; about a month after the exodus broke out.

Q. Did you visit here before going South?—A. I did.

Q. Did you consult with some prominent men in this place before going South?—A. I did.

Q. With whom?—A. With Senator Chandler and Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, and with his brother, E. C. Ingersoll, whom we call General Ingersoll.

Q. Did you consult with the President at that time?—A. No, sir; I think not. I think it was after I got back that I consulted the President. It became known that I was going on that errand, and parties came and talked to me about it; and I met the national relief committee here also.

Q. Was the subject of putting a portion of these moving emigrants into Indiana for political purposes mentioned at that time?—A. I think that was after I got back. I mentioned it myself.

Q. How long were you down South?—A. I think five or six weeks.

Q. What parts of the South did you visit?—A. I visited in St. Louis then, and Kansas City. I did not go further South on that trip; I went further South afterwards—into Kansas.

Q. You visited Indiana on that trip, did you not?—A. I stopped at Indianapolis on my way.

Q. You made some pleasant acquaintances there, I hope?—A. I did, sir.

Q. Whom did you meet?—A. A number of the citizens; I knew some parties there; and some whom I did not know I made the acquaintance of while I was there.

Q. How long did you remain there?—A. I think three days.

Q. During that time you saw Mr. Martindale, the editor of the Journal?—A. I believe I did.

Q. You saw Mr. New, the chairman of the Republican State committee?—A. I saw Mr. New; I didn't know whether he was the chairman of the Republican State committee or not.

Q. Did you know Colonel Dudley?—A. The name is familiar to me, but I do not remember meeting him.

Q. Do you know Colonel Holloway, the postmaster?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know Colonel Straight, a candidate for governor there?—A. No, sir; I knew him by name, but not personally.

Q. Well, General Conway, you know we have a prying curiosity in this committee. I want to know of you now why you staid there these three days?—A. Well, sir, I was tired, and the journey was a tiresome one, and Indianapolis is a pleasant city, and I wished to see what could be done regarding these laborers, as to getting employment for them, and I thought these gentlemen would know about that as well as anybody I could find.

Q. Did you meet with reasonable encouragement?—A. Yes, sir; a good deal of it. I was told, and information came in there, that five or ten thousand could find employment in Indiana.

Q. Was that the opinion of these gentlemen?—A. Yes, sir; I think it was. I also met two or three Quakers there, and one of them said he had been through the State, and he showed me a long list of names of farmers who would give them employment.

Q. Then it was not disguised between you and these gentlemen that it would be of political advantage to the State, as well as to these negroes themselves, to bring them there, was it?—A. Not at all, sir; I so regarded it, and I think so still.

Q. And so did they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. From your party standpoint, you think it is desirable to carry Indiana for the Republicans?—A. Undoubtedly so, sir.

Q. And they looked upon it in the same light, did they?—A. I think they would be great fools if they did not; I think they did.

Q. You spoke of going to Saint Louis and Indianapolis, and then returning here?—A. I returned to Indianapolis.

Q. Where from?—A. I returned from Kansas to Quincy, Ill., and to Chicago, and then came back to Indianapolis.

Q. How long were you there the second time?—A. About a day.

Q. Did you meet some of the same gentlemen?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you find the negroes arriving at Saint Louis, when you got there?—A. Yes, sir; they were arriving before I started.

Q. And you tried to divert them to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; I told the committee I thought it advisable not to send any more to Kansas—that many of them were wanted in Indiana, Illinois, and other States, and I thought it would be better for them to go there.

Q. Did you report to these gentlemen in Indianapolis that you had met and encouraged these people to come to Indiana, in other words, did you inform them of what you said to that committee at Saint Louis?—A. I think I did give them a general idea of what I had done.

Q. Then did you return further east—come back here?—A. Yes, sir; I did.

Q. When you returned here, please state whom you met and consulted.—A. I think I met the parties whom I met before—the gentlemen of the National Relief Committee—and stated to them what I saw of the suffering of these people, and made some suggestions to them as to how they should be relieved. I had several interviews with Mr.

Chandler, and also Mr. Ingersoll, who took more interest in the matter than anybody else whom I met.

Q. Mr. Chandler was chairman of the National Republican Committee at that time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he warmly favored it?—A. Yes, sir; so much so that he said if I would furnish him with one-hundred good men he would build homes for them and start them on his own land in Michigan. I was in correspondence with him about that at the time of his death.

Q. Who was furnishing the money for you in your work?—A. Well, I furnished the most of it. Colonel Ingersoll, more than anybody else except myself, paid the expenses. He was the readiest and most philanthropic friend to facilitate the work that I was engaged in; and Mr. Chandler told me he would assist in the expenses when I got through in the fall; but when I was ready to meet him again I saw by the dispatches in the newspapers that he had died. The result was that I got from Colonel Ingersoll and friends in Boston and Newburyport about $250 to pay expenses of one thousand or twelve hundred dollars. The balance I paid myself. There was no political work in what I was doing. There was no organized party backing to my work.

Q. You mean the Republican party was not backing you as a party?—A. No, sir.

Q. And the only political aspect of it was that you thought to help Indiana a little and the Republican party out there a great deal?—A. Yes, sir; and other individuals thought so. So did I then and do now.

Q. Did you see the President on this subject?—A. Yes, sir, when I came back.

Q. May I ask you what your object was in seeing him?—A. I stated, in reply to Senator Windom, the Scudder line reported to me the threats and trouble in their way; the situation was very grave, and the rights of a large number of colored people were threatened on a still larger scale. I stated in Saint Louis that I would have boats chartered to bring these people away, and I was told if we sent boats down there the people would fire into them and sink them. I went to see the President to know if we went down the river for that purpose we would be protected by the United States. Mr. Turner went with me at the same time.

Q. What were the President's views?—A. We went over the whole subject with him. He was alone and he gave us the whole evening. He said from all reports the desire of the negroes was general to emigrate, and that if this terroism prevailed, and our boats were fired upon we should be protected; that if there was any interference by armed bodies it would be a violation of law; that the Mississippi was a national highway, and we should have protection for our boats upon it.

Q. Why did you not undertake the expedition?—A. The excitement became so great over the matter that the owners of the Anchor line agreed with the committee to change their programme, and bring the people the same as before. When that was reported, although the money had been offered to facilitate the chartering of vessels for that purpose, we desisted, deeming it unnecessary to carry out the measure.

Q. Recurring to the point, whom did you principally see at Indianapolis?—A. I saw a number of gentlemen there who were interested in the matter—some who were purely philanthropic, and some who were distinguished politicians.

Q. Name some of those distinguished politicians.—A. I do not think I could name any except those whom you mentioned—Messrs. New and Martindale and others.

Q. They knew what your purposes were?—A. Yes, sir; distinctly sir; and the whole country knew it.

Q. And as you understood them, they were willing to co-operate with you in turning a portion of this emigration into Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. With whom did you principally talk in Kansas upon this subject? —A. I talked with a great many everywhere I went. There were probably fifteen thousand people at Lawrence, where I made a speech on the subject, and that attracted a good deal of attention to me.

Q. Apart from that, did you talk with prominent men there about the desirability of diverting a portion of these people from their State to other Northern and Western States?—A. Yes, sir; I talked to Governor St. John, the reverend Mr. Munjoe, and others.

Q. The sentiment in Kansas among prominent men like Governor St. John was that there was some dread they would get more of these people than was good for the State or the colored people; and one feature of the plan was then to divert a good deal of it elsewhere?—A. Yes, sir; that was the sentiment.

Q. When you came back to Indianapolis, did you make known to Mr. New and Mr. Martindale that you had conversed with prominent men in Kansas, and that an effort would bemade to divert some of these people to Indiana?—A. I believe I did. I desire just here to make this further statement: In regard to the inquiries made of me as to whether I had any political objects in view in connection with Indiana, or any other State, I wish to interpolate this: I believe that the negro is a useful man; that he is a law-abiding man, naturally; and I deem it a great wrong to him to express the opinion that he would be a detriment to any Northern State. He served us faithfully in the war, as he had previously worked faithfully in time of peace. There are fewer dependents, and paupers, and vagabonds, in proportion to their number, among them than among the whites. I have had as much to do with their education and their care as any white man in this country, and I have generally found them willing to work; willing to abide by the laws, even though they are oppressive; willing to go to school and get an education to whatever extent is possible. I should not hesitate to advise any community to welcome them, or hesitate to advise them to go to any community or any State, Indiana included. Of course they vote the Republican ticket; I am very glad they do; I hope they always will; I have, and I always expect to. To whatever part of the country they may go, I hope they will continue to vote the Republican ticket, because it is in the interests of their race, and in the interests of the country at large—in the interests of a higher civilization. Hence I have no hesitation in saying that I should advise the negro to go to Indiana, both on the ground of his usefulness and his merits.

Q. Both as a laborer and as a voter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is very delightful, general, to listen to your testimony, on account of its refreshing frankness, especially as contrasted with that of some of our folks from Indiana. It has always seemed to me just as it has to you, that if their condition could be improved, or if they could be taken care of, or if they are going to move at all, it has always seemed to me a very natural thing for our Republican friends in Indiana to go into, for they need some votes?—A. I have been in Indiana, and have known of men going over from Kentucky to vote in that State, which I considered an unfair thing to do. But that these men should go there to live, and, living there, should vote there, seems to me entirely proper.

Q. Now, general, tell me when and where you ever knew of men going over from Kentucky to Indiana to vote?—A. I was on my way, in 1868 and 1870, going through from the North to the South or from the South to the North; I stopped at Louisville, and there I saw some evidence that that was going on. I heard it talked of at the hotel where I was. I saw there parties who were engaged in it.

Q. Were they negroes?—A. No, sir; they were white people; connected with the Democratic party, so they said.

Q. Tell us all about it.—A. During the election, or rather, just prior to the election, I was on my way back and forth from North to South and from South to North. I stopped in Louisville, at the Galt House, where I generally put up. I am in the habit of keeping my eyes and ears open to see and hear all I can. While there I heard two or three times sufficient to satisfy me that that work was going on. I mention it now merely because I am satisfied that the thing was done, from hearing people talk about what was going on.

Q. You think that justifies you in engaging in a work which shall offset that?—A. It more than justifies me, if any justification were necessary, for they were going to Indiana to vote, when their home was in Kentucky; while these colored people propose to make Indiana their home, giving them a legal and equitable right to vote there.

Q. Who were these men that were talking about going over to Indiana to vote; did you know them personally?—A. No, sir.

Q. They were just talking casually?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did you say this occurred—in 1870?—A. In 1868 and 1870; it occurred several times.

Q. At the same place each time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. At the Galt House each time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In the public office?—A. In front of the office, in the hall-way. I had some conversation with some of the parties at the time.

Q. You have never given up the hope of carrying Indiana by these men?—A. I do not know that I ever was certain that Indiana could be carried by these men. I was hoping it could be carried by the Republicans, whether by these men or without them.

Q. You think that five or ten thousand of these men put in there would help carry it for the Republicans?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. These gentlemen whom you saw at Indianapolis thought so too?—A. They did not express anything to the contrary.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What has been your purpose, General Conway? To colonize the States to which you have referred with voters, or to find homes for these colored people?—A. My purpose was to aid the colored people to find homes and employment.

Q. Whatever occurred in the way of seeing these politicians was merely incidental?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You regarded the negroes as being forced out of the South in a suffering condition, and you were trying to find homes for them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And expressed that purpose wherever you went?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were trying to find men who would sympathize with their sufferings and with your purpose?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And other matters were merely incidental?—A. Yes, sir; I introduced the political bearings of the subject as frequently as they did, and I presume generally more so.

Q. How much money in all did they contribute, to the best of your knowledge, to take these people to Indiana?—A. I have no knowledge of their contributing a single cent.

Q. How much have they raised to assist you in your purpose?—A. Not a dollar.

Q. Do you know of a single dollar being contributed by anybody to aid in colonizing Indiana, or any other State, with colored people for voting purposes?—A. I do not.

Q. Then the original and main idea was to find homes for these colored people, believing that they had a right to come and that it would be an advantage to them and to the State for them to come—without reference to what ticket they would vote?—A. Yes, sir; but of course nobody doubts that they would vote the Republican ticket; that I should consider self-evident.

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Q. It was just adding so many to the column of figures on the Republican side?—A. Certainly.

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Q. You did not find any very vigorous co-operation in your project of colonizing Indiana with colored people for voting purposes?—A. You misunderstand me; I never had any project of colonizing Indiana with colored people for voting purposes.

Mr. **WINDOM**. I did not misunderstand you; but that was the impression that the Chairman seemed to be desirous of making.

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Q. But you did not find anybody to contribute a dollar for that purpose?—A. No, sir; I had nothing to do with that matter further than to give information.

Q. You never heard of a dollar being contributed for that purpose? —A. No, sir.

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Q. It was not long after that before they commenced coming in?—A. No, sir; I wish it had occurred earlier.

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Q. You understand that about twelve hundred colored people in all have gone to Indiana, including women and children?—A. That is what I have heard.

The **CHAIRMAN**. For your comfort, I will inform you that there are more than that.

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Q. You said that you had conversation with those parties who were engaged in getting white voters from Kentucky into Indiana?—A. Yes, I did.

Q. What was it that you heard?—A. I heard them talking about the matter, and laughing over it. I had read of it in the papers, and I entered a little into the conversation. The parties stated that they were doing what they could to send some of their fellows over to help the Democrats in Indiana.

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Q. It seemed to be common talk there in the hall-way of the hotel, did it?—A. Yes, sir. Remembering that, in connection with the objection to the colored people going to live permanently in Indiana, I think that if there is any odium to be attached to the matter it ought to attach to those Kentuckians who were going over there just for the purpose of voting.

The CHAIRMAN. There can be no question as to that.

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Q. But you never heard of any investigating committee being appointed to inquire into that matter?—A. It seems to me I heard of some investigation that embraced that, some time or other; but I cannot say what it was.

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FIFTY-FIRST DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Saturday, April* 24, 1880.

Committee met pursuant to adjournment.

——— KENNEDY recalled.

By Senator BLAIR:

Question. How many white Republicans are there, do you suppose?—Answer. I should say fifty in the county.

Q. How many white voters in the county?—A. About eighteen hundred.

Q. You are a Republican?—A. Yes, sir, and have ever been.

Q. Are you a native of Mississippi?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I would like to have you tell me how you came to be a Republican?—A. My father was a Union man, and during the war was bitterly opposed to secession, and was badly treated by the people down there, for he was arrested and taken to Grenada, and there was harshly dealt with. Since the war, the results of the war ruined him, for he was in good circumstances before. That made him determined he would not vote the Democratic ticket. But when Alcorn ran for governor he voted for him. I voted in 1873 the first time. He trained me up in his way, and I voted for a Republican candidate, and have continued to do so ever since.

Q. Are there many white native Republicans in Mississippi?—A. Yes, sir; there are a good many.

Q. Do you suffer any from social ostracism, or do you stand the same with your people as if you were a Democrat?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. How is it as to your business patronage?—A. No, sir; we do not stand the same in any respect.

Q. Give us an idea of how the Southern white Republican is treated.—A. Well, sir, I was reared there with some of the boys who belonged to the best people in that community; some of them I love very much, and went to school with them; but since I have been a Republican I have received the cold shoulder from them, and the doors of society have been barred against us.

Q. That is, yourself and your family?—A. Yes, sir. They think that a white man lowers himself to speak to us, much less to associate with a native Republican. They try to tear down their business, and they organize in sort of clubs, and say they will not speak to or patronize them at all.

Q. What are you called down there?—A. "Scalawags" and radicals.

Q. What headway are you making in overcoming this social prejudice?—A. None at all, in that Democratic county.

Q. What college did you go to?—A. To the University of Mississippi.

Q. Before the war, before you voted Republican, how did your family stand ?—A. I can refer you to Colonel Lamar, who is the Senator here, and he will tell you that my family stood as high as any family in the county or State.

Q. Is there any reason why society has changed toward you, except on account of your Republican sentiments ?—A. That is the only thing that could have made that change; and I defy the world to prove differently.

Q. Is that confined to your community alone, or is it the general way they have of doing ?—A. It is a universal thing, all over the State. I was going to suggest another fact to you: Colonel Powers was marshal for awhile there, and we did not have a better citizen in the county; but he was ostracized, and they went so far as to turn his wife out of the church, saying they could attend to their own affairs without her assistance.

Q. Was he a carpet-bagger ?—A. No, sir; he was a native of Kentucky.

Q. What did they term him ?—A. They called him like they do me, a scalawag.

Q. In the estimation of the white people down there, do they consider the negroes with a better feeling than they do the white native Republicans ?—A. Yes, sir; their feeling is stronger against myself than it is against any of the negroes.

Q. You are a more despised class, then, than the negroes, and more hated by the dominant class ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Perhaps that is because you are more intelligent, and therefore more dangerous to them ?—A. Yes, sir. They do it because they think that a man who has been reared there and joined the Republicans has turned against his people. They consider him their common enemy.

Q. Do you see any indication of a change there, toward yourself and these others ?—A. We cannot see any change. The Greenbackers may get up such a division that the Republicans by assisting them will get recognition in that way; but I do not think they will, very soon.

Q. If you should be killed on account of your testimony here, would you expect your murderer to be punished in Mississippi ?—A. Of course not; he might be, but I think not. I know there was a man murdered there in 1877, near the court-house. He was attacked by two men, and he begged them for mercy. He was named Joe Brooks, a colored man, and every officer in the county was a Democrat, from the judge down to the constable, but nobody was ever indicted for the murder.

Q. Where do you live ?—A. At Oxford.

Q. In what part of the State is that ?—A. About eighty miles from Jackson, to the north.

Q. In the northern part of Mississippi ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you explain why there should not be an exodus of white Republicans from the South ?—A. Well, sir, those who are there have their homes there; their relatives and friends and their children are buried beneath that soil, and they are so fixed that they cannot leave.

Q. Do you think that is the only thing that keeps them there ?—A. I think it is; in fact, I know it is, for they say so.

Q. Do you, or not, find among what might be called the more reasonable and humane portion of the ruling class, any disposition to change this state of affairs ?—A. Yes, sir; there are very many fair and honest Democrats among them who want to do what is right, and I think they do accord to freedmen all the rights he needs to have; but the rabid element is so great they cannot always do it.

Q. How is it as to the negroes?—A. There is no hope for them.

Q. Do you think that state of feeling, that opposition to white and colored people, especially if they are Republicans, is liable to change with another generation? State as near as you can the feelings of the younger part of the population.—A. No, sir; I think there is no hope of any change. The younger persons are taught the lesson from their elders, and when they are eighteen or twenty years old, they think it is a righteous deed to murder a Republican.

Q. I suppose that since the war, you find a growing attachment in that section of the country to the national government?—A. No, sir; I cannot say that I do.

Q. What do they say about the Union, and all that?—A. I hear them, when they are conversing very freely on the subject. I have talked with all the leading men of the State; and they say that you may have the government—the general government, that is—Republican; but they will take care of the State. Mr. Sloan, of Cincinnati, who has a large business in the State, has been thrown with them a good deal; and he told me they said to him, "So far as we are concerned, you may have the general government, and all the balance of the States; just give us our State, and we do not care for the rest of the country."

Q. Well, now, with reference to those of your own age with whom you have come in contact; what is their sentiment as to the nation?—A. They try to make a little light on the hill-top, while the fog is pretty thick in the valley. I think they have not buried their discord and hatred to the government. I know a man who is high in the State and county, Judge Phipps, who has been a very fair-minded man; but he writes to me since I have been here in Washington, stating that his respect and sympathy for Republicans has destroyed his business. I have his letter here.

Q. What are his politics?—A. He has been a Democrat all his life.

Q. Give us those lines in which he makes that declaration.—A. He says: "My friendship for him and other Republicans has nearly ruined me; it has destroyed, in a measure, my entire practice, as you well know."

Q. If there is any other matter in this same direction that occurs to you, I would be glad for you to state it.—A. There is not, unless it is with reference to this immigration. I was requested by the negroes to act as secretary of an exodus meeting called to consider their leaving Mississippi and going to Kansas. In their resolutions they expressed a desire to go to Kansas and other places.

Q. Have you those resolutions with you?—A. No, sir. They wanted to have enough money, though, to carry them there, and to sustain them there for a year, before they left.

Q. Do you think they have a chance to get fair treatment, and fair advantages in the race of life, in Mississippi?—A. I do not think their prospects are very flattering.

Q. Do they have a fair chance now?—A. No, sir; not altogether.

Q. In your early testimony you make no distinction as to the law applying to whites and blacks; but you say it works hardships in both races, in many cases?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is that on account of a difference in the administration of it?—A. Yes, sir; in the execution of it.

Q. What about the chances for education among the colored people, and the poorer whites in Mississippi; I do not ask you what the law is, but what chance a boy has to get an education?—A. We have a free-school system down there, which gives to white and black free schools. I see no difference in the execution of the law.

Q. How long, on an average, do you have the schools?—A. Five months in the year.

Q. How many can read and write and cipher when they are fifteen years old?—A. I reckon about one in a hundred. They have not sufficient time to acquire that.

Q. What is the close of the school age in Mississippi; sixteen years?—A. No, sir; twenty-one.

Q. Is that when they quit going to school?—A. Yes, sir; they can go on until they are of that age.

Q. Well, now, when they quit, how many of that whole child population can read and cipher well enough to do business?—A. I never made a calculation, but I would not suppose more than fifty or a hundred in a county. I do not suppose there are more than a hundred and fifty colored people in the county who can do that.

Q. How many are there altogether?—A. There are sixteen hundred voters.

Q. Do they average two children to a voter?—A. I suppose three or four.

Q. You say there are sixteen hundred colored voters?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you any doubt that there are three thousand voters in the county?—A. No, sir; I forget the exact number.

Q. And you think that not more than a hundred and fifty in the county capable of doing business?—A. I said who can read and write.

Q. When I speak of education sufficient to do business, I mean to read and write their own contracts, and keep their books.—A. Well, sir, I would not think there are more than a hundred and fifty people altogether in the county who can do that. Many of them cannot read or write at all. A great many of the school-teachers there cannot draw up contracts or keep their books.

Q. Is the school system there increasing or losing efficiency?—A. It has been just as the Republicans left it, except to increase it one month.

Q. And to this extent the law is general throughout the State?—A. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. How long have you been in the city?—A. I think about a month.

Q. Where were you subpœnaed from?—A. I was subpœnaed here in the city.

Q. Is there another man of your name in the city?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know him?—A. He is from Nashville, Tenn., though Mississippi was his home.

Q. What part of Mississippi?—A. Oxford.

Q. Is he a relative of yours?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What relation?—A. He is my brother.

Q. Where was he subpœnaed from?—A. I do not know.

Q. Did you find him here?—A. Yes, sir; I had not seen him before in five years.

Q. I do not mean any disrespect to you, sir; but are you in any way identified with the colored race by blood?—A. No, sir.

Q. Your father owned slaves, did he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your brother's first name?—A. Kavanaugh.

Q. You say you refer me to Senator Lamar about the standing of yourself and your family?—A. Yes, sir; Senator Lamar or anybody down in my county; not particularly to him, but you can go to the faculty of the university there, or any fair man in the county.

Q. Did you come up here on this business?—A. No, sir. I had some claims here to look after.

Q. Are you going back home when you leave here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you have any apprehension of being interfered with?—A. No, sir; not unless I jump into politics.

Q. Could you say anything more offensive if you were to jump into politics than you have said here about those people; for you have testified to a state of utter lawlessness on their part?—A. I do not know that I shall go back there to live.

Q. Then you were a little too hasty in saying you would go back there?—A. I expect to go back to see my old father and mother.

Q. Where do you expect to go to live?—A. I have been thinking of going out to some of the Territories.

Q. Who was it you said told you that General George said to the Democrats to level their guns on the negroes?—A. Otway L. Carter, who was a member of the State committee. He told me that General George said so.

Q. Is he a Democrat?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he just came to tell you this secret that belonged alone to the State Democratic committee?—A. He did.

Q. Did he think you were a Democrat?—A. No, sir; he knew I was a Republican, but we were reared together, and our offices were right together; and he supposed that all the hostility was over, and he came into my office and told me about it. He had been taking a turn of whisky, I suppose, and was not very careful.

Q. So he gave away General George in that manner?—A. That is what he told me.

Q. Who is the district attorney at Oxford?—A. Greene C. Chandler.

Q. Is he a Democrat?—A. No, sir.

Q. Who was he appointed by?—A. Mr. Devens, I suppose.

Q. Who is the United States marshal?—A. J. L. Morphis.

Q. Is he a Democrat?—A. He is a Republican, though he supported Greeley in 1872, and Hayes in 1876, and Lincoln in 1863.

Q. Well, the court is in the hands of the Republicans, too, as you understand it; the marshal is a Republican, the district attorney is a Republican, and the judge is neither a Republican nor a Democrat. Is not that judge universally respected down there by all classes of people?—A Yes, sir, he is, and so are all the officials.

Q. You say a man may be sent to the penitentiary in Mississippi for stealing a pig, goat, sheep, or anything of the value of a dollar?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you aware that the same thing is done in Indiana?—A. No, sir; I am not aware of it.

Q. Do you know that we can send a man to the penitentiary there for stealing less than a dollar?—A. No, sir; I was not aware of it.

Q. Speaking of the high prices that are paid and charged in Mississippi, have you heard this testimony or a good deal of it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is your understanding, is it, that the negroes are charged such prices?—A. No, sir; I have heard some statements that I thought were right, and some that were not fairly stated. I never had to pay as much as some of these witnesses say in my section.

Q. Are the schools administered the same for the one class there as for the other?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And if young colored people cannot read and write at eighteen, whose fault is it?—A. It is their own.

Q. They do as well as white children, do they not?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. If they have the same privileges as the whites, five months in the year, why cannot they read and write the same as white people?—A. I cannot tell any reason except that they are naturally stupid.

Q. Do you know whether they are any more stupid than the whites, or whether they do not learn as well as the whites in the common schools?—A. I do not know, sir; I never taught school in my life.

Q. Is not that the understanding generally?—A. I never thought of it before; but I would not think that they would be as apt, as a mass.

Q. In some matters that would be true; but in matters of memory, is it not true that after the war, this being a new experience to them, they took to these schools with a great deal of avidity?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And people among them who were well advanced in life learned their letters and learned to read and write?—A. Yes, sir; and a good many of them are teaching school now.

Q. Are these schools paid for out of the State funds?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do they have white or colored teachers?—A. I think they have both kinds, but they seem to prefer their own teachers.

Q. You said if a colored man conducted himself properly and paid his debts he was treated as well as anybody in the courts and everywhere else, unless he got into politics. Can you tell me any instance in which a colored man was defrauded out of his rights in court on account of his politics?—A. I was speaking of what I have heard them say.

Q. You are a lawyer, are you not?—A. Yes, sir; but I do not know of my own personal knowledge where any leading Republican has been defrauded on account of his politics.

Q. Lafayette County is a Democratic county, is it not? I have been down there myself and that is my recollection.—A. Yes, sir; I saw you there.

Q. It is Democratic, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it has a local court?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know any instance of any interference, in that court, with the rights of any Republican on account of his politics?—A. No, sir; I do not know, of my own personal knowledge, but I have heard some complaint about it.

Q. Who is the judge of that court?—A. John W. Watson is the judge.

Q. Where does he live?—A. He is from Holly Springs.

Q. Well, white people complain that they are defrauded of their rights, sometimes, when they fail to gain their cases, do they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They are pretty much as Mr. Lincoln once said, when he had lost a case for one of his clients; he remarked to him, "We had got nothing to do now but go over to the hotel and cuss the judge."—A. Yes, sir; I think the most of them complain when they lose.

By Senator **WINDOM**:

Q. You did not come here for the purpose of testifying before this committee?—A. No, sir; of course not.

The **CHAIRMAN**. I have received a note from K. K. Kennedy, with reference to yourself, was the reason I asked you these personal questions a while ago.

The **WITNESS**. He has been a wayward boy, all his life. He left us, my father, and went with the Democratic party, and I suppose he wanted to back up his side.

The CHAIRMAN. You think, then, that he is on the other side of this question from yourself.

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; I know he is.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. It was after I had spoken to you that you were subpœnaed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that was the first you knew of your appearing here?—A Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Did you not tell Mr. Barnes to have your brother subpœnaed?—A. I do not think so.

Q. Just think, now; do you not remember that you told him so?—A. No, sir; if I did, I do not remember it. I will state that it makes some difficulty to me that I have a brother here that is to be a witness. I think I ought to be here when he comes to testify, so as to tell Mr. Windom or Mr. Blair the questions to ask him if he has anything to say about me.

Senator WINDOM. I will see about that myself.

TESTIMONY OF W. E. HORNE.

W. E. HORNE called, sworn, and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. My residence is in Texas.

Q. At what point?—A. In Sherman.

Q. Of which State are you a native?—A. Of Alabama.

Q. How long have you lived in Texas?—A. I was before the war on a plantation—in 1858 and 1859.

Q. Have you been there ever since, until recently?—A. I had been away during the war to California and Mexico.

Q. Were you a Union man?—A. My prejudices were that way.

Q. Have you had occasion to learn anything of the condition of the colored people, so as to throw any light on this movement of those people from the Southern to the Northern States?—A. After the inauguration of President, or rather Mr., Hayes, and after the terms had been agreed upon at the Wormley conference by which peace was to be established and harmony restored in Louisiana, I went to Louisiana, to Shreveport. Prior to that time I was in Texas, and was a member of the constitutional convention and also a member of the legislature. I was elected on the Republican ticket, and served there until the convention adjourned. I lived there in that State up to a few years past. I was here, as I stated, and after the inauguration of the President I was requested to go South and open the canvass at Shreveport in the Congressional campaign of 1878. I appeared in Shreveport and announced in the press that I would speak in the court-house, and I did so. While there, and since that time, I have learned more or less of what has occurred between the two races so as to bring about this exodus. I did not believe there was any want of sincerity in the Wormley conference when the terms were agreed upon there by the Democrats of

Louisiana and the Republicans who were there. I had full faith and confidence in those terms, which are before you. They agreed to recognize fully and in good faith all the issues of reconstruction and those growing out of the war. It was a frank and full recognition of all of them. Believing and trusting in that I went to Louisiana to advocate the election of a Republican candidate for Congress. I think it was the 16th of August when I spoke in the court-house there. I had had my speech prepared before I left Washington, and it was a general review of the line of policy that I thought should be presented by the Republicans. It was in the main confined to a discussion of the rights and duties growing out of the amendments as they affected all parties in Louisiana, and the duty of all parties to respect them. Just then there was some doubt as to the feeling in South Carolina and the good faith with which they would stick up to their agreement, but we accepted their promises as we did in Louisiana; but the feeling grew bitter again, so much so, that we Republicans there doubted the feasibility of a campaign in Louisiana. There came reports of outrages which at first I doubted. I stated that I would go to Louisiana and make a speech in the canvass, and I believed that I could do it freely and without interference, and I prepared myself for that purpose I appeared in Shreveport and found there was considerable feeling there about the yellow fever. There was none there nor in the vicinity at the time, but the canvass was forming, and Judge Elam was the candidate of the Democrats and Governor Wells the candidate of the Republicans. He was nominated, and I spoke in the court-house in advocacy of the Republican party. I remained there at Shreveport some little time, and I regret very much to say that on my arrival there I found a state of feeling very intense and hostile to a fair and free discussion of the principles distinguishing the two parties. I was then in that locality preparing myself for what subsequently occurred. There were not only words of contention, but armed hostilities. It was in that shape and state of being when I got there. The Democrats were arming and had their clubs, and I learned afterwards on my trip down there as an officer of the Department of Justice that they were the same old organizations of '76 and of '78, and the White Camelias. They had also different organizations based on the prior organizations, and so much of this was done that it created an intense feeling throughout the country. No Union man or Republican but had to speak with bated breath; and they told me there that if I spoke in the court-house I would be insulted and cause a difficulty. I spoke to Mr. Leonard, now the United States district attorney, who had been formally a leading man among the bulldozers. I informed him that we must have fair and impartial discussion, that that was the theory of the political leaders of the country, and that we must take our example from them, and take up Republican white native men, that we must take up no aliens and no carpet-baggers; and that was in fact the character of the ticket nominated. It was made up almost entirely of Louisiana men. The campaign opened, and I spoke in the court-house that night. I heard after my speech was made that threats had been made against me. In my speech I only referred to the status of affairs and advocated the rights of the Republican party and the right of free speech, and so stated to several parties that such would be the tenor of my remarks. I have parts of it in my pocket, which I submitted before I left to Secretary McCrary and others, who said there was nothing objectionable in it. But after my speech was over I heard from two colored men that two parties sitting by the stand had said they were going to shoot that damned Republican as soon as he got off the stand. I had invited all kinds and classes of men to come in and hear my speech, for I thought I could make a speech which was not calculated to arouse anybody; but I heard that they did not like it, and I heard of frequent threats. They talked of killing me, as though I was an inceniary, and the papers came out the next morning and denounced me as a political hireling and called me all manner opprobrious names.

Q. Did you go elsewhere and speak during the campaign?—A. No, sir; I did not. The state of feeling was such that I could not.

Q. Were you going to Bossier Parish?—A. Yes, sir; I intended to go to all the parishes and speak, but I could not do so. The state of feeling was such that I could not dare to do it. Mr. Leonard, who was formerly a bulldozer, was driven from the stand there at Spring Hill. I knew it would bring about a riot if I did speak, and I do not think that anybody could go in there and make a Republican speech, and frankly state what the rights of the people were, and what ought to be done to secure them.

Q. You felt safer in Shreveport than elsewhere in the district?—A. Yes, sir, at that time; and I think that it was very questionable whether a man was safe who was walking around there.

Q. What do you know as to the means used to keep the colored men from voting there?—A. The fact is known that there is concord and harmony in the Democratic party to prevent a free ballot. Prior to my going there I heard the same statements from a great many people. I went down there with the Teller committee, and as a member of the Department of Justice, and I met with colored people from Tensas and other parishes of the State, and they stated what had occurred to them; that early in June, before I went in August, these rifle clubs would meet together, and whenever there was a Republican meeting they would disperse the parties. They would find freedmen in the road, and in some instances they were killed. One case in Point Coupée Parish in June or July, 1878, I remember. Some 80 or 90 persons from an adjoining parish were collected together between 11 and 12 o'clock, and their object was to get one Williams, a colored man, who was trying to make up political organizations. Williams persisted in organizing the colored people. They got Williams into this crowd and they were going to take him and hang him. They tied his thumbs together, and he appealed to his old master who was in the crowd, and said he was not guilty of the charge they were making against him. That charge was that a white man had been shot at the night before, and they accused Williams of it. He begged and entreated his old master to intercede for him and save his life; and the statement is that his master did intercede for him, and said that he should not be killed, and further said that by God he should not be killed while he could protect him, and so saying he drew his pistol; whereupon Legendre, who had a plantation near by, said, "Boys, you can take five of my negroes and hang them; nobody has a right to interfere in that;" and the statement goes and the proof shows that the five men were taken and hung. They took them a mile below and they were hung, and the next morning Legendre went down and took the bodies of two of these men and buried them in two pits. They were Catholics and their friends wanted to have them buried from the church, but they were refused. The witness of it, who is a French negro, saw them as they came down to the levee, and I asked him about it, and he described the trees to me, and he said that one of the negroes had his tongue out while he was hanging there. I was so much outraged by this double murder that I afterwards saw Governor Nicholls and told him about it, and he said he would try to have the perpetrators of it prosecuted. He said it was a horror, and that there was a Republican judge down there, but that he himself had done all he could to right these things. That was one instance that I know of; there is no question about it. There is no doubt that in 1878 Louisiana was prepared to prevent a full, free, and fair vote of the Republicans. I met numbers of parties here and in New Orleans, and I got letters confirming that fact. I submitted some of them and made a statement of all the testimony and facts when I came back to the President. He asked me about it, and I told him that I never saw such a condition of affairs. I told him it was a political boiling cauldron of hate, in which no truth could live. He asked me if it was political, and I said it was; and he asked for the proof, and I sent and got it. I wrote a part in Shreveport and all through the State, and I got the testimony to confirm what I saw myself.

Q. Is there any freedom of the ballot to the colored people down there?—A. No, sir; not in Louisiana; and the white Republicans, no matter how liberal they were, were treated in the same way. It was evident that they intended to carry that election, and they made no secret of it. They proposed to go right ahead and do it. That district up there has a majority of the Republican votes, and Ludeling's district is the same way, but he was barricaded during the campaign, and parties were driven from the State who tried to make speeches for the Republican ticket, and a good many of them were killed. I heard of it there that night, and referred to it in my speech. There was one fellow there who came from down that way, and he said the majority of the men in his district were Republicans, but by God he carried in his pocket Democratic ballots, at the same time pulling out a handful of buckshot.

Q. He pulled out the buckshot to represent what he meant by Democratic ballots?—A. Yes, sir; and it struck me at the time when I heard of this killing at Caledonia, in the unprovoked manner in which it was done, that his remark illustrated the Democratic methods pretty well.

Q. Did you investigate that affair?—A. Yes, sir; there is a great volume of testimony about it. There was a set of that class of men who do these things, who brought about some difficulty one with another. One of them threw another of them up against a colored man. He turned around on the colored man and pulled out his six shooter and said, "What did you run against me for?" and shot. The negroes then began to run and they were shot down right and left all that day and the next day.

Q. How many of them were shot, can you remember?—A. Fifty or sixty of them were shot.

Q. Were they the only perons who were shot?—A. I heard of no white man being shot.

Q. Are there any portions of the State where such outrages as those are condemned?—A. Certainly; in any well regulated community where the planters control that element, it never occurs. In Tensas the planters do control it and barricade against the marauders. An old planter instanced to me that in one case eight miles of river front were barricaded against three hundred of these men. They built the barricade out of cotton bales, and Mr. King, who is here now in Congress, is charged with leading that raid, and as one who recognized and enlisted that party. If he had not, they would not have recognized him, and hecould not have been elected. These planters were not partisans who would vote against King, but their laborers were demoralized by these constant raids, and when they came and attempted to disturb them on their plantations they barricaded against them and made them leave. One man, a large planter, told me in the St. Charles Hotel that he was sorry he was not at home to arm every negro on his place with a Henry rifle when they came around there.

Q. Why did not the planters combine to put down this lawless spirit?—A. Because they cannot stop it. There is a lingering feeling of hostility to the negroes throughout that whole country; but there is a feeling growing up there that the real interests of the country demand a change so as to promote the harmony between the whites and the blacks in the South, the one as the laborer of the other; and I think that they may be able to harmonize them without bringing in the question of social equality, which is most feared there.

Q. Did you ever hear of any of those planters who did not seem ready to accept these Democratic methods?—A. Yes, sir; it did not use to be so, but it is so now, and they will force their leaders to accept the principles of protection and the guarantee of personal rights that are recognized by the Republican party.

Q. Do you think any of them have accepted those results, and will endeavor to see them enforced?—A. Yes, sir; I think they will, and that a change will be brought about. The majority is the other way, and have no sympathy with these people; they have not a humanitarian among them. There is a disposition among the planters to treat the negro fairly on the sugar plantations, but this lawless element from time to time attempt to bulldoze them out of it. I think that it will continue to increase, unless these planters take some radical course in regard to it.

Q. You are speaking of the exodus movement?—A. Yes, sir; I say I think the exodus will continue unless the planters take some radical steps to stop all this bulldozing and interference with them. Unless that is done, I do not believe the negroes will stay.

Q. Do you understand that these things are the cause of the colored people leaving the country?—A. I do; and unless the planters make some radical change in their course I do not believe the negroes will stay.

Q. They will not stay unless they are protected in their personal and civil rights?—A. No, sir; as it is now, any attempt to exercise those rights results in riots, in which more or less persons are killed. I found, in Bossier Parish, some colored men organized into clubs; they asked me to come over there and speak; they said, "Come and speak, and if there is a conflict we will fight back." But I said, "If I can't speak without being intimidated, and shot at, I won't speak at all." And I didn't.

Q. Have you examined the laws of the Southern States bearing upon this question?—A. I have; and they exhibit and illustrate the will and disposition of the majority of the white people of the Southern States; they show how the Democratic party has pandered to the prejudice which exists generally among the white men against the negro.

Q. What is the character of those laws, generally?—A. I have looked into the statutes of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and several other States; but especially into the statutes of Alabama, because that seems to be the leading State; its code was adopted in 1876, which the other States seem to have followed, in many respects.

Q. What is there in those statutes that tends to create dissatisfaction?—A. I do not think there is a statute enacted under the head of felonies and misdemeanors, that is not an outrage against humanity. They run misdemeanors into felonies, and felonies into misdemeanors, with a penalty of from one hundred to five hundred or a thousand dollars for each offense, or imprisonment in the penitentiary; or they are hired out on public works, or to planters; and the probate court, or court of local jurisdiction, has within its discretion the imposition of these enormous fines and other severe punishments. They are imposed for the most trivial and insignificant offenses; if a negro is negligent and breaks down a fence, and goes away without putting it up, that is felony.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. Punishable by confinement in the penitentiary?—A. He is hired out to some planter to work.

By Mr. **Windom**:

Q. In what State is that?—A. In Alabama.

Q. Can you refer us to that law?—A. Yes, sir; if you have here the Statutes of Alabama, revision of 1876. If you are tenant on another man's land, you cannot take any part of the growing crop; if you do it will be a felony or misdemeanor, punishable, at the discretion of the court, by imprisonment or fine, the fine to be worked out. The person guilty of such an offence may be hired out by the board of county commissioners, either upon the pubiic works, or, at their discretion, to private citizens, anywhere within the State.

Q. What is the reason that this hiring out at a nominal sum is not a convenient and effectual way of practically re-establishing slavery?—A. That is just what it is; that is undoubtedly the very intention; there is but little difference. The power is given to manacle and chain, and all that sort of thing. These things the colored people find very oppressive, and are determined not to endure them any longer. There are two things for them to do; to rise against them or to flee from them. It may be the best for both races that they have chosen the latter course. If we do not meet these questions fairly, if we dodge these issues, the condition of affairs in the South will grow worse and worse; the oppression and lawlessness will increase, and the planting interests of the whole South, the interests of the whole country, will suffer. I believe that the quickest way to bring about a harmonious condition of things, and prevent such disaster, is not to hide or try to smooth over such abuses, but for every one to state the facts in the case.

Q. You think it will be more likely to cure the evils by stating the facts than by covering them up?—A. Yes, sir; and such a course will meet with more sympathy than you would be apt to think for, from the planters and better class of citizens down there.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. In regard to the solution of this question, have you an idea that the rifle in the hands of negroes would put an end to the exodus?—A. I do not know exactly what you mean.

Q. You spoke of some planters, somewhere in Louisiana, who set themselves in opposition to the more violent element, and barricaded themselves against the bulldozers; and one man you mentioned regretted that he had not been at home at the time to arm his negroes to defend themselves?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think that, if the negroes were armed, and showed a disposition to defend themselves, it would end the necessity of the exodus?—A. No; it would lead to disastrous results; they are unarmed and undisciplined in warlike tactics; they would simply be overwhelmed and slaughtered.

Q. But if they were in accord with the planting interest, acting with the better class of white men, as they were on the occasion to which you refer, would that lead to helpful results?—A. I think it will come to that yet.

Q. That is to say, if the negro remains in the South it will come to that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. To that, or worse?—A. Yes, sir; the colored people may endure such oppressions, or flee from them; but white men will not. I don't feel very kindly myself about going to a place where I am liable to be outraged and traeted as I was there, by publications and denunciations in the newspapers of the character that I have alluded to. I don't think any man will stand it who has any independence of character. It will result in destruction to the vital interests of the South, unless the better class of men come to the front.

Q. But what I want to know is, whether the better class are strong enough—numerous enough—to come to the front?—A. No, sir; not now.

Q. Suppose that they were to arm the negroes, and lead them, would they then be strong enough?—A. Yes, sir; in that case thirty-five men stopped three hundred.

By Mr. **WINDOM**:

Q. Did I understand you to say that the leader in those proceedings was Mr. King, at present a member of Congress from Louisiana?—A. I have been informed by several parties that he was the author of the whole thing.

Q. In regard to this matter in Mississippi, as early as 1868, or 1869, or 1870, or whenever it was that it occurred, do you know who originated that?—A. It is an open fact that Mr. George, who has been recently elected Senator from that State, was the author of the "Mississippi plan," better known, perhaps, as the "shot-gun policy." Mrs. Chisholm told me that.

By Mr. **BLAIR**:

Q. Now, if the better class of white men and the negroes should unite, and if the right of every American citizen to bear arms were to be exercised down there, and the negroes were armed as well as the white, and as generally, do you not think they would get their rights?—A. Yes, sir; but that would bring about a conflict of races at once.

Q. But do you think the bulldozers would continue to carry on their work at the risk of their own lives? If General King had been shot when leading those three hundred ruffians——A. He was not at their head; it was he that originated the whole thing. It was a part of his plan of the campaign; but he was not the immediate head of the gang.

Q. But suppose he had been killed; just as Republican leaders down there have been killed, and suppose that sort of thing should come to be pretty general, do you think it would be looked upon as the sort of practice that Southern whites would want to indulge in?—A. No, sir; I think not. I think it would have a very beneficial effect. If the better class of the white planters, the men of commanding influence, would come to the front, and would kill a few such characters when they conduct themselves in such a way as to deserve it, when engaged in these lawless outrages upon the rights of their fellow-men, I think it would have a very wholesome effect. And it will come to that yet.

Q. But the difficulty is there are no Henry rifles in the hands of the negroes?—A. Not now, but there will be.

Q. Rather than have such a state of things as that, don't you think it better for the colored men to get up and go away, and if the white people want that kind of pandemonium, let them have it all to themselves?—A. I think it would be better for the better element among the white men to come to the front and put down the bulldozers.

Q. But can they, and will they, do it; that is the question?—A. I do not know; but if they can't or don't, the negro won't stay.

Q. Then, as you leave it in that doubtful way, until this better class of the white people, of which you speak, does come to the front, the negro had better get up and go off. You have already said that it would be useless for them to attempt to defend themselves without assistance? —A. Yes; that would only lead to a war of races, in which the negroes would be sure to get the worst of it.

By Mr. **Windom**:

Q. Do you know anything about the laws of Texas forbidding negroes to go armed on plantations?—A. No, sir, I do not know. We have had very few outrages comparatively in Texas.

Q. Did you leave there before a man was killed in what is called "Egypt?" You know that the sheriff of Wharton County was killed? —A. That very thing illustrates the truth of what I was saying. A set of desperate characters live around Eagle Lake. They went to Bowman's house at night; Bowman was the sheriff's name. He was a respectable man; a man of good character; a man of nerve; a Northern man. He was elected sheriff of Wharton County.

Q. Was he a Republican?—A. Yes, sir. Wharton County is a county largely colored. I lived in that county before the war. I lived there with my relative, Governor Wharton. I knew the personnel of nearly everybody in the county. I know nearly every person in Wharton County. These men came there and met at Eagle Lake, near Columbus. Bowman was endeavoring to establish a large plantation there, on a sort of co-operative system. While Bowman was sleeping in his house he was fired on through the walls, which were only made of thin boards. They killed him in his bed. They killed some freedmen, I think, about the same time. At any rate, some were killed. The better class of the white people denounced this assassination of Bowman. Oliver Walker, a planter near there, and the son of an old planter, denounced it, saying it was an infamous outrage. He had Bowman buried. But his murderers were never prosecuted in either the Federal or the State courts.

Q. What was he killed for?—A. Because he was going to segregate these men, and locate them——

Q. Furnish them homes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What reason did they give for killing him?—A. They said that "his record was bad."

Q. Why was his record bad—in what respect?—A. Because he was a Republican; that was all.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. Where is Eagle Lake?—A. It is in Texas, on the line of the railway, thirty or forty miles from Houston.

By the **Chairman**:

Q. Where do you live now?—A. Here.

Q. How long have you lived here?—A. Two or three years—three or four years, or thereabouts.

Q. Can't you tell any nearer than that?—A. About four years.

Q. What do you do here?—A. I have been an officer of the Department of Justice a part of the time.

Q. What are you doing now?—A. I am now in the Treasury Department.

Q. A clerk?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you had a detail to attend this committee-room?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have been here pretty much all the time?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. I have seen you here almost ever since it begun.—A. That cannot be, for I have been here only three or four days, recently.

Q. Do you mean to say that you have been here only three or four days?—A. Not consecutively.

Q. How long since you severed your connection with the Department of Justice?—A. Something like a-year—a little over a year, I think.

Q. Were you acting as an agent of the Department of Justice when you were down in Louisiana making Republican speeches?—A. I was not connected with the Department of Justice then.

Q. When were you first connected with the Department of Justice?—A. Just subsequent to my return.

Q. Where were you living when you went down to Louisiana?—A Here.

Q. How came you to go down there?—A. I went down there to make speeches in behalf of the Republican party.

Q. At whose solicitation?—A. At the solicitation of Republicans here from Louisiana.

Q. Did anybody from the Department of Justice here send you?—A. Not at all.

Q. Who was candidate for governor in Louisiana that year?—A. We had no candidate; it was not a gubernatorial campaign; it was a Congressional election.

Q. Who were the candidates?—A. Wells on the Republican side, and Elam on the Democratic.

Q. What Wells—J. Madison Wells?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did Wells get you to go down there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you see him here?—A. I did not.

Q. Were you sent down to help elect Wells to Congress on account of the services he had rendered on these returning boards?—A. No, sir.

Q. What orders were given you?—A. I never had any orders.

Q. Where else did you speak besides at Shreveport?—A. Nowhere else.

Q. You did speak at Shreveport?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And then a couple of negroes told you that some fellows standing by you had threatened to shoot you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But they didn't shoot you?—A. No.

Q. But they scared you so that you did not fill your next appointment?—A. No, sir.

Q. What did scare you?—A. Nothing scared me; but when I learned that there was a general combination of the Democrats against the Republicans, that rifle clubs were armed and organized for the purpose of violence, I concluded it was better not to give them any occasion, or even pretense of an excuse, for making any trouble.

Q. I think you said that some negroes offered to go with you, armed, and protect you. You had not so much pluck as these negroes, had you?—A. If you think so you make a mistake. I did go into Shreveport and make this speech.

Q. Did they not offer to go into Bossier Parish and protect you?—A. Yes, sir; they said, if I would go, they would protect me.

Q. But you would not go?—A. I did intend to go at that time.

Q. Nobody had hurt you, had there?—A. Well, yes; I had been wounded in my feelings and convictions.

Q. Where are they? In what part of your person are they located?—A. My convictions were that I had a right to make a speech.

Q. Did you not go and make a speech?—A. Not in Bossier.

Q. Why not?—A. Because I thought it would bring about a riot between the whites and the blacks.

Q. But the blacks said that they would go?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then they were braver than you were?—A. I think I had better judgment.

Q. Well, discretion is a good thing.—A. There were others to be considered besides myself. I think you would not have gone, if you had been in my place.

Q. Well, I have been in that very place?—A. Making Republican speeches?

Q. O, no; but I have been where I have seen the blood flow freely for my right to make a Democratic speech, but I generally made it.—A. I did not propose to be the means of raising a riot between the whites and colored people there.

Q. Well, undoubtedly you are right; you evidently belong to the peace establishment.—A. No, I do not; I would kill a man very quick, when occasion called for it, if he did not kill me. I would kill him just as quick as any man living; now mark me, and don't you forget it.

Q. If you mean that for me, you will find that you cannot make any stuff of that sort go down with me. You can only make yourself ridiculous.—A. I only wanted to show you that you did not know anything about me.

Q. O, yes, I know about you very well. You say the newspapers assaulted you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did they say about you?—A. Well, they denounced me very bitterly.

Q. In what language? Did they say that you were dishonest in Texas?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did they say that you were a loafer there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nothing of that kind?—A. No, sir. Does anybody else say so?

Q. I asked you whether the newspapers said so. How long did you live in Texas?—A. Before the war.

Q. What was your attitude during the war?—A. I was not in Texas during the war.

Q. Where were you?—A. In California and Mexico.

Q. What were you doing there?—A. I was in business out there with Morrison, Bryant & Barlow.

Q. What were you doing in Mexico?—A. I was a miner in the mines there. I will add that I have lived on a plantation, with three or four hundred negroes, with Governor Horton, who is my relative. Besides that, I have owned negroes myself.

Q. Do you consider that a matter to your credit?—A. No, sir; I say that to show that I was not a loafer.

Q. I do not see how that proves anything of the sort, for some men who were loafers have owned negroes. Mr. Horne, did you ever occupy any official position in Texas?—A. I did.

Q. What?—A. District attorney.

A. Of what courts?—A. Several courts were embraced in my district.

Q. What were your politics then?—A. Republican; I never was a Democrat.

Q. How long were you in office as district attorney?—A. I do not remember, now.

Q. How long were you down in Louisiana at the time you made this Shreveport speech?—A. Eight or ten days.

Q. And then you came right back here?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where did you go?—A. Into Texas.

Q. You had a week or ten days in Louisiana to investigate the situation there and then went to Texas?—A. I went to Louisiana again, as an officer of the Department of Justice, and there saw thousands of refugees from the different parishes, that had been driven out by these raiders, and talked with them, and afterward I appeared before a committee of the Senate, and testified in regard to the matter.

Q. After that did you come back here and tell the President the condition of affairs down there?—A. No, sir; I had been here before that. He wanted to know if these outrages were for political reasons; and I told him that they were; and he wanted proof of that——

Q. He did not believe you, then?—A. He wanted to know more about it, so he could act understandingly. I was not fully satisfied myself; I thought, at first, it might be a local matter, right there in Shreveport, but on inquiry I found that it was general.

Q. I understood you to say that there were not any troubles there—only that you were afraid there would be trouble if you spoke?—A. O, there were troubles in plenty.

Q. Now, Mr. Horne, do you not know that only one man was killed in that parish, and that he was a Democratic commissioner of elections, who was killed by the Radical candidate for sheriff of that county?—A. I know nothing of that sort.

Q. You would not believe it if a hundred men were to swear to it?—A. No, sir; for I know all about the case to which you refer.

Q. Well, if you know all about it, tell us about it.—A. I will, sir. Mr. Alston, the Republican candidate for sheriff, I know personally. He did not expect to be bulldozed, because he was born and raised there. When election day came, one of the polling places in that parish was located in an out-of-the-way place so that many of the voters had to go twenty-five or thirty miles to vote, wading through swamps and bayous, and improvising bridges and other ways to cross the streams in order to get to the polling place, which was on Black Bayou, away up on the border of Arkansas. After between two hundred and fifty and three hundred of these men had voted, and were on their way home, this man that you say was a Democratic commissioner of elections, with twelve or fifteen other shot-gun gentlemen, came up and perpetrated one of the most infamous deeds in all the history of Louisiana outrages. They came up and took possession of the ballot-box, scattered and destroyed the votes, defiled the box in a most beastly way, and then made Mr. Alston put it under his arm and walk off with it. They threatened violence, but Alston and his friends got onto their horses and started for home; they were pursued by these fellows, but managed to elude their pursuit, and got back into Shreveport safely. One day a little while after that, Mr. Alston met this man that you say was a Democratic commissioner of elections, and to avenge the most infamous and dastardly insult that had been put upon him, shot him. He said to him, "You met me at such a time, at such and such a place, and you did this and that in the ballot-box, and now take that;" and with that he shot him. The man died either that evening or the next day.

Q. How do you know all this?—A. I am acquainted with Mr. Alston, and spoke with him about it; and I got letters from there telling me about it; and everybody that knew the circumstances of the case said that it was the best killing that had ever been done in Louisiana.

Q. Now, I want to know what you meant when you said you were as ready to kill anybody as any man living?—A. I just wanted to negative the idea of a want of personal courage, that I thought was employed in your case.

Q. But you said, very emphatically, that you did not want me to forget it. What did you mean by that?—A. O, that is just a slang phrase—a common expression that I suppose everybody has heard. Of course I did not mean anything personal.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You did not mean to kill Mr. Voorhees?—A. O, no; I never supposed that a carelessly uttered slang phrase could ever possibly be interpreted in that way.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. It is always better to have a distinct understanding, you know.—A. Yes, sir; we have to be very guarded.

Q. You saw nothing yourself of these scenes that you have described?—A. My knowledge of it is such as I have explained to you; it is just such evidence as——

Q. Can you answer me whether you saw it yourself?—A. I did not see it myself; no, sir. But I have seen a great deal.

Q. What did you say?—A. I have seen these men, and heard their statements.

Q. What men?—A. The colored people who had been run off from the different localities—and white men, too.

Q. You spoke of a place where the planters barricaded themselves against the bulldozers; where was that?—A. In Tensas Parish, below Saint Jo.

Q. You say that they built barricades?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Of what kind?—A. Of cotton bales.

Q. The planters did?—A. Yes, sir; and then armed themselves with Henry rifles, and other first-class weapons, and prepared themselves for whoever might come to attack them.

Q. Who was likely to come and attack them?—A. The men who had been killing negroes in the upper end of the parish.

Q. Who had been killing negroes there?—A. A lot of armed white men. A company of men, under the leadership of a Captain Peck, went to the residence of Mr. Fairfax, to kill him; they forced their way into his house, and shot at him, but he escaped. While they were forcing their way in, Peck was killed—I don't know by whom, whether by Fairfax, or one of his own men. I do know that Fairfax, if he did not kill him, ought to have done so. This Captain Peck broke into Fairfax's house with an armed body of men, and killed one or two there—at least they died shortly afterward. Fairfax saw them coming, and escaped through the back door. From there the bulldozers went on around the parish, killing the negroes. This alarmed the freedmen so much that they left the fields, abandoned the plantations, and hid in the woods; and on that account the planters suffered great loss, from the interruption to the labor at that season of the year; and a great many of the negroes got sick, and some of them died. One planter that I know of said that he regretted that he had not been at home when the thing occurred, or he would have armed his freedmen with rifles, and given the bulldozers as good as they sent. He was very indignant; several of his freedmen, from staying out in the swamp of nights, in the cold and wet, died from pneumonia. Pending the killing in the upper end of the parish, these fellows from Saint Jo—I do not think that any planters proper were in it at all—these fellows came down into that part of the parish, and when it was found out that they were coming, these planters built this barricade, and said that they would not stand it any longer. They gave fair notice to the bulldozers that if they put one foot on that bridge they would fire upon them.

Q. You spoke of Leonard as a bulldozer?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he one of those brands plucked from the burning, who once were Democrats, but joined the Republican party to get office?—A. Yes, sir. I had never met Mr. Leonard at that time, and I had no confidence in that kind of officials.

Q. Did you know anything, or hear anything, about my friend Jack Wharton down there?—A. He was one of the men, I heard, that helped do the killing in Bossier Parish.

Q. Don't you think it rather remarkable that two men of that kind should be appointed to office by a Republican President, and that our Republican brethren in the Senate should vote to confirm them?—A. I can hardly be supposed to be able to give the reasons in the bosoms of the Senators for their course.

Senator WINDOM. It is quite possible that the Republican Senators were not fully informed with regard to them.

Q. Was it not perfectly notorious that these men, Leonard and Wharton, were rebels during the war, and bulldozers afterward?—A. I supposed that it was generally well known. But Leonard has changed his tactics; and has since come very near being killed. Wharton, I am told, is making a very efficient marshal.

Q. Were there no Republicans in the United States who were not rebels nor bulldozers?—A. O, yes, sir. I do not understand that I am here to make any apologies for the errors and mistakes made by the government during the reconstruction policy, or since; I am here to state the facts, as they occurred in Louisiana.

Q. You have testified with a great deal of feeling—more than any one else since this investigation began; now, let me ask you how you can account for this: A number of old and prominent negroes have come here from Shreveport, and some others, not so old and not so prominent—varying from twenty to sixty or seventy years of age. And they unite in stating that matters there, as regards freedom from violence and intimidation, are entirely different from your statement.—A. I account for that in this way: These men live there; they have got to go back there, where they have their property and their families; and they think that the best thing they can do is to keep on good terms with the Democrats down there. There is nothing else for them to do. Every man from there, within the sound of my voice, knows that I am telling what is true; that if these colored witnesses here should tell the exact truth in regard to matters there, they never could go back and live there in safety.

Q. You were there only ten days, made your speech, got yourself abused in the newspapers, like all the rest of us that ever made speeches, whereupon you got mad and left, and have staid mad ever since.—A. No, I am not mad at anybody. If the facts are true which I have stated, and they are, and if these colored men living down there should testify to them, it would of course be known back there; and when these men got down there the white Democrats down there would say, "When you were up there before that committee, you testified to this and to that, and now, God damn you, you can get out of here." Or the colored men who are working—teamsters hauling goods for white men, and so on—would lose the patronage of Democratic merchants and planters, which is pretty much all there is there, and their business would be ruined for life. You can hardly expect a man to face such a prospect as that.

Q. Do you think that fear would control such men as we have had here?—A. I do not know, but I do know that it controls a great many men down there.

Q. Men that own plantations and houses?—A. Yes, sir; the very fact that their property is in a shape such that they cannot take it with them renders them all the more careful about saying or doing anything that will prevent their living there in peace. They do not want to get into trouble.

Q. How long did you speak there at Shreveport, that day?—A. An hour and a half or two hours.

Q. That is a reasonable amount of enjoyment of free speech, is it not?—A. I was interrupted several times.

Q. In what way; by questions?—A. Yes, sir; and in other ways.

Q. Did anybody throw anything at you?—A. No, sir; but I could tell the temper of the people. If I had not had two or three hundred colored men, fixed for business, there would have been trouble. I was armed, for I had been told that there was a prospect of trouble.

Q. Did you tell them that you were armed?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you make a good Republican speech?—A. Well, it is not for me to say whether it was a good speech or not. I have it here with me. You can judge for yourself, if you want to take the time and trouble to read it.

Q. I see that you say here (reading from the speech):

> I am here, gentlemen, to discuss the issues which pertain solely to the present Congressional canvass, and the notice which convenes you here so states.
>
> I should be glad if I could confine my remarks to an effort at convincing your minds that Governor Wells is a man of sound political views, with masterful power and energy to enforce them in Congress, but the history of the last ten years instructs me that I cannot efficiently advocate his election, or give him the support to which he is entitled, if I do not insist upon a free ballot and a fair count.

Q. Do I understand from this that you were speaking especially in behalf of Governor Wells?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you undertake to say that you considered Wells to be a representative of a "fair count?"—Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you are taking a very grave responsibility upon yourself.

Senator WINDOM. I take the responsibility of doing that, here or in the Senate.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing to read):

> I am here to demand decent obedience to the laws governing in this election. It is useless to convince men's minds that Governor Wells is the best candidate if these men are to be prevented from depositing their ballots for him, or if, after they have been so deposited, the count shall be false.

Q. Did anybody take any exception to that?—A. I think there did. I guess you would have thought so if you had seen the newspapers the next morning.

Q. Did you expect the Democratic newspapers to praise your Republican speech?—A. No; I expected to be a target for their abuse, but I did not expect they would vilify me and circulate falsehoods about me. They pointed me out as an incendiary.

Q. We all think we are not criticized fairly. I have had worse terms than that applied to me. Did you write this before delivering it?—A. I did.

Q. Did you deliver it from manuscript?—A. I did.

Q. Did you write it before you went down there?—A. I did.

The **CHAIRMAN.** I think it a very bold and determined speech; and the people who let you have a chance to deliver it must have been friendly to the rights of free speech.

Senator **BLAIR.** That is no doubt a good Republican speech, but it is quite a lengthy document—what is the use of printing it all?

The **CHAIRMAN.** I want it to be seen whether he went down there and had his mouth muzzled or not. You will see that he spoke as boldly there as he ever spoke anywhere—except in this committee-room, where he comes out especially strong, and seems to be extraordinarily brave.

Mr. Horne's speech was then put in evidence by the chairman, as follows:

Speech of Hon. Wm. E. Horne, of Texas, delivered at Shreveport, La.

I am here, gentlemen, to discuss the issues which pertain solely to the present Congressional canvass, and the notice which convenes you here so states.

I shall make no apology for my presence, for I follow in the wake of a custom long since established in this country, for a citizen of one State, in national elections, to appear and speak in another and different State from that in which he may reside.

I should be glad if I could confine my remarks to an effort at convincing your minds that Governor Wells is a man of sound political views, with masterful power and energy to enforce them in Congress, but the history of the last ten years instructs me that I cannot efficiently advocate his election, or give him the support to which he is entitled, if I do not insist upon a free ballot and a fair count. These have been denied in the history of this district. I am here to demand decent obedience to the laws governing in this election. It is useless to convince men's minds that Governor Wells is the best candidate if those men are to be prevented from depositing their ballots for him, or if, after they have been so deposited, the count shall be false. I make no allusion in this to the exclusion of ballots where no lawful election has been held. The votes, under such circumstances, cannot be legally counted. I simply mean what my plain words import.

I now challenge gentlemen on the other side to show any district in the United States where Democratic speakers have to appeal to us to allow Democratic votes to be counted.

The question then, by which I am confronted, and one which meets me upon the threshold, and lies at the foundation of this canvass for members of Congress in this State—the fact, above all others, to be ascertained is, whether the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and the acts of Congress to carry into effect and protect the *rights* created and guaranteed by these amendments, are to be respected?

Whether the colored Republicans who were taken out of bondage, made free by the thirteenth amendment, declared citizens and their civil rights guaranteed by the fourteenth, and whose right to vote was protected by the fifteenth amendment, shall now exercise full, free, and unrestrained, the right to vote.

If, by the action of the people of this Congressional district, or any portion of them, by any illegal means whatever, the colored voter is deprived of this right, or, if voting, does so under duress, then there is a clear infraction of the law—an end to argument, and if as successful in this election as it has been in some instances heretofore, it will be the triumph of brute force over reason. If the colored Republicans in this State are to be prevented from organizing, registering, or voting, or in any manner influenced by illegal means in the exercise of their right of suffrage, whether by threats sufficient to intimidate, or by overt act, then we will call a halt to this discussion, for to argue other political issues in the face of insulting and armed mobs, or organized clubs, determined to force the election their way, would not only be a humiliation to which I will not submit, but will not be tolerated further by those who are charged with the administration of public justice. The same political rights belong to these people that we, from time immemorial, have enjoyed ourselves. No law of any State can take away these rights, guaranteed, as they are, by the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

These facts then being conceded as embraced in the organic law of the land, upon the observance of which our common liberties depend, you must, as good citizens, give in your assent to the freest enjoyment by the colored people of this district of the elective franchise. If you hold, on the other hand, that this privilege does not lie in the natural order of things; that the normal condition of the negro is one of slavery; and declining to obey the mandate of the law, [illegible] to organize a force sufficient to override this law, it is my opinion that your success will only be temporary; that you will find the stakes not worth the hazard, and either lead to your arrest, trial, and conviction by the United States authorities, or to the demoralization of society, effeminacy in labor, and common ruin. Should the last condition be the result, it too will drift away like the mists that rise from yonder red and angry stream which, piercing this vast and rich plateau of alluvium, has been *made to yield its unwilling waters* to the law of commerce and an *advanced civilization.*

It will not be sufficient answer, though by a cloud of witnesses it can be proven, that the law heretofore has not been enforced; that the past is full of scenes of outlawry, sickening in the recital; that the criminals walk your streets and go unwhipped of justice; for the passions engendered by the war and hate of race are paling their ineffectual fires before the purer, brighter, and more beneficent sunlight of reason.

Without citing in full the text of the laws under which this Congressional election will be conducted—laws made to carry into effect these amendments to the Constitution of the United States—it is sufficient to say that every act of the citizen, whether prior to or at the time of voting, if intended to prevent or in any manner interfere with the fullest and freest exercise of the right of suffrage, is punishable under these laws, such, for instance, as an interference with the organization of any political party by breaking up their meetings, preventing registration or voting, threatening and intimidating the voter; and I call the attention of gentlemen who may be disposed to indulge in these crimes to the Revised Statutes of the United States, secs. 5506 to 5532, and to the recent letter of Attorney-General Devens to your district attorney, charging him to be vigilant, and cause the arrest of every violator of the election law at this canvass. President Hayes, in his inaugural address, upon his accession to power as the Chief Executive of this nation, on the 5th of March, 1877, said:

"The permanent pacification of the country upon such principles and by such measures as will secure the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their constitutional rights, is now the one subject in our public affairs which all thoughtful and patriotic citizens regard as of supreme importance. Many of the calamitous effects of the tremendous revolution which have passed over the Southern States still remain. The immeasurable benefits which will surely follow, sooner or later, the hearty and generous acceptance of the legitimate results of that revolution, have not been realized. Difficult and embarrassing questions meet us at the threshold of this subject. The people of those States are still impoverished, and the inestimable blessings of *wise, honest* and *peaceful* self-government is not fully enjoyed.

"Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the cause of this condition of things, the fact is clear that, in the progress of events, the time has come when such government is the imperative necessity required by all the varied interests, public and private, of those States. *But it must not be forgotten* that only a local government which recognizes and maintains inviolate the rights of all is a true self-government. With respect to the two distinct races whose peculiar relations to each other have brought upon us the deplorable complications and perplexities which exist in these States, it *must be* a government which guards the interests of both races carefully and equally; it must be a government which submits loyally and heartily to the Constitution and the laws—the laws of the nation and the laws of the States themselves—accepting and obeying *faithfully the whole Constitution as it is.*" * * *

The President does not attempt to define the powers to be exercised by the "local self-governments" of the States, nor to draw the line between Federal power and State authority, but, as I understand it, rests his argument upon the right of the States to exercise all the powers of legislation and the enforcement of whatever laws may be enacted, which pertain solely to their local affairs and domestic economy. Upon this theory, when it does not trench upon national powers, all parties can agree. But our memories are still fresh and green with bitter memories of the past; and these wasted fields, deserted and impoverished homes—these black men who stand about me, once slaves, now freemen—remind us that the question of the sovereignty of the States entered largely into the late unhappy and fratracidal conflict, and we trust never again to be submitted to the arbitrament of the sword.

So far, save now and then the sporadic utterances of Lamar, of Mississippi; Hill and Gordon, of Georgia, we have had no attempt at founding, on the part of Southern statesmen, a system of political ethics which will bring the South, with its new and novel elements, into political homogeneity with the issues settled and ideas evolved by the war.

In the absence of some expression from a thoughtful source at home, I quote here from a learned authority abroad, Mr. Gladstone:

"The result of the late struggle between the North and South decided that *to the Union*, through its federal organization, and not to the State governments, *were reserved* all the questions not decided and disposed of by the express provisions of the Constitution itself."

Senator Bayard, of Delaware, from whom we may justly expect much in the future—a Democrat who has no sympathy with its baser elements—advises the people of the whole country that we "need badly, vigorous utterances of independent opinions, for it is from the conflict of honest, outspoken minds that truth is obtained, just as the steel and the flint are both required to strike the light."

"And to the tyranny of unchecked popular opinion is added the terrorisms of political partisanship, by which American intellect and personal conscience are so rudely assailed, overcome, and dragged in the dust of wild and clamorous error."

Mr. Hayes, upon his induction to office, caused the troops to be withdrawn, and in other ways removed whatever barrier there was to the legitimate exercise of local authority. It was expected in return that nowhere in the South would there be an overthrow of the legitimate order of things or a violation of law, unless followed swiftly by a readjustment and return to a normal obedience to the law, and the enforcement of its prescribed penalties.

Upon this subject I read from a speech recently made by one of his advisers, the Hon. Geo. W. McCrary, Secretary of War, as applicable to the present hour. He says:

"The South is now on trial. There is surely no excuse now, even by their own confession, for a continuation of the process by which, prior to March 4, 1877, all the Southern States but three, and nearly all the Congressional districts, many of them having confessedly large Republican majorities, were carried over to the Democratic party. When another election comes we shall see whether, when left to themselves, the Southern Democrats will allow a free ballot to guarantee a fair and honest count of the votes cast. If the process of "bulldozing" is continued, or if the plan of systematic fraud be adopted in lieu of that systematic outrage, the whole country will understand that it is because the white Democrats of the South do not intend to respect and obey the amended Constitution, and are resolved that they, whether in the majority or in the minority, will rule in all that section."

The Hon. Rossoe Conkling, United States Senator from New York, recently said:

"Assassination strikes down blameless men and helpless women; families perish by violence; no one is punished, and the officials who connive at murder are re-elected and rewarded for being accomplices in shedding innocent blood. The tragic death of one maiden roused pagan Rome to vengeance, but Americans are very patient when the blood of the Chisolms and others sicken humanity, and justice lays no hand on such frightful butchery. The officials of the United States are shot down and imprisoned for performing their duty, and the whole power of the nation is openly defied.

"In the Gulf States majorities are powerless and prostrate, their committees extinct, and they trampled under foot by the men they faced in battle. As in slave days, the colored people are counted to swell the number of Southern Representatives in Congress, but for any other purpose they hardly appear now in the political account.

"Turn from this picture to the three free amendments of the Constitution. There they stand, and they declare that such wrongs shall never be. Yet this is the great republic—the men thus degraded and despoiled are its citizens—they stood by it and fought for it, and are persecuted for its sake—and this is the last quarter of the nineteenth century!

"The mission of the Republican party is not ended.

"It has done much. It has put down a vast rebellion, freed 4,000,000 slaves, made a free Constitution, united the fragments of a shattered empire, manages war and finances to the amazement of mankind; it has carried railways over deserts and mountains to the Pacific Sea; it has made harbors, built breakwaters and light-houses, and established life-saving stations on perilous coasts; it has stretched out a network of signal service to give warning of storms on land and sea; it has cheapened foreign and domestic postage, founded a postal money-order system, put post-offices on wheels, and doubled the cheapness and swiftness of transmitting intelligence; it has secured to every man who will have it a homestead of 160 acres of fertile land; it has stood for free speech, free labor, and free men always; it has upheld the public credit, and its aims have been those of humanity and right. Like every human agency, it has, no doubt, sometimes fallen into error; but its record is filled with great and useful achievements."

Why not act upon the suggestion of the President, from whose inaugural I again quote: "The evils which afflict the Southern States can only be removed or remedied by the united and harmonious efforts of both races, actuated by motives of mutual sympathy and regard." Born upon a plantation, and to the inheritance of human slaves, I recognize the obligations such a birth may have imposed—the debt of gratitude due from me to them. Who are they, and what has been their life history? They are a people whose ancestors, from time immemorial, had worn the nude and unrestrained dress of the jungles of barbaric Africa. From these wild and forest shadows, landing upon our shores their eyes for two hundred years had opened only to the lights of American slavery. From their cradle to the hour of their enfranchisement, from generation to generation, their backs had borne the burthen of a dominant race, and their stout arms and toiling hands had furrowed the yielding earth, enriching their masters. Whetever of refinement and mental culture, whatever of leisure wealth could bestow, sprang from a civilization based upon their labor.

Through a long and bloody conflict, when the Inevitable was solving the great problem of human rights, and though untutored, yet conscious that *their* liberties were at stake, they remained at home, nor violated a trust; they stood guard over households where women and children only remained. If he who had gone away following the flag that emblemed their enslavement, had escaped the incidents of battle with his life, he returned to find his household gods still upon his altars, his penates unbroken. If no return, that desolate home found him, as a freeman, true to the trusts imposed. When the historian shall write of the slaves of the South, he will chronicle this virtue to their honor. When a more ambitious race would have by such means deemed success apparent, even to attain their liberty, they turned with horror from the torch, the dagger, and the pistol of the assassin.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Mr. Horne, how long were you down there agent of the Department of Justice, pending the examination of those witnesses before the Teller committee?—A. It was not for that purpose I was down there. I was there pending the prosecution of the cases growing out of those riots under the rifle-club administration.

Q. Were you appointed to your present position by this administration for your efforts to help Wells in this business?—A. No, sir. I did not get any reward for anything in that direction. I do not hold any position that amounts to much.

Q. You think the newspapers did not treat you fairly?—A. No, sir; not by any means.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, maybe they do not. I have had them treat me anything but fairly, I thought, for the time being.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. Have you any other matter in your mind that would be of any benefit to us, in the purpose we have in view, to discover the causes of this exodus?—A. I could state a great many more things than I have that occurred down there in the way of outrages that have made it very uncomfortable for colored men to stay there.

Q. I suppose that is understood—that you could prolong that indefinitely. Are the matters to which you refer such as have been brought before the public in any shape, before this?—A. Some of it has been given to the President, in the records; and some of it was testified to before the Teller committee.

Q. That includes the affair which led to the killing of this Democratic commissioner?—A. Yes, sir; you will find that in the testimony taken by the Teller committee.

Q. What was the name of the man that was killed?—A. Legendre.

Q. What was the name of the man that killed him?—A. Alston.

I wish to say that the only motive that prompts my testimony here, so far as I can know myself, is simply to dissipate, not in the interests of the Republican party, nor of any other party, but in the interests of the nation, South as well as North, and of humanity in general, the prejudice—perhaps the natural prejudice—which has taken this violent form, hurtful in its effects both to the colored man and the white man. I am certain that, under the old *régime*, the plunder principle, there is no chance for the South to advance, either materially or in any other respect, in the path of prosperity and success.

TESTIMONY OF W. J. BUCHAN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 24, 1880.

W. J. BUCHAN sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Mr. Buchan, where do you reside?—Answer. My residence is Wyandotte, Kansas, sir.

Q. Have you given any attention to the arrival of colored people in your State?—A. Yes, sir; to some extent I have.

Q. When did they first begin to arrive in Wyandotte?—A. About the first of April a year ago.

Q. There was some trouble, as we have been informed by a witness, upon the arrival of a portion of them there. I wish you would tell us what you know about it.—A. Well, sir, there was a good deal of feeling manifested by a portion of our citizens on account of their coming in such large numbers and in such a destitute condition. They came there by the boat-load, and had aggregated to the amount of something like two thousand, I guess, and our place is a small town.

Q. How large?—A. About five thousand inhabitants, and no vacant houses; those that are ordinarily vacant, being all in use by the employés of the railroads, and there was no shelter for them. They were dumped off the boats there on to our levee, and in a most destitute condition; and we had no means to provide either for their temporary wants or to send them off; and our people, a large portion of them, were a good deal excited about it.

Q. Tell us about what time that was.—A. It was along about the first of April.

Q. When the first arrivals began to come in?—A. Yes, sir; I fixed the time by our court term, which commences the first Monday of April; and it may have been a day or two before; and it continued during the forepart of April.

Q. Tell us what was done by the people of your town (growing out of that inundation coming upon them so unexpectedly and finding you so unprepared to provide for them) in the expression of a desire to get rid of them.—A. When they first began to arrive at Saint Louis we noticed in the papers that they were expected to arrive there in great numbers, and shortly after that they began to come to our town. We then began to get funds with which to provide for their temporary wants and with which to get them away. There were two committees organized. In the first place the Congregational Church Association organized a committee, and when they came in such increased numbers a meeting was called in the town hall, and a general relief committee was organized composed of citizens generally, appointing the mayor president and chairman of the committee, and as soon as the funds were received their temporary wants were provided for. An executive committee was appointed, whose duty it was to see that they were temporarily provided for; and as soon as could be—in a few days—arrangements were made with the railroad companies, and they were scattered out through the State. I think the first train-load was sent to Lawrence.

Q. Some public meeting gave expression to disapprobation of their arrival. Tell us about that?—A. Yes, sir; there was a public meeting called there in the town hall, in which some resolutions were attempted to be passed, declaring that they would prevent the landing of any more boats there of colored people, but the meeting was somewhat boisterous.

Q. I want you to give an exact statement.—A. These resolutions were prepared by gentlemen very much exercised, and I may say that one cause of alarm was the yellow fever. These people came with great bundles of ragged clothes, and that was the principal cause of alarm among our people, that they would spread the yellow fever. It was just after the season of yellow fever, and the opinion of some of the physicians was that it would be conveyed and create a general alarm.

Q. Yellow fever was the principal cause, was it?—A. That was the principal cause, and the fear also that the city and county would be subjected to great expense, which we felt unable to bear.

Q. It was made up of general complaints?—A. Yes. These resolutions were prepared by some gentlemen who were rather more than ordinarily excited, and they organized a meeting themselves, appointed their chairman, and appointed a committee on resolutions; they went out and reported in a few minutes. A vote was taken on the resolutions, and they were declared carried, and the meeting declared adjourned; but it was immediately reorganized, and other resolutions were passed. The fact is, it was generally mixed up. The resolutions differed from those at first passed.

Q. Had the majority of them gone away when the second resolutions were passed?—A. No; it was the same night.

Q. The same meeting substantially?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They offered resolutions that they would prevent the landing of colored paupers, as they called them, peaceably, if they could; forcibly, if they must. It was suggested by law-abiding citizens that that was a good deal like a vigilance committee, and for the reputation of the town did not want that to go on record; and the resolutions at their second meeting, at which another chairman presided, were to the effect that the mayor use means to raise money and send them away.

Q. Is the mayor a Republican?—A. No, he is not a Republican; he is a Greenbacker, in fact. Since 1872 he has been opposed to the Republican party, and has been a candidate for office once a year anyway, perhaps twice, on an average, always in opposition to the Republican party.

Q. Did you take occasion to talk with many of these colored people that came up at that time?—A. Yes, sir; I talked with a great many.

Q. What was the general expression of the cause which led them to come there at that time, Mr. Buchan?—A. Their general complaint was bad times and political difficulties. They claimed they were debarred of political rights, and that they were mistreated in dealing with traders and planters down there.

Q. Did you see any specific illustrations of that from any statements they made?—A. I took some pains to get at the facts in the matter, and while I took their expressions of political troubles with a good many grains of allowance, I wanted to see something tangible. I made inquiries of some leases and contracts with land-owners—that was a great complaint, that they were defrauded in contracts—and I gathered up some of these, and I gathered up some of their store bills.

Q. Have you any of them with you?—A. Yes, sir; I think I have a number of them with me.

Q. I should like to have some specimen bricks.—A. (Handing contracts.) I have a number here, some of them are alike, some different.

Q. Just give us a sample of them. These purport to be original leases?—A. Yes, sir; these are leases that I got from the people themselves. They vary but little.

Q. Well, give us the specimens you have.—A. Well, I will submit those that I got from the parties themselves.

This indenture, made and entered into this 2nd day of January, 1875, by and between Mrs. A. S. Crane, of Nil-Desperandum, Madison Parish, La., on the first part, and Lewis Robinson, of said parish and State, of the second part, witnesseth, that for and in consideration of the rent hereafter stipulated to be paid, the said Mrs. A. S. Crane has leased and let to the said Lewis Robinson the following described lands and tenements: acres, containing in all about six acres, more or less, to have and to hold the said lands and tenements for the term of one year from the first of January, 1875.

And the said Lewis Robinson agrees to pay rent for the said lands ten dollars, payable in cotton at the market price, from the first cotton ginned, and six dollars per acre for grass land, secured by a lien, with the right of distress on all the personal property on said premises, and all the crops grown or growing thereon, without any relief whatever from stay, valuation, homestead, or exemption laws.

And the party of the second part hereby agrees to give and does give the same security and the same rights to secure the full and prompt payment of all advances made to him by said Mrs. A. S. Crane, during the year, for the purpose of enabling him to make and secure a crop.

But it is distinctly understood and agreed that the party of the first part reserves to herself the right to expel said tenant, the party of the second part, if at a proper and reasonable time he does not prepare to put said lands in cultivation, open all cross ditches adjacent to land occupied by said Lewis Robinson and does not thereafter show due diligence in cultivating and securing the crop thereon, or if he should practice, or attempt to practice, any fraud in the payment of rent, or for supplies advanced.

It is further agreed that the party of the second part shall have the right of using any dead timber on the place for the purpose of fuel, or for the necessary repairs or improvements on the place, but for no other purpose, and that no green timber is to be cut except by special permission. All improvements to belong to the place, and not to be taken down or removed.

It is further agreed that no part of the crop or stock is to be moved off said premises until the rent and supplies are paid for, without the consent of the proprietress. All cotton to be ginned as the party of the first part directs.

MRS. A. S. CRANE. [SEAL.]
his
LEWIS × ROBINSON. [SEAL.]
mark.

Witness:
R. M. BARBER.
WILLIAM RESAR.

This indenture, made and entered into this first day of January, 1873, by and between Geo. M. Barber, of Nil-Desperandum, Madison Parish, Louisiana, of the first part, and Lewis Robinson, of said parish and State, of the second part, witnesseth, that for and in consideration of the rent hereafter stipulated to be paid, the said Geo. M. Barber has leased and let to the said Lewis Robinson the following described lands and tenements: containing in all about nine & three-fourths (9¾) acres, more or less, to have and to hold the said lands and tenements for the term of one year from the first of January, 1873.

And the said Lewis Robinson agrees to pay rent for the said lands eight dollars per acre and six dollars for ginning 400 bale, secured by a lien, with the right of distress on all the personal property on said premises, and all the crops grown or growing thereon, without any relief whatever from stay, valuation, homestead, or exemption laws.

And the party of the second part hereby agrees to give and does give the same security and the same rights to secure the full and prompt payment of all advances made to him by said Geo. M. Barber, during the year, for the purpose of enabling him to make and secure a crop.

But it is distinctly understood and agreed that the party of the first part reserves to himself the right to expel said tenant, the party of the second part, if at a proper and reasonable time he does not prepare to put said lands in cultivation, open all cross ditches adjacent to land occupied by said Lewis Robinson, and does not thereafter show due diligence in cultivating and securing the crop thereon, or if he should practice, or attempt to practice, any fraud in the payment of rent or for supplies advanced.

It is further agreed that the party of the second part shall have the right of using any dead timber on the place for the purpose of fuel, or for the necessary repairs or improvements on the place, but for no other purpose, and that no green timber is to be cut except by special permission. All improvements to belong to the place, and not to be taken down or removed.

It is further agreed that no part of the crop or stock is to be moved off said premises until the rent and supplies are paid for, without the consent of the proprietor. All cotton to be ginned as the party of the first party directs.

G. M. BARBER. [SEAL.]
his
LEWIS + ROBINSON. [SEAL.]
mark.

Attest:
A. O. KELSEY.

This indenture, made and entered into this 17th day of October, 1876, by and between Mrs. A. S. Crane, of Nil Desperandum, Madison Parish, La., on the first part, and Alfred Thomas, of said parish and State, of the second part, witnesseth: That for and in consideration of the rent hereafter stipulated to be paid, the said Mrs. A. S. Crane has leased and let to the said Alfred Thomas the following-described lands and tenements, containing in all about 12 acres, more or less, to have and to hold the said lands and tenements for the term of one year from the first of January, 1877.

And the said Alfred Thomas agrees to pay rent for the said lands ten dollars per acre in cotton at the market-price from the first cotton ginned, secured by a lien, with the right of distress on all the personal property on said premises, and all the crops grown or growing thereon, without any relief whatever from stay, valuation, homestead, or exemption laws.

And the party of the second part hereby agrees to give, and does give, the same security and the same rights to secure the full and prompt payment of all advances made to him by said Mrs. A. S. Crane during the year for the purpose of enabling him to make and secure a crop.

But it is distinctly understood and agreed that the party of the first part reserves to herself the right to expel said tenant, the party of the second part, if at a proper and reasonable time he does not prepare to put said lands in cultivation, open all cross-ditches adjacent to land occupied by said Alfred Thomas, and does not thereafter show due diligence in cultivating and securing the crop thereon, or if he should practice or attempt to practice any fraud in the payment of rent or for supplies advanced.

It is further agreed that the party of the second part shall have the right of using any dead timber on the place for the purpose of fuel or for the necessary repairs or improvements on the place, but for no other purpose, and that no green timber is to be cut except by special permission. All improvements to belong to the place and not to be taken down or removed.

It is further agreed that no part of the crop or stock is to be moved off said premises until the rent and supplies are paid for, without the consent of the proprietress. All cotton to be ginned as the party of the first part directs, and in case of any violation by said part of the second part, of any of the conditions of this lease, it is hereby expressly stipulated and agreed that said part of the second part shall forfeit all right, title, and interest in the crop that is growing, or may have been grown on said lands, under this lease, and that in such case said party of the first part may take, hold, and dispose of said crops at her pleasure, as stipulated damages for such violation.

MRS. A. S. CRANE. [SEAL.]
his
ALFRED + THOMAS. [SEAL.]
mark.

Witness:
——— ———.
——— ———.

STATE OF LOUISIANA,
Parish of Madison:

This agreement, made and entered into this day, by and between Mrs. A. S. Crane, party of the first part, Alfred Thomas, party of the second part, witnesseth:

That said Mrs. A. S. Crane, as owner of the Nil Desperandum plantation, leases to the said party of the second part 20 acres of land on said plantation for the year ending December 31st, A. D. 1872, for the consideration of eight dollars ($8.00) per acre, amounting in the aggregate to the sum of one hundred & sixty doll's ($160), which said aggregate sum is to be paid out of the first cotton picked, on or before the first of November, A. D. 1872.

Said Alfred Thomas further agrees to have all the cotton produced on said leased premises ginned and baled at the gin on said plantation, and further agrees to keep securely penned all his stock during the continuance of this lease.

It is further understood and agreed between the parties to this contract that should said Mrs. A. S. Crane furnish any stock or supplies to enable said Alfred Thomas to make a crop on said leased premises, that no cotton shall be removed from the plantation until the amount of said supplies or price of said stock, together with all the ent, shall have been paid, and full satisfaction given. Said party of the second part also agrees to keep all ditches clean that lay adjacent to his land.

In order to secure the full and punctual fulfillment of the stipulation of this contract, said Alfred Thomas hereby grants, to its fullest extent, both the lessor's and furnisher's lien and privilege on all crops, and upon all the stock he now owns, or may become possessed of during this lease.

Witness our hands at the Nil Desperandum plantation, this 12th day of January, A. D. 1872.

MRS. A. S. CRANE.
his
ALFRED + THOMAS.
mark.

Witness:
O. T. MELVIN.
DAVID W. FELL.

STATE OF LOUISIANA,
Parish of Madison:

Personally appeared before me, ——— ———, who, being duly sworn, declared that he was present and saw the parties to the foregoing agreement sign the same, and that he and —— ——— signed with them as witnesses.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this —— day of ———, A. D. 187 .

5.75 acres, @ $8.00=$46.00 } $102.70.
5.67 @ $10.00= 56.70 }

STATE OF LOUISIANA,
Parish of Madison:

This contract of lease, entered into, written, and signed on this the 24th day of April, 1878, witnesseth that James B. Corkern, a resident of said parish and State, as agent and attorney for Mrs. Lucy V. Semple Ames, for one-half, and John A. Klein, Mrs. Almeda W. Burney, wife of John A. McDonough, Miss Anna V. Burney, Mrs. Mary Ella Burney, wife of Claude H. Laurence, and Albert T. Felt, tutor of the minor, Minnie Agnes Burney, each for one-fifth of the other half, hereby lease, for the current year, unto Wilson Jones, also a resident of said parish, eleven & $\frac{42}{100}$ acres of land of the Burney tract, in and near the town of Delta, for the total price of one hundred & two $\frac{70}{100}$ dollars, for which this lease is made. This lease to have effect from the first day of January, 1878, to the 31st day of December, 1878, when it shall expire absolutely.

And the said Wilson Jones hereby binds and obligates himself to pay said price, $102.70, on or before the 1st day of October, 1878, with eight per cent. interest thereon from maturity till paid, and ten per centum on the whole amount for attorneys' fees in case of suit for recovery hereon by reason of active or passive violation of this contract or the legal rights of the lessor; also, ten dollars for each & every tenement hereafter placed on said land.

Now, to secure the said price, with interest and attorney's fees, with all costs, the said Wilson Jones hereby recognizes the lessor's privilege, and grants a special lien and privilege on all the crops, work animals, buildings and moveables on, to be made on, used on or placed on said leased premises during said term of lease, and he, the said Wilson Jones, hereby further agrees and binds himself not to sell, alienate, or in any manner encumber any of said property subject to said lien and privilege, to the prejudice of this contract or the rights of the lessor herein.

(Duplicated.) Thus done and signed at the place and on the date first herein, in the presence of the undersigned.

JAS. B. CORKERN.
Agent & Att'y for Lessors.
his
WILSON + JONES.
mark.

Witnesses:
JNO. B. STONE.
FRED. WEIRING.

VICKSBURG, MISS., *March* 25, 1878.

This is to certify that I, R. F. Beck, agent of Mrs. Mary A. B. Rigby, have this day rented to Fred Dailey for this year, 1878, a part of the ground (10 acres) known as the Salmon tract, in Warren County, State of Mississippi, the said Fred Dailey agreeing to pay as rent of said land for this year three bales of cotton weighing 400 lbs., or the sum of $120.00 in cash; the cotton to be delivered or the money to be paid to the said Beck, in the city of Vicksburg, on or before 25 day of October, 1878. And it is further agreed by & between the parties, that all the crops raised on said land, together with all the stock & farming implements of every kind, shall be liable for the rent of said land if the three bales of cotton is not delivered, or the money paid according to the above contract.

Given under my hand & seal this 25 day of March, 1879.

R. F. BECK. [SEAL.]
his
FRED + DAILEY. [SEAL.]
mark.

Witness:
W. E. BECK.
his
MINGO + HARRIS.
mark.

And I do further agree to pay R. F. Beck, agt. for Mrs. M. A. B. Rigby, the sum of fifty dollars due on the back rent of 1877.

his
FRED + DAILEY. [SEAL.]
mark.

Witness:
his
MINGO + HARRIS.
mark.

Q. Have you any of the bills for goods?—A. I think I have some of them here.

Gilbert Wilson to Jno. W. Condon.

Mar.	16.	1 brl. pork	30 00	
"	"	1 " flour	8 00	
"	"	1 " meal	5 50	
"	"	1 keg molasses	8 75	
"	"	1 sack corn	3 75	
"	30.	2 " "	6 00	
"	"	1 gall. whiskey	1 75	
May	4.	2 sack corn	7 50	
Aug.	4.	14½ lbs. meat	2 59	
Sept.	17.	30 yds. bagging	5 40	
"	"	56 ½ ties	5 60	
"	20.	1 qut. whisky	75	
				$85 59
"	17.	By cash		35 00
		Balance due		$50 59
		Coms. 10 %		8 50
				$59 09

Paid. JNO. W. CONDON.

GILBERT WILSON.

VICKSBURG, MISS., *April* 7, 1877.

1877.			
April	7.	3¼ yards cotton cloth, @ 20	65
"	"	20 lbs. D. S. meat, @ 20 c	4 00
"	10.	1 pair shoes	2 50
"	15.	2 gallon molasses	2 70
"	"	1 bbl. meal	6 25
"	"	9 lbs. D. S. meat	1 80
"	"	½ lb. tobacco	60
"	25.	1 bushel corn	1 10
"	"	Salt	25
"	"	15½ D. S. bacon @ 20 c	3 10
May	8.	4 lbs. D. S. meat	60
"	9.	1 sack corn	2 50
"	"	1 gallon molasses	1 35

1877.			4	20
May	9.	21 lbs. D. S. bacon	6	50
“	19.	1 bbl. meal	2	50
“	“	2 bush. bran	2	50
“	“	2 bush. oats	2	50
“	“	1 pair shoes	1	80
May.	19.	9 lbs. bacon	2	70
“	26.	2 gallon molasses	9	75
“	“	1 bbl. flour, 167 lbs		05
“	“	Corn	2	40
June	2.	12 lbs. D. S. bacon	1	25
“	12.	1 bushel oats	1	25
“	“	1 bushel bran	2	40
“	12.	12 lbs. D. S. bacon	2	50
“	“	1 pair shoes	1	00
“	16.	5 lbs. D. S. bacon	6	25
“	23.	1 bbl. meal	1	30
“	“	1 gallon molasses	4	00
“	“	20 lbs. D. S. bacon	2	50
July	4.	2 bushels corn		25
“	“	Salt		35
“	“	Sugar	1	80
“	7.	8 lbs D. S. bacon	1	40
“	11.	8 lbs. meat		30
“	12.	Molasses	2	80
“	26.	14 lbs. meat	1	30
“	“	1 gallon molasses	5	28
July	24.	24 lbs. side meat, @ 22	1	00
“	“	½ bushel meal	1	50
“	“	1 gallon molasses		50
“	“	Mdse	2	00
Aug.	2.	10 lbs. D. S. bacon		75
“	“	½ bushel meal		80
Aug.	3.	2 lbs. coffee		40
“	“	2 lbs. sugar		75
“	“	Sdr.		50
“	“	Salt	1	50
“	“	Tobacco	4	50
“	12.	11 yards	3	00
“	14.	15 lbs. bacon, @ 20 c.	1	20
“	“	8 yards cloth	2	20
“	“	10 lbs. side meat	1	50
“	“	1 bushel meal	2	35
“	19.	Shoulder “	2	70
“	“	1 pair shoes		75
“	“	Mdse		40
“	25.	Coffee		20
“	“	Sugar	2	65
Sept.	12.	12 lbs. meat	1	00
“	“	Flour	4	40
“	8.	20 lbs. side meat	1	25
“	“	1 gallon molasses		75
“	“	Tobacco	$2	25
Sept.	10.	1½ gal. molasses	1	00
“	“	17 lbs. flour	1	25
“	“	1 lb. tobacco		55
“	“	3½ lbs. sugar	2	04
“	“	12 lbs. S. meat	6	25
“	“	bbl. meal	6	75
“	17.	½ barl. XXXX flour	2	52
“	17.	14 lbs. meat @ 18		60
“	17.	2 plow lines	$4	40
“	24.	22 lbs. D. S. meat @ 20 c		40
“	28.	Tobacco	2	50
	28.	1 sack corn	$2	50
“	“	2½ bushels @ $1	$1	35
“	“	1 gallon molasses	5	50
Oct.	24.	½ bbl. flour	3	50
“	“	D. S. meat	3	45
“	25.	Side meat		50
“	“	Sugar		50
“	“	Coffee		

Q. That seems to be different in form?—A. Yes, sir; somewhat different. Here are some of the store bills that they gave me.

Q. We will have them read, or put in without reading, just as the chairman pleases.

The CHAIRMAN. Just put them in. Do you know yourself what places these came from?—A. All from Louisiana, Madison Parish. I can tell by looking at them. I got these from the first that came there, and they were all from along the river about Vicksburg. Mostly in Louisiana. I think these were by the way.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. The burden of their complaints, then, was their treatment with reference to business matters, leases and purchases?—A. Yes, sir; and they complained largely of not having school facilities. Some of them complained they were taxed for schools and had very little, if any, schooling for their children. I made some inquiries on about what they were taxed. They were taxed two dollars a head personal tax, and then on their personal property. They seemed to have no exemption. They complained, also, of personal violence to some extent, although I did not find in my inquiries any persons who had received personal violence themselves. I found one or two women, whose husbands or sons, as they claimed, were killed; but I took these matters with a good deal of allowance.

Q. Did they say anything about political bulldozing, or persecution?—A. Yes, sir; they talked a great deal about that. I talked with several who had been run away from their homes, they claimed, by night-riders. They said further from the river the oppression was harder than immediately on the river; but I gathered that their principal tangible cause of complaint was in their dealings with the planters and storekeepers. I lived there for a year or two, and I know something about that. They deal entirely with the storekeeper at the landing. They buy their goods from him, and when their cotton is raised it goes through his hands, and their complaint is, that in many instances, when their store bill was run up, and the cotton had gone through their hands, when it returned it was very difficult to get a settlement. When they would go to get a settlement with the storekeeper for returns from their cotton, he would keep putting them off until they had about taken up everything in the store bill. But that is negro-like; they are inclined to do that anyway; I don't think much of that.

Q. Did you find anything concerning their desire to go back from Kansas?—A. I found no disposition to go back; there were a great many applications made for them to go back; and notice was sent from Saint Louis and also Kansas City that their transportation would be paid back if they would go.

Q. Was that a public understanding?—A. Yes, sir; that was a public understanding; and parties came there in the interest of the planters to get them to return.

Q. Do you know of any offers made to them, and of what character?—A. They offered to pay their way back, and made a great many promises as to what they would do for them. I don't remember anything specific, although they were made and published in the papers.

Q. What was the effect of that, so far as you know, upon the colored people; how many of them went back under that inducement?—A. I do not know of any going back except one man. I went to Saint Louis—the mayor and myself—afterwards, in reference to this matter, and I made inquiries as to whether a certain man had gone back, and learned he had gone back after his family. A number of them came to the mayor and to different parties connected with the committee there, and said they wanted to go back, and on inquiry I always learned that they never wanted to go farther than Saint Louis.

Q. At the time the offers were made to pay their expenses back, and other inducements, they understood they were not going to get a mule and forty acres of land in Kansas free, didn't they ?—A. The objection they made was, they did not seem to rely upon the promises made by the people at all, and about getting a mule or forty acres of land, that seemed to be a myth. I made particular inquiries about that also, because it was rumored they had been induced to come there by false representations; but I could not find any knowledge of any such facts. It was a sort of myth through the air; but none of them had any such expectations. Some of them made inquiries about government land, something of that kind, but did not expect to get anything.

Q. You did not find any that had this fancy inducement offered to them ?—A. The only thing I found at all was quite a party of them; and I will say that they were a little better fixed than the majority of them. They had a team, some of them, and a little money. There seemed to be twenty-five or thirty families of them, and they wanted to go to Ottawa, Kans.; and upon inquiry, I found that they had among them, some of them, an old circular issued by the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston Railroad Company, in 1868, eleven years before that, offering their lands for sale along the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston road. That paper was old and dirty, as if they had had it a long time. My idea was, that they had got hold of this, and kind of treasured it up and followed it; but it was no donation they expected; it was some advertisement of the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston road.

Q. You did not find that any of them had these handsome chromos with cottages surrounded by trees, &c. ?—A. No; that was the only paper of the kind I found among them, and I made particular inquiry about it.

Q. Have you had any occasion to know what Governor St. John's views and sentiments were, and his probable action in reference to their coming to the State ?—A. Well, I have talked with Governor St. John a number of times, and I never learned anything from him; that he made any offers, or was desirous of their coming at all. In fact, I have heard him say that his idea seemed to be—what he most impressed upon my mind was this—that Kansas had heretofore appealed to the generosity of the country for aid during the grasshopper time, and it had been generously given; and it would be an act of ingratitude for Kansas not to do something for these people when they arrived there, or something of that kind.

Q. You are a Republican, are you not ?—A. Yes, sir; I am a Republican.

Q. And you are a friend of Governor St. John, are you not—well acquainted with him ?—A. Yes, sir; I am well acquainted with him.

Q. If he had had any political motives to try to fill up Kansas politically, would he have been likely to confide them to you ?—A. I would have been likely to know it. We have forty thousand majority now.

Q. You are not aware that ne was desirous to import voters to carry the State ?—A. I am aware of the sentiment of Kansas. We do not want the colored people to come, if we could get out of it, simply to take care of them.

Q. Then the motive of your people was simply a charitable one ?—A. Yes sir.

Q. And being forced upon you you felt that you must do what you could to take care of them?—A. Yes, sir; that has been entirely the idea of the people there. I know that Governor St. John wrote a letter in answer to an inquiry made from Saint Louis—it seemed to be a public letter; I cannot remember the name of the gentleman—he wrote a letter in answer to that, in which he expressed this sentiment: that the State of Kansas was open to immigrants from every direction, but that there was no inducement offered to immigrants of any kind.

Q. Do you understand that the Republican party objected to these people on account of their color, or simply because they were paupers?—A. No; it was simply their impoverished condition.

Q. And the same objection would have been expressed to the coming of any other class of immigrants in the same condition?—A. Yes; they would have had the same objection to any other class of immigrants in the same condition.

Q. Tell us what their condition was, as you saw it on the levee, when these people came in.—A. They came there in a condition of the most abject poverty, speaking generally.

Q. I speak generally.—A. They had nothing but bundles of old rags; and the majority of them consisted of old men, women, and children—probably not more than one able-bodied man in a family, and they would not average that hardly. They seemed to be helpless and in rags; and seemed to be destitute in every respect.

Q. Would you infer from their appearance that they came from a very prosperous country, where they had been doing well?—A. No, sir; I would infer from their appearance that they came from a very unprosperous country.

Q. It would seem to be difficult to make their condition very much worse, would it not?—A. It would be difficult for their condition to be much worse. There appeared to be scarcely any of them that had been in a prosperous condition.

Q. And the stories they told as to their hardships and treatment would seem to be borne out pretty well by their appearance, would it not?—A. Well, it impressed me that way; yes, sir.

Q. If you think of anything else that will throw light upon the subject, state it.—A. I think of nothing else except in relation to that affair at Wyandotte; it was not a political affair; both sides were engaged in it; it seemed to be fright and alarm; some parties were complaining that we had commenced improving and building up quite rapidly there, last spring, and it would stop other people from coming there, and it would make their property valueless to have so great a number thrust upon us; and that yellow-fever cry was not a political matter at all.

Q. You say two thousand were thrown on a population of five thousand?—A. Yes; and they were coming by the boat load from Saint Louis.

Q. And the expectation was that they were coming in still larger numbers?—A. Yes; and they did continue to come. The mayor and myself went to Saint Louis after the organization of this State committee, and we made arrangements that they should be forwarded to Topeka in the care of the general committee, and we had very few of them afterwards, although they kept landing in numbers after that.

Q. How do you account for the fact that these people, being in that utterly destitute condition and having been offered the means of going back to their homes in the South, and their expenses paid, would not accept these offers?—A. They seemed to place no reliance on the promwas made, and would say, they made all kinds of promises, but when they got back it would be just as bad as ever.

Cross-examination of witness by the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What has become of that crowd?—A. They are mostly scattered through the State. We sent a train load to Lawrence, and a train load to Topeka.

Q. You say they were mostly old men, women, and children?—A. The majority of them.

Q. How are they being supported now?—A. Indeed I could not tell you; we kept a number of them among us, and the great mass have been sent for; those that remain there are getting along. They seem to be industrious and thrifty. There is a piece of public land down on the levee, where they have erected quite a little village; put up little houses. They are working around at job work. They are not inclined to loaf as bad as our old population of colored boys up there, and there are not as many colored men of them loafing on the streets; but they are very unskilled, the mass of them.

Q. Totally unadapted to the style of farming done in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; totally. I may say they have been used to using the old fashioned hoe and the wooden plow.

Q. That is about the only implement they have been used to handling?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the universal sentiment of the State; you did not want these people there?—A. Well, the feeling was, that we would rather have a more thrifty class of emigrants.

Q. Why, yes; of course you would rather these folks would go somewhere else?—A. Yes; I would prefer to have them go to Indiana, or some other place. I am only speaking for myself.

Q. I know none of you Republicans speak for your party; I have never known so much care taken on the part of any one not to speak for his party. You speak for yourself as an individual, of course?—A. I have no right to speak for the party.

Q. Do you know of any other individual Republican that does not feel the same way as you do?—A. I think that is the feeling of a great many of them, that they would prefer to have them go somewhere else.

Q. That is the universal sentiment of your party, is it, Mr. Buchan?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, you have not called a convention, appointed State central committee, or passed resolutions on that ground, but isn't it just as true that you are all of the same mind, however, as if you had had a State convention on this subject, and resolved that you would rather these people would not come to Kansas in such numbers, or would rather they should go to Indiana or some place else?—A. No, sir; I cannot say that. The general opinion is, that we would rather they would go somewhere else. So far as going to Indiana is concerned, I will say for myself personally that I think they would be more useful there.

Q. Well, do you know any Republican who differs with you on that point?—A. Yes, sir; I know a good many—a good many Republicans who perhaps are not as much of party men as I am, who do not want them to come North at all. A great many Kansas Republicans think that the proper place for them is at the South.

Q. Do you know any who would not rather they would go to Kansas?—A. I know a good many who, in talking about it, think that it is a good suggestion to send them there.

Q. Did you meet General Conway when he was out on that mission a year ago?—A. I don't recollect that I did; I met a colored man, a white man, and a mulatto from about Meridian, Miss., there, and the Yazoo district, and a colored man—Brown, I think, was his name—from Hinds County, Mississippi, and a number of them.

Q. You would know whether you had met Mr. Conway, for he is a man of mark; not a man you would be likely to forget, if you had once met him.—A. I don't recollect meeting him at Wyandotte.

Q. Or any place else?—A. No, sir; I never saw him in my life, to my knowledge.

Q. Well, in speaking with other people, did you converse with them about diverting the immigration from Kansas to anywhere else?—A. No, sir; the only conversation about diverting them from Kansas was this: when the mayor and myself went to Saint Louis to see if we could not have the tide diverted from Wyandotte—that was our particular care—and we made arrangements by which they agreed to ship them to Topeka; but no arrangements were made to divert the tide anywhere except from our own town. It was a local matter with us—it was a burden.

Q. Now, first you would like to spare Wyandotte some, and next Kansas some, but still you would like them to go somewhere else?—A. Are you asking me personally?

Q. O, yes; we are not committing the party—we will be very careful about that.—A. I am much in favor of their leaving the South. My opinion is their condition there is about as bad as it could be.

Q. You are in favor of their leaving South, but not in favor of their coming to Kansas?—A. I cannot say that exactly; they have come there in numbers that are a great injury to us.

Q. How much more could you stand?—A. I could not make an estimate.

Q. You are a representative man?—A. No.

Q. You are a member of the State senate?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And elected by your party?—A. Partly; I was assisted by Democratic friends.

Q. So they have got a choice on some things; you do speak for your party on some subjects, then?—A. I may, perhaps, to some extent—very limited.

Q. You are sure you do not speak for the party on this subject?—A. The party has spoken for itself on this subject.

Q. In Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Very well; have you had a State convention on the subject?—A. No, sir; we have not had a State convention on the subject.

Q. Well, one in which this subject was spoken of?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you pass a resolution on that subject?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you that resolution with you?—A. I have.

Q. Please read it.—A. These resolutions were offered at the last convention assembled at Topeka.

Mr. BLAIR. When was it assembled; the 29th of March?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BLAIR. The Blaine convention?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; the resolution is as follows (reading):

> Fifth. That the unhappy cause of the emigration of the colored people from the South to the North is the apprehension of persecution and robbery by the white people, their former masters, and the present owners of the soil; and it is the duty of the Government of the United States to extend to the colored people of the South such protection that removal from their native land shall cease to be a necessity.

That is an expression of principles, as you may say.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Why has not some Republican Senator introduced some measure to protect them. The general government is clothed with the power, and some believe that covers the case, but I do not. Why has not some one introduced some measure?—A. I am not responsible for that. Perhaps the majority would not give them the opportunity.

Q. Have you heard, Mr. Buchan, that the majority has in any way obstructed their opportunity?—A. No, sir; no the other hand, I think the majority have given them immense opportunities.

Q. When you say perhaps the majority would not give them an opportunity, that was a slip of the tongue?—A. No, sir; that was not a slip of the tongue; simply an answer to your question; a question you thought I was not competent to answer; and that you knew, perhaps, I was not.

Q. Inasmuch as you come clothed with a resolution on this subject——A. No, sir; I did not come clothed with this resolution, I cut that out of a Washington paper.

Q. I don't mean that you brought it, I mean you as a Republican, and a prominent man in the State, are involved in that resolution. When it passed, were you a member of the convention?—A. Yes; I was a member of the convention, but did not attend on account of the death of my wife.

Q. But you would have voted for that resolution?—A. I would, sir.

Q. So you feel as responsible for it as any other Republican of Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; I feel as responsible for it as any other Republican of Kansas.

Q. Yet you do not know of any Republican member of the house or Senate who has taken steps to enforce the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution or any other provision of the law that has been violated down South?—A. No, sir; I don't know of any personally.

Q. Have you heard of any?—A. Not particularly—in a general way I think I have; I could not specify.

Q. Let us hear, in a general way, who has made the slightest move in that direction?—A. I say I cannot specify at all.

Q. No! Have you heard any expression at all?—A. I have heard expressions of members of Congress frequently on the subject.

Q. In their places on the floor? If you have, you have heard, my friend, more than I have?—A. I cannot say particularly, but I have heard that there have been expressions—I could not say what. It may have been the general idea I have got.

Q. But there has been no measure introduced?—A. O, no, sir; not any measure or anything of that kind.

Q. Mr. Buchan, the feeling was quite violent there at Wyandotte, was it not?—A. It was, sir.

Q. And you shared in it about as much as anybody else?—A. No, sir.

Q. Well, you went down to Saint Louis with your mayor to keep the tide off?—A. Yes, sir; I went to Saint Louis, by resolution of the committee—the relief committee—to see after the organization of this State committee; whether it would not be less expensive and better to have them shipped directly to Topeka, in place of landing them at Wyandotte and shipping them from there.

Q. Who went down with you except the mayor?—A. Nobody, officially at least; it seems to me somebody went along down.

Q. From your description of his political status, he was not authorized to speak for anybody on the face of the earth, was he?—A. Nobody except the Greenback party.

Q. Now, Mr. Buchan, when you got down to Saint Louis, did you take steps to instruct Saint Louis to turn them East and not let them come up on you?—A. None whatever.

Q. Well, what did you go for?—A. We went to turn the tide over to the general committee of the State that was organized, in place of having them sent to Wyandotte.

Q. O, yes; not so much to keep them out of Kansas as to keep them out of Wyandotte?—A. To keep them out of Wyandotte; yes, sir.

Q. Why; was not Wyandotte as well worthy of assuming this population as any other part of Kansas?—A. We thought we would have too many of them. We were told in Saint Louis that they would probably stop coming in such numbers. The reason given us by some gentlemen and clerks of steamboats and transportation companies was that they had had anonymous circulars or notes that if they did not stop taking negroes their boats would be burned.

Q. Did you not join in these public meetings in your town?—A. Yes, sir, in one meeting; it was simply the one meeting.

Q. Well, you joined in the one meeting from beginning to end?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had you any official connection with the meeting?—A. None whatever.

Q. Did you make a speech?—A. I think I suggested that the resolution was a pretty severe one. Yes, sir; I said it looked very much to me like organizing a vigilance committee, and for the good name of the town I did not want to do anything of that kind; that portion of it was struck out of the original resolution.

Q. And on your speech it was stricken out?—A. No, sir; I don't think it was.

Q. On your speech was not this move made to go to Saint Louis?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you not make that suggestion yourself, and thereby you became one of the party that went down?—A. I was elected a member of the committee, but was not present at the time; it was the term of our court. I am not certain about that, however.

Q. Well, now, you have said that you thought the general sentiment was against too many of these folks coming to Kansas, but you don't know whether you have got too many now or not; how is that? I want to know how soon we may look for the balance of the tide?—A. I don't know as I understand your question.

Q. I want to know how many more you think the sentiment of Kansas would bear.—A. O, I have no idea of that at all. I think this—whenever the people of the State begin to think they are becoming an oppressive burden they will do as they are doing now, only with a louder voice—complain that there are too many.

Q. Is not that the general feeling now?—A. The general feeling is that it is not a desirable class of immigration. That is my opinion; they are totally unskilled.

Q. Then, as a matter of course, you don't think they want any more of them.—A. No, I don't think they want any more of them; but do not understand that if they come we are not going to do the best we can for them.

Q. O, no, not going to kill or hurt them?—A. And not permit them to starve.

Q. But as you do not want them and are in favor of their leaving the

South, then you are in favor of their going somewhere else?—A. I am, in general; but in favor of their going wherever they can better their condition, let it be wherever it may. Some have gone as far north as Minnesota.

Mr. WINDOM. That is a good place for them.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; voting in public meeting in less than five years to keep them out of your State.

Q. Now, Mr. Buchan, do you think it is for the betterment of the condition of the negro himself that you desire him to go to Indiana or for the Republican party?—A. My desire about the Indiana business was simply this; if they are coming North, personally I think that is a good place for them. I have no desire whatever for their leaving the South and coming North for that purpose. I don't think that is what brings them there.

Q. You don't think Indiana is a good place on account of soil and climate, or anything of that kind, for the negro, or rather it is a good place, as General Conway says, to level up the plain of civilization of that part of the United States?—A. I don't know anything about the civilization of Indiana. I think it is fair there.

Q. Did I understand you in your examination-in-chief to say that you had been in the South?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When?—A. After the war I remained there a year and raised cotton in 1867. I left there about January, 1867, I think. I was in Tensas Parish.

Q. You say these colored folks complained of their treatment by their storekeepers?—A. Yes, their storekeepers and their landlords. I ought to say this, which I know to be a fact: In that portion of Louisiana where the large majority of those I talked with came from, Madison, Tensas Parish, and Providence, and along through that country as all know was devastated during the war, all the buildings were burned down and a majority of the old planters, who did not live there, have not rebuilt their buildings. They reside largely in Vicksburgh, and the towns, and as near as I can learn they had to deal with storekeepers largely.

Q. These are mainly on the rivers and at the railway stations, are they not?—A. Yes, those they dealt with—whoever they made the contract with—in some cases an agent and in others with the owner of the land; but they do not seem to reside on the place.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You were treated well, were you?—A. Well, I was there just after the close of war—the first year after they went back on to the plantations and went to work—and it is a pretty hard question for me to answer. I could see a feeling of dissatisfaction among the old planters; that is, they felt cross and ugly that these people that had been their property should now come up and be able to treat with them about terms and conditions. And I know we had difficulty. They would give them so much a month and food and clothing—our contracts there were that they should have so many dresses and pairs of pants during the year. One instance particularly—a great source of annoyance—was the number of yards a woman should have for a dress. They say, "We pay for this—this comes out of our wages—and we want more material—more yards"; and the planters had the idea they could get along with less. Some such little troubles as that.

Q. When were you there? before bulldozing began?—A. O, yes; it was in sixty-seven before I left there.

Q. Now, Mr. Voorhees has asked about your wishes as to where these people should go. Would it not be your wish, as a radical Republican, that these people should be treated rightly so they could stay there?—A. Most certainly. The colored people would stay there if they could. They are not migratory people.

Q. And you think they are needed in the South?—A. I think they are needed in the South and should stay if they could have fair dealing.

Q. As a lover of freedom and humanity, you think they should stay there and be properly treated?—A. If not treated well, I think it would be better for them and the country that they should go where they could better their condition.

Q. Mr. Voorhees has asked you why the Republicans did not pass measures to protect them, and as to the opposition of the majority. Isn't the opposition of the majority pretty well understood on this subject throughout the country?—A. In answering that question I am a little like I was in answering Senator Voorhees; I have my opinion about that and so have people generally.

Q. Well, we can answer that in the Senate.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. Are you not aware that the Statutes of the United States are exceedingly full and explicit in affording ample protection to citizens of the United States, North and South, if they could be enforced?—A. I think, if they could be enforced. I do not think them ample if not enforced.

Q. Are you aware that the States South, while under control of the Republicans, contained like provisions, and both the State and national statutes were nullified by armed force at the South?—A. Yes, sir; and one great cause of complaint now is that the courts are against them—that the courts are organized against the colored man. There is no use of going to law, they say, because they cannot get justice. Since you have recalled it, in gathering up these items of information, I found a receipt that an old fellow brought to me, a bill of sale for a mule that he had paid one hundred and fifty dollars to a commission man for, and it was receipted on it that he had paid one hundred and forty-six dollars. I think it was—no, one hundred and sixty dollars was the price he was to pay for it, and they had received from him from time to time one hundred and forty-odd dollars. It was to be paid during the year. At the end of the year, I think twelve to fourteen dollars still remaining due, they took his mule away from him and said they put it up for sale again, although there was but twelve dollars due the commission man, and returned him two dollars.

Q. He agreed to pay $160?—A. Yes; and my recollection is there was only $12 due on the mule. They took it from him and sold it and gave him back $2; that was all, they said, that was due him. I think he sued and commenced proceedings, but never got anything. I learned that when making inquiry. I do not know where that receipt is; maybe it is among those papers; I am not certain.

Q. You inquired about the feeling of the Republicans in Kansas who preferred to have these negroes go elsewhere. Have you any reason to doubt that the Republicans of Indiana felt just the same in regard to their coming to Indiana as the Republicans of Kansas felt about their coming to Kansas?—A. I only judge from what I understand to be the general feeling of Republicans on all these questions.

Q. No, no; you misunderstood me. You say you are willing to have them go where it is necessary for them to go, but rather prefer that they should not come to Kansas. Would not the same reasons that make you as a Republican feel that way about their coming to Kansas create the same state of mind among the Republicans of Indiana as to their coming to Indiana? Would they not rather have them go some place else?—A. I should think so. I have seen no Republicans from any State that have any desire for it.

Q. Then this little effort to show that the Republicans want the negroes to go to Indiana does not have a tendency to prove that the Republicans of Indiana are engaged in a conspiracy to bring them to Indiana, does it?—A. No, sir.

Q. On the contrary you feel that the Republicans of Indiana would want them, to go somewhere else than to Indiana?—A. I should think so.

Q. That is all that comes to, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; that was only a by-play on that.

Q. Exactly, but you state your honest feeling about their coming to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it not probably the truth that the Indiana Republicans would desire that they should go some place else than Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is what you would testify?—A. Yes, sir; that would be my feeling.

Q. But it don't seem to be satisfactory to some people to have it go so. The Democrats of Kansas feel just the same as the Republicans about their coming to Kansas, don't they?—A. I think so. I do not think it has any political significance in Kansas at all. I will say that I know Republicans as well as Democrats who are mixed up in our little excitement there at home. I do not think there is a political fear of it there at all; it is a general feeling of fright, probably.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a lawyer?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you understand yourself when you answered Mr. Blair's question, when you answered that the laws of the United States were not enforced by the courts?

The WITNESS. I did not use such language.

The CHAIRMAN. The report will show that you used such language.

Mr. BLAIR. No; nullified by the courts.

The CHAIRMAN. Or nullified in the courts.

The WITNESS. I do not so understand it.

Q. You are aware that there is a Federal jurisdiction in this country?—A. I am also aware that the juries are drawn from the body of the people.

Q. Don't you know that they are drawn from the negroes as well as the white people all over the South? Don't you know that that has been proved here?—A. I don't know what you have proved.

Q. Don't you know that to be a fact?—A. No, I don't know that to a fact.

Q. Do you know anything on the subject?—A. Simply what I have heard. I do not understand that they are drawn to such an extent as before.

Q. Well, there is a Republican judge, and district attorney, and a Republican marshal, and Republican deputies, and who is to blame if the negroes are not properly represented on the juries?—A. I do not know.

Q. That is all.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. But you know that in fact a large majority of the courts that try petty offenses may be most oppressive?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Justices of the peace, &c., those that have jurisdiction over them?—A. O, yes.

Q. That is the general rule?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. I suppose you are also aware that it takes an agreement of twelve men to get a verdict, and that a divided jury is just as bad for a man who wants a verdict as the one that is against him?—A. Yes; most everybody knows that.

Q. Most everybody knows that; but you don't know that all the juries of the South are made up exclusively of colored people?—A. No, sir.

Q. Or that white people are eliminated from juries?—A. No, sir; you may find half a jury colored and the other half white down there. They are influenced largely by the white men on the jury. That is a pretty broad field to go into. That is a divided question, you know.

TESTIMONY OF ABSALOM H. KENNEDY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 24, 1880.

ABSALOM H. KENNEDY sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Where do you live, Mr. Kennedy?—A. I live in Oxford, Miss.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I was born and reared there.

Q. Have you given any attention to the laws of Mississippi, as bearing upon the condition of the colored race, Mr. Kennedy?—A. Not particularly upon the colored race more than the balance of the poor class of people there—the laws generally.

Q. The laws that bear upon the poor class of people generally?—A. Certainly.

Q. Can you give us a statement of some of these laws? You are a lawyer, I believe, are you not?—A. Yes, sir; I have been practicing law. Well, the negroes and poor people as a general thing have complained of a great many laws that are said to be hurtful among them there. It is a felony, that is a penal offense, to steal, I think, over ten dollars' worth; it can be a penitentiary offense—a term of five years in the penitentiary; and it is made a felony to steal a pig, shoat, cow, goat, kid, or anything about one dollar in value.

Q. Can you refer us to these statutes?—A. Yes, sir; they are the acts of 1871, and the sheet acts of 1876 and 1878.

The Revised Code of the statute laws of Mississippi of 1871 has these provisions:

[Witness reading:]

ARTICLE XXIV.—*Larceny.*

§ 2652. Every person who shall be convicted of taking and carrying away feloniously the personal property of another, of the value of twenty-five dollars, or more, shall be guilty of grand larceny, and shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary for a term of not exceeding five years.

§ 2653. If any person who shall feloniously take, steal, and carry away any personal property of another, under the value of twenty-five dollars, he shall be deemed guilty of petit larceny, and shall be punished by imprisonment in a county jail for a term not exceeding three weeks, or by fine, in any sum not exceeding one hundred dollars, or by both such fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court.

The laws of Mississippi of 1876 provide as follows on the subject of grand and petit laceny:

[Witness reading]:

CHAPTER LVII.

AN ACT to amend section 2652 and 2653, Revised Code of 1871, in relation to grand and petit larceny.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the legislature of the State of Mississippi*, That section 2652 of the Revised Code of 1871, be, and the same is hereby, amended, so as to read as follows: Every person who shall be convicted of taking and carrying away feloniously the personal property of another, of the value of ten dollars or more, shall be guilty of grand larceny, and shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary for a term not exceeding five years: *Provided*, That it shall be grand larceny to feloniously steal any hog, pig, shoat, cow, calf, yearling-steer, bull, sheep, lamb, goat, or kid of the value of one dollar or more, and shall be punished in like manner.

SECTION 2. *Be it further enacted*, That section 2653 of the Revised Code of 1871 be amended so as to read, under the value of ten dollars, instead of twenty-five dollars, as it now reads.

SECTION 3. *Be it further enacted*, That this act take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Approved April 5, 1876.

Q. Now, you were stating the general effect of these laws as to the penalties. How are the people treated who are convicted of these small offenses?—A. I have just spoken of the larger offenses—offenses that would penitentiary them. There were other offenses that they may commit, of a smaller nature, that will imprison them equally as long, and the punishment they would be subjected to would be more severe than the others I have spoken of.

Q. Give us an illustration of some of these minor offenses, and how they would be treated under the law, and are treated.—A. I do not suppose the distinction is made to a great extent. If a man were to get into a fisticuff fight, or assault and battery, or anything of that sort, he would be taken before a justice of the peace and fined in a sum of not less than one dollar nor more than fifty or five hundred. It is regulated by the law in the acts referred to.

Q. If they have jurisdiction to fine for fifty dollars or five hundred dollars.—A. I think so. Some of the minor offenses are not subject to punishment in the penitentiary.

Q. For stealing an animal worth a dollar, he is penitentiaried for that? Must it be the penitentiary or a fine?—A. It must be by punishment. The judge can modify that. It is discretionary.

Mr. BLAIR. Modified how?

The WITNESS. Hiring out for so many months, and a fine of five hundred dollars, fifty dollars, or one dollar, with costs. These parties in the country are hired out by the sheriff, by consent of the board of supervisors of each county, at the rate of twenty-five cents per day, with board; and in case he is sick for two days he is to take four days to pay for these two days which he was sick.

I will read you the law in regard to that. I read from the laws of Mississippi of 1878. (Reading:)

SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted*, That when any prisoner shall be convicted of a misdemeanor by any court or justice of the peace, if the fine and costs are not immediately paid, or secured to be paid within sixty days to the satisfaction of said justice of the peace, or the sheriff in case of conviction before the circuit court, said convict shall be committed to said contractor, who shall keep and work him at the rate of twenty-five cents per day, not including Sundays and days in which said convict shall be unable to labor, or for any cause, by his consent, said contractor shall pay the said fine and costs, and be liable on his bond for the same; and he shall not be excused therefrom, unless said convict shall die without working sufficient to pay the same, or unless said convict shall be, or become from continued ill-health, unable to work. In such a case the president of the board of supervisors may order his discharge without payment of cost; but unless so discharged said convict shall work two days for every one lost by sickness, one of which days shall be for compensation of keeping him during a day on which he was sick; and whenever said convict shall be sentenced to jail as a part of his punishment, he shall first serve out said term, and shall then commence to work to pay said fine and costs; but in all such cases if the fine and costs be paid or secured as aforesaid before the expiration of the term for which he was sentenced, he may at the end thereof be discharged.

SEC. 5. *Be it further enacted*, That in any county in which there shall be a contractor for keeping prisoners, as provided for in this act, if any person committed to jail for an offense that is bailable shall not consent to be committed to the safe-keeping and custody of said contractor, and to work for the same under the provisions of this act, such prisoner shall be entitled to receive from the common jailer, as diet for each day, only six ounces of bacon or ten ounces of beef, and one pound of bread and water: *Provided*, Such prisoner may furnish, or cause to be furnished, without expense to the county, whatever diet he sees proper. But if said prisoner shall be afterwards convicted, he shall, nevertheless, work under said contractor a sufficient term to pay all costs of prosecution, including the regular jail fees for keeping and feeding him, unless the same are paid or secured as provided for in this act: *Provided*, The sheriff shall only receive twenty cents per day for feeding prisoners under this act.

SEC. 6. *Be it further enacted*, That in all cases where a prisoner has been sentenced to the State penitentiary, and he shall sue out a writ of error, if he does not give bail he shall not be entitled to a supersedeas of the judgment, unless he shall give sufficient security to the sheriff to pay the jail fees, in case the judgment shall be affirmed. And in all cases of convictions in the circuit court for misdemeanors, the same rule shall apply. And when a party convicted of a misdemeanor before a justice of the peace shall appeal to the circuit court, there shall be no supersedeas of the judgment unless he shall give to said justice of the peace bond and sufficient security in the penalty of one hundred dollars, conditioned for the payment of all the costs of the prosecution in case he shall be convicted in the circuit court, which bond shall be transmitted by the justice of the peace as part of the records of the appeal. And in case of conviction, judgment shall be entered on it in the circuit court against both principal and sureties.

SEC. 11. *Be it further enacted*, That when no one will contract for the prisoners in any county, the board of supervisors of such county may contract for the work of their prisoners with the contractor of any adjoining county, according to the provisions of this act for contracts for prisoners within the county, and when no contract can be made under this act, the prisoners shall be disposed of as now required by law.

SEC. 12. *Be it further enacted*, That whenever any prisoner shall be sentenced to the penitentiary of this State, it shall be the duty of the circuit clerk of the court passing said sentence to certify to the superintendent of the penitentiary the costs, if any, of the prosecution due by the prisoner. It shall be the duty of said superintendent to keep him in custody after the expiration of the term for which he was sentenced, and to work, or cause him to be worked, at the rate of twenty-five cents per day, not including Sundays, until said fine and costs are paid, and, when so paid, he shall pay them over to the treasurer of the proper county.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. He has to work double the length of time that he was sick, at twenty-five cents a day?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What class of officers have power to hire them out?—A. The board of supervisors directs the sheriff.

Q. To whom may they hire?—A. Any planter or farmer.

Q. So if a man is fined five hundred dollars for a trivial offense, he may be hired out for two thousand days?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And if he is sick one hundred days out of that time, he must work two hundred more to pay the planter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is the hiring process allowed to convicts in the penitentiary, also?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. They are hired out, too?—A. Yes, sir; they are hired out all over the State.

Q. To private parties?—A. No, sir; to contractors.

Q. State contractors?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Others, for minor offenses, may be hired to private parties?—A. Yes, sir; others, for minor offenses, may be hired to private parties.

Q. How are they treated when they are hired out in that way?—A. Tolerably well. In some instances they are put in the calaboose and kept there. In some instances they are worked on the streets. A man may take a contract to fix up a certain street in town, and he has probably four or five of these convicts, and takes them out under ball and chain and works them out for a day, and then takes them back to the caliboose.

Q. A private planter does not work them with ball and chain?—A. No, they trust the honor of the planters to bring them up at night.

Q. Do they hire white convicts in that way?—A. I have never known of white men being hired in that way.

Q. You have seen negroes hired in that way?—A. O, yes; I have seen negroes hired in that way.

Q. Have you ever seen them work under ball and chain?—A. I have seen them in corporations; not in the country on farms; I have seen them on the streets.

Q. Do you know anything about the mode of catching them if they get away from the contractors; do they use the bloodhound in Mississippi?—A. No, sir; I have never seen them there since the war.

Q. Does that style of securing the labor of a man for an indefinite period, all on account of a small offense, give dissatisfaction to the colored people there?—A. As a general thing they have somewhat complained of it. For instance, the negroes were not allowed to marry before the war, and they contracted the disposition to cohabit together—adultery, or unlawful cohabiting.

Q. Was marriage not allowed?—A. No, sir; marriage was not allowed. The statute of Mississippi makes it an offense with imprisonment for not less than three months, and a fine of not less than fifty dollars or more than five hundred, if they are caught at acts of that sort and found guilty.

Q. That is now?—A. Yes, sir; now. Here is the law on adultery and fornication. I read from the laws of Mississippi, the Revised Code of 1871, as follows: (Reading)

ARTICLE III.—*Adultery and fornication.*

§2486. If any man and woman shall live together in unlawful cohabitation, whether the same shall be in adultery or fornication, upon conviction thereof they shall be fined in any sum not less than one hundred dollars nor more than five hundred dollars each, and imprisoned not more than six months, or by such fine or imprisonment alone, at the discretion of the court.

§2487. Persons being within the degrees of consanguinity within which marriages are declared by law to be incestuous and void, who shall cohabit, or live together as husband and wife, upon conviction, shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for a term not exceeding ten years.

§2488. The penalties of this article shall not apply to any man or woman who, at the time of the adoption of the present constitution of this State, were, and had been, living together as husband and wife, although they may not, in fact, have been married according to law.

Q. Well, you are a Republican, are you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there perfect freedom of voting allowed to the colored people down in that country?—A. Well, no, sir; I could not say there is.

Q. How is it prevented?—A. Well, it is prevented in various ways. Not in my immediate county. My county has always been Democratic; yet there is more violence resorted to in the adjoining counties than in La Fayette; it is a Democratic county.

Q. In your own county not so much?—A. No, sir.

Q. What is the character of that violence?—A. Various ways. They go in the dead hours of night and take a man out and whip him half to death, and a crowd of bulldozers try to kill him—the leading Republicans, both white and black.

Q. Are you, as a native Republican, permitted to make speeches and speak your sentiments as freely there as you could in the North?—A. I never have.

Q. Have you ever met any trouble in expressing your sentiments as a Republican?—A. Well, I have been interrupted several times there. In the fall of 1876, I think, I was appointed by the Republican executive committee to canvass our county and see that every vote was gotten out; and one night in town there was a fuss occurred; that is, they interrupted me so many times that Marshal Pierce interfered and told them he would have to call for assistance if they did not quit. The next day I was met by a drunken sort of villainous fellow, who was filled up with mean whisky, and, goaded on by the better class, ran up behind me and stabbed me in the side, and came near killing me.

Q. Was he punished in any way?—A. No, sir; turned loose. He was taken up to a Democratic mayor, and a Democratic sheriff released him on his own recognizance, and he did not have a dollar in the world, and they turned him off in consequence.

Q. Was no effort made to get him?—A. None at all; they had him and turned him loose.

Q. Had you had any personal difficulty with him before?—A. I never saw him before.

Q. You understand that it was purely, wholly political?—A. It seemed so; I had no animosity toward the fellow, and did not dream of bad feeling existing between him and myself.

Q. Were you in the Army during the war?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know of any other persons being attacked on account of their political sentiments?—A. I suppose Colonel Pierce has been attacked several times; I know of one occasion; he wrote to Mr. Guthrie, editor of the Falcon, I think. Guthrie published some pieces stating that he had not dealt fairly in his official capacity as marshal, and accused him of dirty acts. Mr. Pierce wrote him three or four notes, and wanted him to correct it. He refused to do so. He said he was going to post him as a rascal and slanderer. He posted him, and told him he would guard his posters with a double-barreled shot-gun. He stuck posters leading to the court-house, and formed a company and filed down towards his house.

Mr. BLAIR. Towards whose house?

The WITNESS. Towards Colonel Pierce's house; he is the United States marshal.

Mr. BLAIR. Who does the posting?

The WITNESS. The marshal.

Mr. BLAIR. Posted the editor?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; as reflecting upon his official character in an unwarrantable way, and so on; and because he would not retract it he posted him as a rascal and a slanderer.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Now what is your general understanding as to whether they can freely vote in those localities where they have a majority?—A. Well, my understanding is from all of them that they have never had free expression at the polls since 1873.

Q. What was the year of the so-called shot-gun policy in Mississippi?—A. 1875.

Q. The State was then carried for the Democratic party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Has there been any full vote of the Republicans since that time?—A. No, sir.

Q. Why not, according to your understanding of it?—A. Well, it is generally believed and conceded all over that State by everybody, Democrats and Republicans, that the Democrats had formed themselves all over the country into an organization called the regulators, and like that fellow Dickson did down in Yazoo, everywhere they found the Republicans in a respectable majority they would kill a few, and run the balance off, and scare them away from the polls. There was General George elected to the United States Senate in place of Mr. Bruce; General George was chairman of the State executive committee. He told them all—advised them to level the shot-gun on a few, and kill a few of them in each county, and that would scare the balance of them off, so that they would not come up to the polls to vote; and that was generally done all over the State.

Q. And that was carried out?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. He was chairman of the Democratic committee of the State?—A. Yes, sir; and would call a meeting of the committee, and advise the members of the committee of the respective counties to advise the county committees to that effect, and it seems to have just gone all over the State.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. And the result of that policy was a Democratic victory?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And has the Republican party been organized and vigorous since that time, or was it broken down by that policy?—A. It was broken down by that policy. They had organized companies all over the State, so they said.

Q. Can you tell us why the negroes, where they are in a majority, do not unite and defend themselves against such a bulldozing policy as that?—A. Well, yes, sir, I reckon I can; as a general thing the negro is very timid—been raised by his old master—and even a voice in a threatening way seems to stifle his energies and ambition, and he is afraid to raise any arms against him, in the first place; and in the next place—well, they are unarmed; none of them have got a gun in the whole State, while the opposite side is well armed, and they need the conveyance and one thing or another. They will charter a train, when there is a difficulty in Granada or Tallahatchie, or anywhere down in the State. They can get as many recruits from all parts of the State; they fall in in hundreds from Tennessee, Arkansas, and Alabama.

Q. So when the negroes who are in the majority attempt to resist, they are overwhelmed from the surrounding counties and States?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are the white people generally organized over the State in military companies?—A. They were in 1875. I had no idea of such a thing, but I went up into Mr. Beland's room to get a cigar. I ran up the back steps; I noticed that the windows in both stories were darkened; and I ran in on a company drilling there. That was the first I ever knew of the fact. The first I knew there was such a company in existence. I ran up on them.

Q. Were they secretly drilling?—A. They had the curtains down and the back door open. There was no one there but their own members; they were occasionally running down into the store and getting a glass of beer.

Q. Was that just prior to the election of 1875?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it fact that the white people are well armed?—A. O, yes, sir; they are well armed. I saw a piece in the paper——

Q. How is it about election officers; how are they appointed; do you know about that?—A. The officers are appointed by the governor—the registrars for each county. The law requires that each party shall be represented. As a general thing he appoints two Democrats and one Republican, and these registrars go to work and appoint judges and clerks at the elections.

Q. There are three registrars, two Democrats and one Republican, in each county?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they appoint the judges who hold the elections?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are these judges of one party or both?—A. Sometimes one; the law requires they shall be of both.

Q. But the majority of Democratic registrars and judges select such Republicans as they choose, and men that they can call a Republican, and put two Democrats with him?—A. Certainly. I wrote to Governor Stone and told him—recommended a first-class Republican. We recommended a Republican. Mr. Lewis and I think Mr. Lorance recommended Jim Jefferson, a negro boy, who could hardly read and write, and he appointed a man who was objectionable to the masses of the Republicans.

Q. In your county the Republican appointment was upon the recommendation of a Democrat, and the man you Republicans recommended was not appointed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And in that way they generally selected the Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that the Democrats select the Democratic and Republican judges of election also?—A. O, yes, sir. It excites the darky's fancy to be appointed to a position of that sort, especially if he is ignorant. They go to work and appoint the judges and clerks at election. They appointed in my beat, in the town where I vote, two shrewd, sharp Democrats, that I don't suppose had much scruples of conscience about stuffing ballots, and Bill Kennedy, a negro boy my father used to own. I know him; he is as timid as a mouse and can't read or write, and he just sat back there and let them vote as they pleased.

Q. What kind of a Republican did you and your Republican friends recommend?—A. He was a well-educated man, a shrewd, fair fellow, who had been appointed registrar two or three times there.

Q. Not a Democrat?—A. No, sir; a good Republican, born and bred in one of the best families in the State.

Q. Has there been any complaint about cheating at the ballot box as well as of bulldozing?—A. All over the State.

Q. So that they may be cheated out of their vote even if they get the ballots in the box?—A. Yes, sir. In the western part of the State there was great complaint of stuffing the ballot boxes when Mr. Muldrow and Mr. Davis ran for Congress. The United States court has the power to punish parties for stuffing the ballot box, while they have not the power in State elections. Mr. Smith, I think, an old gentleman that came over there, went before the United States court and a great many true bills were found, and the parties were arrested and a good many came up and pleaded guilty to the charge, and acknowledged that they had stuffed the ballot boxes against General Davis, a greenbacker. Mr. Smith went back home in June; the bills were found in December, and he was assassinated three or four days after his return. He was one of the judges of election and the main witness that had these bills found against the parties that stuffed the ballot boxes against Smith, and in favor of Muldrow.

Q. He was assassinated?—A. Yes, sir; he was assassinated when he returned.

Q. Was he a white man?—A. Yes, sir; an old citizen—an old man.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. The judge of that Federal court is a Republican, is he not?—A. I don't know what he is.

Q. I allude to Judge Hill of the Federal court, and appointed by Mr. Lincoln?—A. By Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Johnson.

Q. Mr. Lincoln.—A. He has never voted and is appointed through a clerk, and the clerk has one or two deputies and they are all active working Democrats.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Are you sure whether it was Lincoln or Johnson?—A. My impression is that it was Johnson who appointed him. I think I heard it on good authority; I may be mistaken.

The CHAIRMAN. You are mistaken; the date will show it.

Mr. BLAIR. What is the man's given name?

The WITNESS. A. R. Hill.

By MR. WINDOM:

Q. Would it be possible, even though the judge were a Republican, to convict a man, with the kind of juries they have—to convict a man of an offense of that kind? Are not the juries made up of Democrats and Republicans, both?—A. Yes, sir. Judge Hill is one of the best men we have in the State. He is a Christian man and a fair man; the only fault with him is he is too lenient. He is always on the side of mercy.

Q. What is the probability of convicting a Democrat when half the jury are Democrats?—A. A jury, you know, has to be unanimous. Probably the jury will hang and there will be no conviction at all.

Q. Have you known of anybody convicted straight?—A. I believe there were two or three convicted at that term, but the parties I speak of pleaded guilty.

Q. It don't seem to be a healthy performance to inform on them and have them indicted?—A. Not very.

Q. What do you have to say as to the administration of justice in the courts, if you know anything about it, when colored people are concerned?—A. I think when a colored man tends to his own business, pays his debts and taxes, and is a good citizen generally, and does not interfere with politics at all, he will get the good will of the masses of the people there, among the Democrats especially, and before a court of any kind he will get impartial justice.

Q. Suppose he is inclined to be a pretty active Republican then what?—A. Just the other way. It will embitter their feelings towards them and pressure will be brought to bear to such an extent as to prevent him from getting justice, I think.

Q. It is quite as much, then, a prejudice against and hatred of the colored man as it is against the Republican?—A. White Republicans.

Q. Either white or black Republicans?—A. O, yes; certainly it is very bitter against Republicans.

Q. What proportion of the colored people are Republicans down there?—A. I don't know any Democrats that do their own thinking down in my county.

TESTIMONY OF J. W. WEIK.

J. W. WEIK called, sworn, and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. In Greencastle, Ind.

Q. What is your profession?—A. I have been a merchant until two years ago. Since that time I have been studying law.

Q. Have you given any attention to the arrival of these colored people in your place?—A. Yes, sir; I have at my own native place. A great many of them have come there from the Southern States.

Q. Do you think there is any demand for them in that portion of the State?—A. There is an absolute demand for them.

Q. Do you know of any of them who have failed to find employment who were willing to work?—A. I can think of none who have not employment if they desire it.

Q. How are they regarded by the people out there?—A. They are regarded as very good hands. I have interviewed several of the farmers, who told me that they regarded them as very good hands indeed.

Q. Have you received any communication from farmers who needed any of them on their places?—A. I have talked with some of them and seen letters from others.

Q. From all you have seen and heard, is the demand equal to the supply or greater?—A. From the information I have received I rather think the demand is in excess of the supply. I base my information from what I received from Mr. Langsdale, and the applications made to him. He receives about two letters a day. When he arrived home there were six negroes who came two days before, and two days afterwards they were gone to places in the country. Two farmers came 13 miles by wagon and 10 by rail to get them.

Q. Have you ever talked with Mr. Stevenson who lives out there?—A. I have. There are some on his place, and he desired to correct a portion of the testimony given here. It was stated here that he paid them 25 cents a day for work and 25 cents per 100 for cutting rails or wood; but he told me to say that it was 75 cents in all instances. He has some of these new negroes on his place, and some who have been there for some time, for he is one of the largest farmers in our county.

Q. Does your father farm in that county himself?—A. My father is a merchant, well known all over the county. Three different men have been in there to his store inquiring for the purpose of getting colored labor. I do not know from what part of the county they came. I know in general that there is a demand for these people. They are well received, and those who employ them like them very much. They receive good wages, all the way from $8 to $16 a month. I know one who receives $8 a month, who lives in town and is a porter, and gets his board besides. There is one man there who runs with a who gets $16 a month, and there are some Democrats who have hired some of them.

Q. Do you know of any Democrats who have hired colored help?—A. Mr. Dryden, some one told me, had some colored help, and Mr. Dudley Burke, and I am informed that Dr. Morrow has some on his place. It is east of our place, in the adjoining county.

Q. Are these colored people well placed, as a general rule?—A. Yes, sir. I think that all of them have good places.

Q. How are they pleased with the surroundings, and the way in which they are getting along?—A. I think the negroes are well pleased, as a rule. There is a family of O'Haras, who have large bodies of land there, and I drove out and asked the negroes on their place how they liked it. They said they liked it better than anything they had ever found, and would not go back to North Carolina on any account.

Q. Unless you think of something more to state I do not know of any other question to ask you.—A. I would state that there is also a demand for colored women to live in the houses.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. They cannot vote, can they?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. Then, what do you want them out there for?—A. We want them to live in the houses as servants.

Q. Then, the demand for colored help is not of a political nature?—A. No, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. When did you come here?—A. Last Monday evening.

Q. Were you subpœnaed before this committee?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you think you want more of these people out in Indiana?—A. I stated that the demand exceeded the supply, and I think so.

Q. You say you got your information mostly from Mr. Langsdale?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He is the postmaster and a Republican editor in your town?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he thinks they want more of them to come out there?—A. Yes, sir; I suppose he does. I go round there to his office very often, and I know the applications that are made to him. I came here on business purely.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I believe I have no more questions to ask you. I will make out your voucher for your attendance.

The WITNESS. I do not want it; if you please, sir, I would rather not have it.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the reason you do not want it?

The WITNESS. Well, sir, I came here on business purely, and when I go home I do not want them to say that I came here to testify before this committee, as it may impair my testimony, on the ground that it is political.

The CHAIRMAN. But you have testified, have you not?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then, you are entitled to your pay, and I will give a voucher to you, and you can do as you please about drawing it and keeping it.

Mr. KENNEDY, a former witness, states: Mr. Chairman, in reference to my telling Mr. Barnes to subpœna my brother, I would like to have him make a statement of it.

Mr. BARNES. He merely stated that when this bald-headed man, Avery, was testifying here that he had a brother here in town who could tell us all about the things as they were in Mississippi. That is about all I remember.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right, Mr. Barnes. That was Avery who was testifying.

Mr. BARNES. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF E. A. J. McHENRY.

E. A. J. MCHENRY called, sworn, and examined.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Question. You reside where?—Answer. At Macon, Miss.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Fifteen years.

Q. Where did you live prior to that time?—A. In the State of Tennessee.

Q. Were you born and educated there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were in the Confederate service?—A. I was four years in that service.

Q. And you have been in Macon most of the time since?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What have you been following there?—A. I have been a planter in Mississippi, and since then I have held various positions there.

Q. Are you a Republican or a Democrat?—A. I am a Republican, sir.

Q. Will you give us your knowledge and opinion with regard to the causes of this colored exodus from your state and vicinity to the Northern States?—A. Well, sir, I do not know that I can state the causes. There may be several causes.

Q. Just give us such as may occur to you.—A. I think the cause with some of them is to better their condition, in part; they think a change would probably be better for them by moving to another country where they could accumulate money faster and have opportunities of getting on better generally. Others may want to get from under the domination of the Democratic party; in other words, get into another country where they can exercise the rights of the ballot with more freedom.

Q. What restriction is there in Mississippi upon the exercise of the ballot?—A. The opportunities for voting freely are not as good there as in some other places, for the reason that the Democratic party tries to control them in their voting.

Q. By what methods do they try to control them?—A. Well, by different methods. I do not know what kind of language to use to you to express the idea; for instance, in holding elections they have charge of the polls and the machinery of the ballot boxes, and they influence the negroes' ballots in such a way that they do not express their wishes. Last fall there was a Republican candidate for sheriff in our county. They have men stationed at the door of the polling place, and when the negroes would go through to vote they would take their tickets and examine them; and when they stated that they wanted to vote for this man they would write the man's name down under the head of constable or district attorney, so that the ballot, when they came to count it, was not legal and could not be counted.

Q. Would the colored man go and put it in after it had been thus manipulated?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he understand what he was doing?—A. Of course not. At the poll where I voted it has always gone Republican. There are but four or five hundred Democratic votes and seven or eight hundred Republicans. It has always gone Republican by never less than 400 majority. Even Judge Chisholm, when he was a candidate for Congress, carried it by 400 majority; but last fall, when the Republicans intended to vote as solidly as ever, when they came to count out the votes, the Democrat was ahead by 12 votes.

Q. There must have been a good many scattering votes at that election?—A. Yes, sir; their votes were changed, and in that way they were made to vote the Democratic ticket.

Q. Are there any other ways in which they are thus bulldozed or intimidated? Are there any cases of violence that you know of in that place?—A. Yes, sir. Some time about a year ago there was a solid exodus boom there, when a crowd of fifty to a hundred men rode into the town about two o'clock. They came into contact with a negro woman who was passing along the street. She saw them and became excited and began to run. They told her to stop, but she did not do it, and they shot at her. They ran and caught her and commenced beating her, and she was beaten most unmercifully and was confined to her bed for some weeks on account of it. They went to the houses of some prominent colored men and arrested them and carried them off some distance, but turned them loose. They did not hurt them, and they came back next morning and told the facts of the case. The woman was the only one where anybody was hurt. These men who were riding in and about said they were looking for the leading men of the exodus, and that was the reason they went to see these colored men who they took off with them but turned loose.

Q. They thought that the colored men that they arrested knew where the leaders were?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But the leaders were concealed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they think it was dangerous enough for them to be concealed?—A. Yes, sir; the excitement was quite great for a while; so much so that several men there were arrested and convicted of vagrancy because they were prominent in this exodus matter.

Q. What had they done?—A. Nothing; but the report got out in the country that there would be a free train to take negroes to Kansas, and a great many came in to go; but they found that they had been deceived. They staid about the town for a while, and those were the parties who were arrested.

Q. Then it was true that this crowd of men came in there that night; where did that crowd come from?—A. It was not known where; probably from some other county or from Alabama, over the line.

Q. Were they disguised?—A. Some of them were; so the negroes said.

Q. What was the reason for firing on this colored woman?—A. I understand the object was to keep her from reporting that they were there. They were afraid that she would give the information.

Q. So that the leaders or the parties they were looking for would get out of the way?—A. Yes, sir; or possibly she would get the authorities or other parties after them.

Q. You say that this was last year, and was done with special reference to suppressing the exodus movement?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is this movement going on in your section of the State?—A. I have heard nothing of it in that region since.

Q. Is that a planting region?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Generally speaking, are things getting better or worse there with reference to the material prosperity of the people?—A. It is better now than it was then. They made a fine crop there last year, and the laborers are better satisfied. They are accumulating funds and getting out of debt.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What is your profession?—A. I have been chancery clerk for four years until the last two or three years, when I was defeated. I was a revenue collector then; but I am nothing now.

Q. You have been in the Revenue Service?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say you are from the South?—A. I am a native of Tennessee.

Q. Were you subpœnaed from down there?—A. No, sir.

INTRODUCTION OF LETTERS, ETC.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to read a letter, to make it a part of the record. General Singleton vouches for the character of the writer of it. It is the testimony of an old friend of General Singleton, a colored man who has come back from Kansas. It is written to Captain Pettus, and sent to General Singleton.

NEWTON, MISS., *April* 20, 1880.

Hon. O. R. SINGLETON, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR: Your old friend, Berry Thompson, freedman, last February left here for Kansas, taking with him his daughters, sons-in-law, and grandchildren, numbering 21 persons. He was in good circumstances, owned a farm 200 acres, well improved, worth $1,000; had mules, horses, cattle, hogs, plenty corn and fodder. He sold everything at a great sacrifice; his farm for $400, mules $60, and so on. Was out of debt. And to the surprise of every one he got back here last Sunday, bringing all back except three children and one son-in-law. The children died. I have just had a long talk with him; he gives a woful account of his sufferings. He says the people of Kansas were exceedingly kind to them, and that he does not blame them for the exodus, but says he received several papers urging him to come, and finally he received a paper stating that he had better come to Kansas, for if he did not he would be forced to come this fall, and he says that scared him, and he thought it better to go than be forced. And he now says that he thinks parties sending those papers to the freedmen ought to be heavily punished, for he is an old man, and that they have ruined him; that he only got back here with $30, and has seventeen persons on his hands. He came to me for assistance. I have let him have some land, and will rent him a mule. He has been a powerful Republican, and I think he is as good a Democrat now as you could find. But, Col., this is a terrible thing, to break up an old negro who had plenty, and was well satisfied. And now his condition is a pauper. Some one has a powerful sin to answer for. It is true his return will stop any from leaving here, for he and his family give a most woful account of the country, and their sufferings. I thought I would write you these facts, and if the Senatorial committee on the exodus wishes a good witness of the Republican stripe, Berry Thompson would be the man. Remember us kindly to Mrs. Singleton, and when you return home will expect you both to come and see us.

Your friend,

S. S. PETTUS.

Since I saw you last, have been in business troubles, but think we have arranged our matters satisfactorily, and will be again all right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now I ask that this letter from Senator Maxey and an extract from a newspaper be also inserted:

SENATE CHAMBER,
Washington, April 22, 1880.

Hon. D. W. VOORHEES,
Chairman Select Committee on Causes of Emigration of Negroes from Southern to Northern States:

DEAR SIR: I herewith hand you a copy of the North Texan of 17th instant, a respectable Democratic paper, published in Paris, Lamar County, Texas, where I reside, and to direct your attention to an article showing that during the present season 105 colored laborers from Lowndes County, Mississippi, had immigrated into Lamar County, and had settled on the Morgan plantation, and had pitched a crop of 1,000 acres, evidently corn and cotton.

The kindly expressions of Mr. Boyd, the editor, properly represent the sentiments of the people there in respect to the colored people. I know Mr. Morgan, and the plantation referred to, and from knowledge of both have no doubt these people have chosen wisely. And I would add that, as far as I know or believe, the relations between the two races in Texas are kindly, and that the colored people of industry are doing as well as they could in any State in the Union, and are treated as well and kindly as elsewhere.

Yours, truly,

S. B. MAXEY.

A remarkably intelligent colored man dropped in some days ago. His name is J. S. Dawson, and he brought out a colony of 105 colored laborers, now employed on J. D. Morgan's farm, on Sulphur, 9 miles from Paris. He represents that they are well pleased, and are planting over 1,000 acres, to be worked by 64 hands. He says they are comfortably situated, have good houses, and are all well satisfied. They are represented to be of the best class of the colored farmers of Lowndes County, Mississippi, and we are sure they will do well.

FIFTY-SECOND DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Monday, April 26, 1880.*

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m., and proceeded to take testimony.

TESTIMONY OF T. W. CAMPBELL.

T. W. CAMPBELL sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Campbell, where do you live?—Answer. I live in Vicksburg.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Murrell, who testified here?—A. Yes, sir; I know something of him; have known him for some time.

Q. How long have you known him?—A. I have known him for about seven years. I think it was about seven years ago that I first made his acquaintance.

Q. Do you know what was his position in regard to this so-called exodus when it first commenced?—A. When it first commenced he was decidedly opposed to it. He addressed a colored meeting in Delta in opposition to it. He advised them to remain there, as it was the best place for them; and I think he also addressed the labor convention at Vicksburg in the same strain.

Q. He was advising these people to remain where they were?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State what you know in regard to his action in 1873 in the Congressional race between Mr. Morey and his opponent?—A. Mr. Murrell was the Republican candidate for Congress, and Mr. Spencer was on the other ticket. Murrell came to me to print some tickets for his parish, and he told me to leave off Morey's name, and put the name of the Democratic candidate (Spencer) on.

Q. He was at that time the Republican candidate for the legislature?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he told you to leave off the name of the Republican candidate for Congress?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know anything else about his record?—A. In 1877, in Warren County, Miss., there was no authorized opposition to the Democratic ticket, but Captain Speers ran as the opposition candidate against Mr. Furlong, and Mr. Murrell came over from Louisiana and assisted in the election of Furlong.

Q. What was Furlong's politics?—A. He was a Democrat.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What did Mr. Murrell do?—A. He assisted in his election.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. When was this?—A. In 1877.

Q. Did you ever hear any complaints on his part about the treatment of his people in the South?—A. No, sir; never. The first I heard of it was the reading of his testimony here before this committee.

Q. How are affairs generally at Vicksburg at this time, so far as the races are concerned?—A. Politically they are very quiet.

Q. Where is Vicksburg situated?—A. It is in Warren County, on the Mississippi River.

Q. At the election there last fall the Republicans elected several parties on their ticket?—A. Yes, sir; they elected the sheriff, the chancery clerk, and the circuit clerk.

Q. Was the election fair and free?—A. Yes, sir; nobody was refused the right to vote that I know of.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. Do you think it is anything against Mr. Murrell that he acted with the Democrats at one time?—A. No, sir; I think it is to his credit, and very greatly so, but I think it was against him in 1877, for I did not think that Furlong was the right man to elect.

Q. He was a Democrat, was he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you are a Democrat?—A. No, sir; I cannot say that I am. I have not acted in any political capacity for some time.

Q. Where did you come from when you went to Mississippi?—A. I came from Virginia.

Q. What is the name of your paper?—A. I publish the Commercial.

Q. Is it a political paper?—A. It is a political paper now. I started it as an independent paper, and supported Hayes. I sold part of it seven months ago, and then it became a political paper.

Q. Do you vote yourself?—A. Yes, sir; I vote.

Q. Which way do you vote, generally?—A. Whichever way I please; I usually vote for the man, and not for the party. I voted for the Republican candidate for sheriff, and I voted for Hooker against Hill, and for Shaughnessy against Hooker for Congress.

Q. I suppose your testimony is taken here for the purpose of discrediting Mr. Murrell; now do you think it is worse for him to select his candidate than it is for you to select yours?—A. Mr. Murrell, when he acted with the Democratic party in 1877, and aided in the election of Furlong, got paid for it; and when he substituted Spencer, the Democratic candidate, for Morey, he got paid also; at least I believe that.

Q. Mr. Murrell might say the same of you, but unless he was positive about it, do you think that it would be right for him to come here and say so?—A. If he believed that I acted in that way, I think it would be proper for him to say so.

The **Chairman**. Mr. Blair says that my object in examining you is to discredit Mr. Murrell. I will state that my object is to show that a man who was running on the same ticket with Frank Morey, left Morey off and put a Democrat on, and that a man who would do that is, in my opinion, a great scoundrel.

Mr. **Blair**. I do not think it is just right to say that, under the circumstances.

The **Chairman**. Yes, sir; that is my opinion.

Mr. **Blair**. I do not think there is any necessity for that remark from the chairman, when I did not mistake the question. I do not think it is exactly right to put in the word "scoundrel" about a man who is absent.

The **Chairman**. I did not do it in order to interrupt the examintion unpleasantly.

Mr. **BLAIR**. It is unpleasant for you so to interrupt me, and apply that epithet to an absent man.

The **WITNESS**. I think, Senator, it is no worse in him to vote for another man than it is for me; I have answered that before; assuming that his motive was the same as mine; but I say I believe he was paid for what he did in both of these cases.

By Mr. **BLAIR**:

Q. You assume that his motive was a bad one, and yours was a good one?—A. Yes, sir; that was my belief.

Q. Suppose I were to recall Mr. Murrell, and he, knowing of your oscillatory method of voting, were to say that you were a scoundrel, as the chairman says he is; do you think he would do right in saying so?—A. If he believed it I think he would have a right to say so.

Q. Courts of justice and investigating committees are supposed to deal with things a little closer than they do usually in conversation; and you would not expect to come here and testify in the same way that you would express yourself to me in common conversation?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you think Mr. Murrell would be justified in coming here and saying that you were corrupt, unless he knew it?—A. I do not say that he is corrupt; but I say I believe he was paid to take the action he did.

Q. Do you think that he would be justified in saying that you were corrupt in your action in voting for Democrats and Republicans indifferently?—A. No, sir; unless he had some evidence of it.

Q. Did you hear the testimony of Mr. Murrell?—A. No, sir; but I read a synopsis of it in the papers.

Q. You began your testimony by saying that he was against the exodus; did he not say so here in the testimony?—A. I do not know that.

Q. Well, he did say so, and said that he opposed it; but at last he found that it was impossible to stop the people from going, and he gave in his testimony, so far as he knew them, the causes of the movement, and you do not contradict him?—A. No, sir; I do not contradict him in so far as he said that he was opposed to it.

Q. You say he came to you in a certain year and got you to print some tickets, and that in that year he was a candidate for the legislature himself?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he was opposed to the Republican candidate for Congress?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he make a secret of that fact?—A. I do not know that he did everywhere, but I was enjoined to keep it a great secret.

Q. Have you ever known of candidates before being opposed to others that were on the same side with them?—A. Yes, sir; but not of their having tickets printed against candidates on their own side.

Q. How long have you been printing; for three years past?—A. Yes, sir; I have been in the business some time.

Q. The tickets used down there are printed generally?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Printed tickets are used by both sides?—A. Yes, sir.

By the **CHAIRMAN**:

Q. Do you think he is a good man who runs on the same side with another man, and who goes and gets tickets printed so as to have the voters vote without knowing that they are voting against one of their own candidates; do you call that man a good man?—A. No, sir; I do not.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. You put the name in in the same way that you did the others, did you not?—A. Yes, sir; I simply substituted Spencer's name for Morey's.

By the **Chairman**:

Q. Who was elected to Congress that time when Mr. Murrell tried to throw Mr. Morey off?—A. Morey was elected, and Spencer contested his election, I think, but I am not positive.

Q. Morey was a man of character, standing, and influence, was he not?—A. Yes, sir; he was a man very well liked there.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. Was that Frank Morey?—A. Yes, sir; I liked him very much myself.

Q. You do not agree with the mass of the Democratic party in your opinion about him, do you?—A. No, sir; but I am a friend of his.

Mr. **Blair**. I knew him myself in the Forty fourth Congress.

The **Witness**. I think if I had lived there in his district I would have voted for him.

TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER YERGER.

Alexander Yerger sworn and examined.

By the **Chairman**:

Question. Mr. Yerger, where do you live?—Answer. I live in Rosedale, Bolivar County, Mississippi.

Q. What position do you occupy there in public affairs, if any?—A. I have been for two years, until January last, county treasurer, and have been superintendent of education for five years, and am now.

Q. State superintendent?—A. No, sir; county superintendent.

Q. As county superintendent have you become entirely conversant with the school system of the State?—A. Yes, sir; I think I understand it as well as the balance of them.

Q. State the provision that is made there for education, and if there is any distinction made between the whites and the blacks?—A. No, sir; the legislature levies a tax of three mills throughout the State for educational purposes; and they make it necessary to keep the schools open five months in the year. It was four months originally, but the Democrats have added one month. The four-month system was fixed under Republican administration, and the Democrats added one month. In counties where the school fund is not sufficient to keep them open that length of time it is the duty of the superintendent of the county to make out an estimate of the amount of money necessary to run the number of schools in his county that he thinks are necessary to supply the demand, in connection with the board of supervisors, fix the sum, and call on them to levy a tax to make up the deficiency. Then the superintendent and the board select the proper places in the county where the schools shall be opened, which is generally done by each member of the board for himself. There are five police districts in the county and each member confers with me, and I generally take his statement as to the proper location in his ward or district. Having been in Bolivar County continuously since 1857, except a few years during the war, I am acquainted with everybody in it.

In 1879 we had 42 schools, according to my report, eleven of them white and the balance colored. This year I have only opened twelve schools so far, because the distribution of funds was made very late and was only received by the treasurer, who receives the money, a short while ago. He went in on the 6th of January, and received the money but recently. I am not allowed under the law to pay a teacher by certificate until the money is there to meet it. The fund is only used to pay the teachers and the superintendent's salary. The salary of the superintendent for many years ranged from $900 to $1,800 a year. In every instance in appointing superintendents there were colored gentlemen named; among them Senator Bruce.

Q. Do you live in the same county with him?—A. Yes, sir; for some time the salaries have been reduced. I think the highest paid at any time was $240. Mine is $180. I do not blame any of the superintendents for taking the larger salaries that were given to them, because men of any party will do that; but the salaries were too high, and the Democrats reduced them.

Q. The Democratic legislature thought that the salaries were too high?—A. Yes, sir; they thought that the money instead of being paid in salaries should go into the school-fund proper. Now, in my county I was not an applicant for the position, and I do not know why I was appointed, and I did not know what the salary was until I was appointed, when I was informed that it was almost nothing; but they said that I was a county officer, and they wanted me to take it. I will leave it to Mr. Stubblefield here, who is from my county, that if it was left to a vote I do not think there is one Republican in the county who would vote against me. There might be a few Democrats who would do it.

Q. Who did you say cut down those salaries?—A. The Democratic legislature. The salaries have been raised a little since they passed the first act. Now each representative names the salary of the superintendent of his county, and we have a Democrat and a Republican from our county. The Republican desired to raise my salary, but the Democratic member thought it was not proper on account of the poverty of the county, and I agreed that it was useless, as the duties of the office are never very great; still I never complained of the salary.

Q. Take Bolivar County, for instance; how many months in the year do you have schools?—A. We have had them four months always, until last year, when we did not have money enough. The Democratic and Republican members of the board were willing to levy the tax, but there was a law of the State not to allow them to levy a tax except up to a certain amount, and they were afraid there might be trouble if I *mandamus* them, as I had a right to do. I ran some of the schools four months, and the majority of them three, but none of them less than three.

Q. Does the school law apply to all classes alike?—A. That law applies to whites as well as blacks, and I have never found anybody disposed to quarrel with the number of colored schools that I have established, as the colored people have more children in the county than the white people. In fact the law, as it stands, was passed for the benefit of the colored race, and I desired them to have the schools. A large majority of the planters in our section prefer not to take any of the benefits of the public schools themselves, and very few of them do so; they generally send their children off to be educated.

Q. How about the employment of teachers; do you make any discrimination between qualified colored men and women, and white persons?

census—something of that kind—to be on hand in time for the census, so as to make the North solid as against a solid South?—A. That was about two years ago, was it not?

Mr. **WINDOM.** I think about that.

The **CHAIRMAN.** No; it was just after we beat you in the fall of 1878, and when you were feeling the necessity of getting somebody else in there to help you the next time.

The **WITNESS.** Well, these things are all matters of mental growth. Twenty-one years ago this summer, I spent the summer in New Mexico, and while there I had a chance to study the Mexican system of peonage, as it existed practically in that country; and after the war was over, when we had the so-called reconstruction, I had a notion from what I saw there and from what I would hear from the South, that the condition of the negroes in the South was to become the same as that of peonage in Mexico. Now, I believe, action was taken about that time in Texas looking in that direction. They probably got the idea from Mexico. After the defeat of the so-called force bill, that conviction grew on me that the eventual fate of the colored race in the South was to be a peonage similar to that in Mexico; and I frequently said so in my paper, and that we did not have a State convention that I did not ask the Republicans to take some action looking to that matter. In 1878, I asked them to put this resolution in their platform:

> *Resolved,* That having given the late slaves their freedom and the ballot, they are our wards, and it devolves upon the Republican party to protect them in their weakness, until by education and experience they reach a condition no longer needing such protection.

I felt that the national government had failed to give the colored people the protection they were entitled to, in the South, and that something ought to be done. In the fall of 1878, nothing had been done. We seemed to have a solid South; and that idea naturally came up to me, that, of course, I was willing to do anything to make the North solid as against a solid South, the solid South having grown out of the use of the shot-gun and revolver. I saw no impropriety in the colored people of the South coming to the North and making a solid North against them. It seemed to me to be a legitimate defense on their part, and I must confess I had no other idea. For some time the conviction had been growing on me that the only thing the late slaves could do to become men in the true sense of the word, would be for them to come to the North; and in order that they might have a warm welcome to the North, I must say, I was willing to appeal to the selfish side of our nature, and, of course, if the Republicans of the North could understand that their coming would benefit them politically—would strengthem them—it would make them disposed to give them a warmer welcome than otherwise. That was only a natural and, I think, legitimate conclusion. I had two reasons for this, as I have stated, but the political one has now passed away. We are no longer under the necessity of having any outside help to make the North solid against the South. We already have that. Other circumstances have arisen to bring that about. Last spring we had an extra session of Congress!

Q. Do you think that the extra session of Congress has helped to solidify the North as against the solid South?—A. Yes, sir; I most certainly do; and this exodus committee has done as much, I must say, to consolidate the North against the South as anything I know of. Republicans of any sense regard it as an invasion of the private rights of American citizens and an invasion of the rights of the State to interfere with the right of these people to go and come as they please, and it has done as much to arouse our people and to bring up the old issues that made the Republican party, the party that fought the war, suppressed the rebellion, and liberated the slaves, as anything we have had.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will give you enough of that sort of music before you get through.

The WITNESS. We like that sort of music, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We will see.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You say that the political reasons have substantially passed away, and that now humanitarian reasons mainly operate upon you?—A. Well, I have thought this: that it would be a great benefit to the party to have a few negroes come from the South into Indiana.

The CHAIRMAN. It will help the Republican party you think?—A. Not in numbers; that is a small consideration; but by forcing the Democracy of our State to show their devilish spirit.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it will show it if anybody could show a more devilish spirit than you can.

Mr. BLAIR. I do not think that is hardly a proper remark to this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. BLAIR. I do not know; the chairman is hardly ingenuous in his remark.

The WITNESS. I have learned by experience that nothing causes the Democratic party to display its real *animus* more than to stick the negro at them. I thought that would help us to make an issue and I am thankful to see that it has succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Have you any further statements to make? If not, I have nothing more to ask.—A. I don't know that I have.

Recross-examination by the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Mr. Langsdale, how many negroes do you know were brought into Indiana?—A. Well, we have enough there now to suit our purposes.

Q. Well, answer my question, if you please. How many have you got there?—A. I could not say; I kept no account.

Q. You kept no account, still you think you have enough; you don't want any more?—A. If they want to come I would like to have them come. I speak from a political standpoint; so far as our people are concerned this thing seems to be growing. As I said before, our farms are not properly cultivated for want of help.

Q. We have heard you on that; we do not wish to go over that again.—A. Very well.

Q. You are a member of the Republican State central committee of Indiana, are you not?—A. No, sir; I am not.

Q. I thought you were?—A. No.

Q. Have you any official relation to the party in the State?—A. None at all.

Q. You are simply Hayes's postmaster at Greencastle?—A. I am the people's postmaster.

Q. Yes, and appointed by Mr. Hayes?—A. Of course.

Q. You say you do not want any more negroes in Indiana now for political purposes?—A. Not since this committee was organized and is doing the work I anticipated it would do.

Q. We will answer for this committee, Mr. Langsdale.—A. We do not need any more.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not believe there is anything I want to ask of you, and if you will give me your name I will discharge you.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Did I understand you to say, Mr. Langsdale, that the condition of the negroes in the South was pretty much the same as that of the peons of Mexico?—A. I said my impression was, from what I saw in New Mexico, from what I could hear of their condition in the South, that it was tending in that direction; I did not say it was the same.

Q. Yes?—A. And my opinion now is that the only chance of these people to escape from that condition is to leave the South.

Q. Their only chance, you think, is for them to leave the South?—A. Yes.

Q. What feature of their condition in the South and what circumstances of their condition resembles that of Mexican peonage?—A. Well, I will take the statement of Dr. A. C. Stephenson, of my county; his statement corresponds with what I have seen in the newspapers, and from what I have got from others. Dr. Stephenson is a well known gentleman, and that makes his statements of value. He says that the system of Mexican peonage is something like this: a man would become indebted to one of the wealthy men of that country, and would be unable to pay the debt.

Q. Yes?—A. Suit would be brought against him, and judgment rendered and the man's labor put up for sale.

Q. Yes?—A. The man to whom he was indebted would go down to the sale and buy in his labor at 25 cents a day; that is my recollection of the amount.

Q. Yes?—A. The labor of that man then belonged to the purchaser till the debt was liquidated at the rate of 25 cents a day. That man would go to work for him, and while working for him would, of course, contract another debt. These wealthy men all keep stores much as the Southern gentlemen do. By the time the man gets through the first debt he probably will have contracted a larger one than the first. And now suit is brought, and judgment would again be rendered against him.

Q. Yes?—A. And so on *ad infinitum*.

Q. Yes?—A. Until finally the man in despair would give up and resign himself to fate and become to all practical intents and purposes a slave.

Q. Well.—A. Now the resemblance to the condition of things in the South is this: Dr. Stephenson told me that he had learned from a gentleman in the South last winter—a most reliable man—who explained to him the method in which they deal with the colored man there; some facts concerning this. He said they treated these people, personally, with great kindness, because they found that they better way to get along with them. For instance, he said, Tom Brown would work for Mr. Smith, say. Mr. Smith would keep an account with Tom; and at the close of the season would settle up with him. Tom would go in and find himself credited with so many bales of cotton, so many bushels of corn, amounting to so much money. When he came to the debit side he would find charged against him a bushel of corn-meal one dollar, a barrel of flour ten dollars. Tom would say, "Massa, I didn't have no barrel of flour; no, I didn't get that; I didn't have no barrel of flour all the year." And Mr. Smith would say, "Well, Tom, you have been a good, faithful fellow, but you must have had a barrel of flour or it would not be down against you; but you have been a good, faithful man to me and I will strike that out." And he would take his pencil and strike through that item, but would leave it stand in the account, all the same.

Q. You have given enough, perhaps, to illustrate that system; now tell us where the Mexican peonage comes in, Mr. Langsdale?—A. Well, when they would settle up Tom would find himself indebted to this man.

Q. Exactly.—A. And if he could not pay the debt, Mr. Smith would sell what he had, move on his property, take his mule that he had probably charged him $100 for and sell it for $15.

Q. Well, don't you know that that is not so?—A. It is what Dr. Stephenson told me.

Q. But don't you know that there is a constitutional enactment in the State—a law which exempts every man's property in the State from seizure to the amount, of some $1,500 or to $2,000?—A. I do not know that; no, sir.

Q. Well, it is so in all the Southern States. It is in some cases $1,500 and in some $2,000 that they cannot attach a man's property for. And you pretend to say that the system of Mexican peonage resembles that, when you do not know the laws of the country you are slandering?—A. But you do not deny the conclusion that the condition of things in the South keeps growing worse and worse for the colored laborer.

Q. I do deny it; not one word of it is true; the majority of them have testified here that they are gradually acquiring property, every one of them.—A. Well, I have not talked with a single man from the South who did not say that his condition was growing worse, year by year.

Q. You have not talked with men that have told you the truth, then. They have been gradually acquiring property, and the tax lists show it.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. The evidence is, that in scarcely one in a hundred has it been real estate.

The WITNESS. They tell me that their condition has been growing worse and worse; that they have got more and more in debt, and that the only thing they can do is either to stay on indefinitely, and work for these men, or leave; and they concluded to leave.

I desire to say this: I think the men who have left the South know fully as much about their condition as any others; and their condition when they reached Indiana shows for itself. They came there in rags. They say that, for their life's work, all they have to show they have with them; and we know, from what we have seen, that they are not lazy men, but when they came they had nothing but rags to cover their backs. That shows they have been cheated out of their labor; it is at least good evidence of their telling the truth; and I think they know full as well why they came to Indiana as any men who know nothing about their case.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Just at this point, Mr. Langsdale. You quoted Mr. Charles Dunn pretty elaborately. You say that these people know their own condition; and while they know it better than others can, do you know that when Mr. Dunn left the South, in 1877, that he had married two women, and was indicted for bigamy, and had to leave the State to prevent his being put in jail; do you know that fact?—A. I know nothing about it, except that I was shown that letter. If that is the reason for his leaving North Carolina, I presume that for the same reason many white men would leave the State too. If he has taken up with some other woman in North Carolina, probably he has learned that from the example set him in the time of slavery.

Mr. VANCE. Mr. Langsdale, that is another slander, and I take the liberty of telling you so; it is a violent slander upon my State and people. There are forty divorces in your State to one in North Carolina.

The WITNESS. I was not speaking of divorces.

Mr. VANCE. But divorces for conjugal infidelity, sir. There were more divorces—dissolutions of the highest social tie—than runaway negroes from North Carolina, of the lowest social tie.—A. Well, in Indiana our people don't submit to anything of the kind; they get divorces; in North Carolina, they cannot do it.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 2, 1880.

WILLIAM MURRELL (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. At Delta, La.

Q. In what parish?—A. In Madison Parish.

Q. That is your present home?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your business?—A. Well, sir ——

Q. Have you a newspaper?—A. I did run a newspaper for several years, but it was suspended; I am not running it now.

Q. To get your evidence as directly as possible, I will ask if you have given attention to the condition of the colored people in the South, and to the causes of the exodus from that region to the North?—A. I think, sir, somewhat.

Q. Have you given any special attention to it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You may go on and state in such a way as briefly as you can to convey your idea what you understand to be the causes of their leaving?—A. To start with, the first notice I had taken of the colored people leaving Louisiana in my district—the Congressional district in which I live—the first notice I had taken of it when any great numbers were going was in March, 1878. The first colored man that left North Louisiana to my knowledge that I know anything about, to go to Kansas was a man by the name of George Washington, who lived on a plantation in my parish of Madison. I had just returned from New Orleans as a member of the legislature, and when I got back home in March I found the colored people, to my great surprise, in Madison Parish in a fearful uproar. They were getting ready to leave. I found seven hundred camped out on the banks of the river.

Q. Was that in 1878 or 1879?—A. In 1878; in March, 1878, that was.

Q. Two years ago?—A. Yes, sir; that would be two years ago this March.

Q. Are you not mistaken about that?—A. O, I beg pardon, I am mistaken; I will correct myself; it was March, 1879.

Q. That is what I thought. Well, go on.—A. I noticed on the morning I landed at Delta, a crowd of seven hundred colored people and the Rev. Curtis Pollard, a Baptist preacher, who had been State senator from that parish and district for eight years—that he was among the crowd. In company with Governor Pinchback and myself we went on the bank of the river to talk to these colored people. At that time I was bitterly opposed to the exodus; I was not in favor of the colored people leaving the State in such large numbers. I said if they could better their condition there was no objection, but there was objection to their leaving in such large numbers. I made a speech to them, and Governor Pinchback also did, asking them what was the matter. Well, there was one gentleman by the name of Mr. Shelby who mounted the stand, and made a speech, and in his speech said this: "Do you want us to stay here in Madison Parish when all around us there is a reign of terror, and our people have been dying and falling all around us?" That was about his language. "Well," said I, "up to this time we have not had any murders or outrages in Madison Parish." "Well," he said, "this Democratic legislature has called a constitutional convention, and as soon as another election is called for the State they will get into Madison, too, and we are going to flee from the wrath to come." That is the language of the man who made this speech.

Q. He was a sort of leader of the crowd, was he?—A. Yes; he was a leader and he carried them with him, too. Senator Pollard made a speech at that time.

Q. What was the result of the matter?—A. Well, they kept on leaving till about May.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Did these seven hundred go?—A. Every single one of them; sixteen hundred having left up to date from Madison Parish. There were sixty families left the other day a plantation known as the Mare's plantation; they left on the steamer Grant; some got off at Cairo; others of them went to Saint Louis. This kept up until the convention of white people, known as the Mississippi Valley convention, was held at Vicksburg. I was a delegate at that convention. When that convention met, they drafted resolutions and put them before the people. After this the exodus quieted down in my immediate vicinity for a while. The white people came out and made promises to our people that there should be no more bulldozing, murdering, or outrages, and they would see see that the colored people were paid their wages and treated right. I was a member of the committee that draughted the resolutions. A majority of those who attended that convention were old planters in the Mississippi Valley, some representing the wealth and intelligence of the valley.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. That convention was called, you say, for the purpose of stopping the exodus?—A. Yes, sir; it was called for that purpose. These pledges were made, and the exodus for a time stopped, until about the 25th of December, the last of December, 1879. Up to this time, they have been going away from that district in droves and squads—ten, fifteen, twenty, and as high as sixty from the different towns of Water Proof, Vidalia, San José, Delta, and Milliken's Bend—from all of those points on the river they have been leaving in small squads, and it has been the case to a great extent from my parish—more so than any other parish in that district. The reason they are leaving now—and they will all leave as soon as the weather gets a little warmer—the reason, in my opinion, for their leaving, and from what I know from the organization I am connected with in that district—the fifth Congressional district—and if I am to believe what preachers and the church people say, if this Baptist Association is a great power among the colored people there, my opinion is that by the first of June there will be an exodus from that district that will astonish the people of this country. You have not read of any exodus yet as there will be from that section this summer, and the reason of it is that for the first time since the war, in Madison Parish last December, we had bulldozing there; armed bodies of men came into the parish—not people who lived in the parish—but men from Ouachita Parish, and Richland Parish; and I can name the leader who commanded them; he was a gentleman by the name of Captain Tibbals, of Ouchita Parish, who lives in Monroe, who was noted in the celebrated massacre there in other times. His very name, among the colored people, is sufficient to intimidate them, almost. He came with a crowd of men on the 28th of December into Madison Parish, when all was quiet and peaceable. There was no quarrel, no excitement. We had always elected our tickets in the parish, and we had put Democrats on the ticket in many cases to satisfy them. There were only 238 white voters, and about 2,700 colored registered voters. From the Democratic standpoint the registered vote was 2,506, and only sixty white Republicans. We had always elected our ticket, and had peaceable and nice times. We had had a good government. The police jury had not been charged with misappropriating money or stealing, with the exception of one clerk of the court, a colored man, who was charged with being ineligible—not capable; that was about the only charge; and the courts have taken charge of that. That is about the only thing in Madison Parish since the war to create any feeling of any disturbing kind. Last December, when this crowd came in from Ouachita on the cars and divided themselves up into squads of fifteen and twenty-five, they rode all over the parish, catching some of the leading colored men—presidents of clubs—and whipping them, and in one instance there was an article appeared in the dispatches which said three colored men were hung and shot, and it proved afterwards that two of the men were alive. I am the responsible party for that dispatch. I am the one by which publicity was given to that dispatch, and the way that it got out wrong was that there was simply a misstatement in the names. Mr. Peck was never killed; nor Brown; but Mr. Armstrong was killed.

Q. Were the three killed?—A. No, sir. I think one was killed; but the other two were whipped. In the dispatch there was a mistake in the names, and that mistake got out in the newspapers; they got hold of it and published it wrong.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. What parish is it you speak of?—A. Madison Parish.

Q. Was it at the last election?—A. Yes; in the election last December. This colored man by the name of David Armstrong was at the election of Tuesday, the second day of December, and on Sunday——

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. The Sunday next preceding the election?—A. Yes, sir; on the Sunday before the election Mr. Armstrong, who was president of the Third Ward Republican's Club in the parish of Madison—that was one of the large clubs of the parish—was in Milligan's Bend. He stood very high with the merchants; was born and raised a slave on a plantation, and was a good, faithful man—what the white folks call "a good nigger." He was in Milligan's Bend on Sunday, and he made the remark, "What right have these white men to come here from Morehouse Parish, and Richland Parish, and Franklin Parish to interfere with our election?" And some white men heard of it, and got a squad by themselves and said, "We'll go down and give that nigger a whipping." So Sunday night, about ten o'clock, they went to his house to take him out and whip him. They saw him run out the back way, and fired on him. One in the crowd cried out, "Don't kill him!" "It is too late now," they said, "he's dead." The Carroll Conservative, a Democratic newspaper, published the whole thing; but the reason they did it was because we had one of their men on our ticket as judge, and they got sore about it, and we beat him. They killed Armstrong and took him three hundred yards to the river, in a sheet; threw him in the river and left the sheet in the bushes. That was the only man they killed in Madison Parish, although they had whipped several. When the day of the election came, the colored people—a majority of the leaders—were in Vicksburg, and most of the local leaders were in the woods, with their families; some sixty to seventy people from one plantation were in the woods, and they staid in the woods till these bulldozers disappeared, three days after the election.

That disturbed the people, made everything unsettled, and established a reign of terror. They are now moving away every chance they can get. Those that can get a dollar are going, and very many are walking away. That was the only disturbance since the war, when these men came in and whipped Charles King, a preacher and leading colored man there, who was president of a Republican club; they had taken him and whipped him.

Q. What was the character of the whipping?—A. They just took his breeches down and hit him fifty or sixty.

Q. What did they use to whip him with?—A. A raw-hide; sometimes they take hickory switches. For instance, they used the hickory on a man named Summers. They wounded one man, shot him in the knee, but he got away to Vicksburg; and all of the leaders were out of the parish in Vicksburg, hid away over there; things were so desperate on that side.

We knowed four or five days before that they would come into Madison Parish, and we went to two or three of the Democratic leaders in Madison Parish—to Governor Hawkins, my colleague in the legislature. We went with a committee appointed by the Republican executive committee and convention, to see if we could not make terms with the white people not to bring these men in. The white merchants and planters said they were opposed to all this, and did not know anything about it, and were not going to give any of their money to support such men; nevertheless, when they came in they did not say or do anything to prevent them, and just took a back seat and let them do their devilment and carry the parish. Therefore we did not have any confidence in them.

We waited on Mr. Holmes, the clerk of the court, and we said to him, "Mr. Holmes, it is not necessary to do any bulldozing here; you have the counting machinery all in your hands, and we would rather be counted out than bulldozed; can't we arrange this thing?" I made a proposition to him and said, "You know I am renominated on the Republican ticket, but I will get out of the way for any moderate Democrat you may name, to save the State and district ticket. We will not vote for your State ticket; you cannot make the colored people vote the State ticket; but if you will let us have our State ticket we will give you the local offices." We offered them the clerk of the court, not the sheriff, and the two representatives. We told him we would not give them the senator, but the district judge and attorney. After this interview Holmes sent us to Dr. Askew, ex-chairman of the Democratic committee, and he said to me, "Now, Murrell, there is no use talking. I advise you to stand from under. When these men get in here we can't control them. We like you well enough, and would not like to see you hurt. I will see you to-night at Mr. Holmes's." We had an interview with Mr. Holmes, and we made this proposition, and Holmes asked me this question: "Murrell, you know damned well the niggers in this parish won't vote the Democratic ticket; there's no use to tell me you will give us the clerk of the court; you know the niggers won't do it; you can't trust the niggers in politics; all your eloquence, and all the speeches you can make won't make these niggers vote this ticket that you suggest, even if we was to accept this. No, by God! Murrell, there's no use talking, we are going to carry this parish; we have found a way to carry it, there ain't no use talking any more about it. No, by God! we are going to carry it." I asked him, "How?" and he said, "Why, there's more eloquence in a double barreled shot-gun to convince niggers than there is in forty Ciceros!" That is just what he said, that there was more eloquence in a double barreled shot-gun to convince niggers than in forty Ciceros! I said to him, "Well, do you suppose the merchants and planters will back you up?" and he said, "O, by God! they have got nothing to do with it. We have charge of it—we three men; the Democratic committee have full power to work." "You have not nominated your ticket yet. Who is your ticket?" I asked. "O, you will see the morning of the election," and sure enough, the morning of the election they carried the parish by 2,300 majority, and not one in a dozen colored people voted at all.

Q. How many whites voted?—A. About 250; and the Democrats were split up among themselves. There is a class of white men there who are opposed to bulldozing, and they got up an independent ticket the night before the election, and there were three tickets in the field. I was on the Republican ticket, and there was the regular Democratic ticket and this independent Democratic ticket, and yet they managed to count 2,300 majority!

Q. On 200 votes they got 2,000?—A. Yes; the total white vote will not exceed 360, and they counted their majority 2,300. It is as true as Holy Writ, sir!

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Have you the official returns?—A. I have the official returns made by the bulldozers to the secretary of state; that is all the returns I have.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You mean that the total number of votes cast would not exceed 360?—A. Yes.

Q. And they returned how much majority?—A. 2,300 Democratic majority.

Q. And how many negroes voted?—A. Not more that eighty negroes voted at all.

Q. Not more than eighty?—A. No, sir; not more than that out of the whole colored population there.

Q. Was that the result of this bulldozing, or did it arise from some other local causes?—A. It was the bulldozing, sir, and they done their work fine. I told them that after it was over. I told them, "You fellows done your work fine." In fact, they overdone the thing. They made the returns out in one handwriting and then made that clerk resign and Nicholls to appoint a Democratic clerk, who gets charge of the clerk's office and fixes the returns up so that there could be no trace of the dark things done, and they cannot track them up. If you don't believe what I say, there is a life-long Democrat, a simon-pure Democrat, who will confirm every word of it. He has lived there forty years. Subpœna him and bring him on the stand, and he will tell you what I have told you. His name is J. C. Seals, the man who was the independent candidate for judge, and is now contesting for the office, or Kennedy is contesting rather; he is helping him; and Bradfield, the independent candidate in the county against the regular Democratic ticket for district attorney. It would be well to have these two men here to testify.

Q. What is Bradfield's name?—A. George Bradfield I believe his name is. He is at present the parish attorney there, or his time will be out some time this month. George J. Bradfield I think his name is. Mr. Seals told me the other day in New Orleans, before I came here—I had a conversation with him and said I, "Judge, they done things fine this time in Madison," and he replied, "Murrell, I tell you what, you done a wise thing not to stay at the election there; them fellows might have killed you; they were inquiring around for you; I think you done right to leave. Them damned scoundrels that murdered Armstrong was in the crowd that come in from Ouachita; they were that class of men." "Well," said I, "I am told that Major Lucas and them other men had nothing to do with this." "Well," he said, "they may not have had anything to do with it, but, by God, their money helped to pay the expenses of these men that got in."

Q. What is the rule as to these higher-toned Democrats who do not indulge in this bulldozing and massacring of the negroes; are they willing nevertheless to accept of the fruits of these outrageous proceedings, or do they protest against the whole thing and refuse to share in the results?—A. I was born and raised in Louisiana, and there are some Democrats in the State known as "Old Whigs," who were Whigs before the war, and, as a general thing, when you came across that class of Democrats they are inclined to be very fair. Whenever the colored people nominate a good, intelligent man on their ticket—an honest man—as a general thing they are inclined to favor him; they are disposed to favor their having their rights, and they are, as a general thing, fair.

Q. Who are these men—what class of men—that do the bulldozing?—A. The class of men that do the bulldozing are a set of men who enter the county for this very purpose, and none of them enter the county except they make money by murdering and bulldozing generally, and they would not come into these parishes unless their expenses were paid.

Q. Who pays their expenses?—A. They pay them so much while there. There is a class of rich men in the parish that pays the expenses of these men. I know one case of these bulldozers where they got mad, and I was told this—I don't say I saw this with my own eyes, but I was told of it—that these bulldozers went to a certain rich man of the parish and said, "By God, we have done the work, and now you have got to pay us, and if you don't settle up we will do to you as we done to the niggers!"

Q. Would these Democratic missionaries then go from one parish to another to carry on that sort of work?—A. Yes, sir. That class of men that come into these parishes don't own anything themselves. They live on peanuts and sweet potatoes and one thing and another in the place where they come from, and kill niggers occasionally!

Q. Have you ever known of any one being punished for that murder of Armstrong?—A. No, sir; not one. And then, another reason: The colored people have a secret organization known as the Colored Men's Protective Union, and after this bulldozing was all through, they held their little meetings quietly in the churches, and the thing was discussed by the colored people, and, ignorant as some of them are, they seemed to understand the situation better than their leaders. "Now," they said, "these men have done this and nobody is punished for it, and when they attempt to punish them the Democrats get possession of the courts and the bulldozing ticket is elected"; and one of them told us, "You might just as well sing psalms to a dead mule as to talk about punishing these men for the rascality and meanness they have done." They all passed resolutions that as soon as they could get away they would go in squads—some to Ohio, and some to Indiana, and some to Kansas, and some have gone to Arkansas.

Q. When was that Vicksburg convention held that made these pledges?—A. On the 6th of May, 1879.

Q. Did that convention attempt, by pledges, to correct the evils that this bulldozing had caused?—A. Yes; they admitted that there had been so many sins of this kind committed, and they got up some whitewashed resolutions.

Q. Have you a copy of the proceedings?—A. No, sir; not with me now.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Can't you get a copy in the city here, so that we may put it in the record?—A. I do not think I can. It was held in Vicksburg, Miss., on the 6th of May, last year.

The following was furnished by the witness:

THE VICKSBURG CONVENTION.

In last Saturday's Picayune there appeared an able and eminently practical address to the Vicksburg Labor Convention, which, replete with assured purpose and wise counsel relative to the exodus movement and the remedy for its cessation, in absolute and uniform justice, had, we doubt not, very much to do in determining the action of that body. This address, issued by such eminent Southern leaders as ex-Governor Foote, General Tyler, son of ex-President Tyler, and Colonel Burwell, of this city, profoundly affected the convention and, as we have indicated, largely influenced its deliberations. We subjoin the concluding portions.

* * * * * *

If these great interests regard their own welfare in this perversion of labor, they would by no means treat it with indifference or permit the question to pass into a sectional issue. They would do all in their power to reconcile the difficulties and differences of the Southern people, and contribute to the content and reciprocal employment of the laboring classes North and South. It only remains, therefore, for the undersigned to respectfully tender, through this important and responsible assembly, whatsoever influence they themselves and the class which they represent may possess or be able to exercise in reconciling this great conflict of interest amongst their own fellow-citizens. It is with this motive they proceed to inquire how may this exodus be arrested? How may this population be reconciled and reinstated?

In entering upon the consideration of this question, it is proper to premise that this object cannot be effected by the general declarations of legislatures or conventions, howsoever solemn, imposing and sincere may be the circumstances under which they may be promulgated. Upon a perusal of the guarantees already given, it willgbe seen that nothing in human language more comprehensive or conclusive than these ouarantees could have been uttered. They have utterly failed of their object. It would be an useless waste of time to repeat them. The only means by which this exodus may be counteracted must be by the people themselves in social council assembled. They must decide whether this labor is wanted. If such be their conviction they must employ toleration, justice, and kindness to secure this object.

1. The people can alone enforce these legitimate agencies for the restoration and maintenance of satisfactory relations between the employer and the employé. This will involve no concession of opinion on any subject, but a resolute determination on the part of all to execute these guarantees and to arrest by an expostulation which cannot be disregarded any demonstrations of violence, injustice, or persecution on the part of any persons whatsoever.

2. It will be the further duty of society to provide for all unemployed white young men and women such occupations as will exercise their energies, reward their industry, and secure them an honorable independence. Among the many avenues of usefulness open to the young men may be mentioned the noble profession of navigation, with various mechanical pursuits. These, with the application of science and the employ-

ment of improved agencies, will dignify every industry by the intelligence required to conduct it.

3. To the young women may be assigned such employments as enables the sex in other countries to contribute to the support of society instead of constituting a sacred and responsible charge upon the industry of others. Such provisions will at least relieve the young people of the South from an enforced idleness that is rather a reproach upon those who should think for them than upon themselves, who have neither the capital nor the instruction to resort to new and needed industries.

4. The system indicated would require polytechnic and technical institutions and an organized public department for the encouragement of navigation and manufactures.

5. The development of popular intelligence and morality by schools and churches sufficient to reach all the ignorance and iniquity in the land.

6. The acquisition by all, but by the colored population especially, of small farms and holdings, with the cultivation of crops on the share of tenant account rather than by predial labor. It has never been and cannot well be that the gang laborer of the farm, the ship, the mine, or the itinerant toil of the journeyman tramp can be respectable. The hostage of a home is the best guaranty that can be given of good citizenship. It is indispensable to localize the colored population to protect themselves and society from the rapidly compounding demoralization of successive generations, raised without homes and exposed to the worst influences. The repeal of all exceptional inducements to political employment, thus divesting political contest of any undue motive to restrict, corrupt, or intimidate the voter.

7. The organization of an acclimated marine for the purpose of conducting the equatorial and tropical trade of the Union through the port of New Orleans, and of perhaps rendering unnecessary any quarantine blockade whatever. This will involve the establishment of national stations recruiting acclimated seamen, with the organization of a Southern carrying trade.

8. The introduction of separate cotton mills, for the purpose of employing white and colored female industry, so as to export more of the cotton wrought instead of raw, as at present.

Such is a schedule of the measures in principal which we deem necessary for restoring the trust of labor in capital, for defeating the designs of our industrial or political competitors, and for solving the serious problem of disorganized and disaffected labor which now presents itself.

Whether this exodus continue or subside into a complaint of discontented and itinerant labor, the policy recommended is none the less important. It will gradually effect the transition from slave culture to a system of mixed industries and small holdings, popular intelligence, and public order. It will assure the ultimate assimilation of the colored race to the common interests, development, and defense of the Southern people. Such an organized transition will preserve the standard of civilization maintained by the Southern people before the war, and will enable them to occupy that position in the Union and among the enlightened peoples of the world to which the worth and energies of their race entitles them. Such is the object of the undersigned, and such alone the motive which induced them to address the convention.

Respectfully,

WM. M. BURWELL,
JOHN TYLER, JR.,
H. S. FOOTE,
For themselves and others.

NEW ORLEANS, *May* 1, 1879.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. They promised you that these evils should be stopped, did they?—A. Yes; they made pledges that the colored people should be protected in their rights, and that they would see that they got their wages for their labor, and promised to rent them lands at reasonable prices, and sell them lands whenever they were able to buy. And just as I told them in my speech, that we wanted less promises and more practical operations, and that unless they put their promises into operation they would not amount to anything, so it turned out. For, instead of keeping their promises, these men came right across the river from where the convention was held, and established a reign of terror in Madison Parish.

Q. And this bulldozing followed?—A. Yes, sir; from the 28th day of November up to the 5th day of December the bulldozers in the parish of Madison had full control of the parish.

Q. And the result has been that they are going to leave?—A. Yes; they are going to leave, world without end! You have not seen any exodus yet; O, no!

Q. Does the condition of things in that parish among the colored people affect other parishes there?—A. Well, the murder of these men in Tensas Parish at the last Congressional election down there in 1878, when John Floyd King was elected to Congress from that district—the murdering of these men——

Q. How many were murdered there?—A. About seventy-five were murdered in the parish of Tensas during the Fairfax and Peck scrape—I guess you have read of it. There was in the parish of Tensas about seventy-five men killed—in Tensas and Concordia together.

Q. Were they all colored men, or colored and white both?—A. They were colored.

Q. Were no white men killed?—A. Not over two at the highest. Peck was killed—shot in Mr. Fairfax's house. And, by the way, Governor Nicholls said in his message to the legislature, when it met, that he condemned the action of Mr. Peck—that he was wrong to go to Mr. Fairfax's house, and it was to be regretted, and the Democrats got mad at him for saying that much, and got rid of him as soon as possible.

Q. Was anybody punished for the Tensas outrages?—A. They arrested some of them, and had a sort of mock examination, and sent them back on their bonds, and some of them went back to whipping negroes again. In that Tensas massacre three-fourths of them that were killed were my friends—good friends of mine—whom I was acquainted with, and I can give you the names of some of them that were killed. One of these men I saw hanging in the swamp there. My wife was in Saint Joe at the time of the disturbance, and I was in town during the time. The yellow fever was about, and I helped the Howard Association. The yellow fever was about in my town, the reason I did not go up. It is about forty miles from my town to the town of Saint Joe. It is the parish-seat, Saint Joe is, of Tensas Parish. These colored men were killed in Tensas Parish, and my friends that I spoke of, that I am personally acquainted with, are in the parish of Tensas.

There was Doc. Smith; he was killed in 1878. I saw Doc. Smith as he was hanging there, as I went through the swamp. He was hanging up a tree, with a bran-new grass rope around him. And there was another man hanging by the side of him, by the name of William Hunter. I was not acquainted with Hunter, but I knowed Smith and recognized him. I went on up the plantation there, and I asked some colored men why they did not cut the poor fellows down and bury them, and they said to me, "Why these white folks said that if any man attempted to cut them down and bury them they would be treated the same way." I was told afterwards that some white farmer had sent some colored men and had them taken down and buried them. And no one will deny this—even the Democrats won't deny that themselves.

Now, these men were killed in Tensas Parish, only thirty-five to forty miles from my town. This of course excited the colored people in my parish at that time. And they proved to be good prophets. They said it was only the question of another election, and they would reach Madison, too. And their prophecies came too true. Now, in the parish of Concordia, during all of this same trouble, they killed Hymus Wilson, and Wash. Hillson, and John Robinson, and Charles Cornell, and Peter Young. These men are now dead. They were killed during that time.

Q. What were they killed for?—A. Well, you know it was near the Congressional election, and the Democrats said they were going to carry

Tensas. Tensas was the banner Republican parish, and Concordia is the third, my parish of Madison is next; and the Democrats said they were going to carry the Congressional district, and it didn't make any difference what it cost, they were going to carry it. And these men from Catahoula and men from Mississippi came over there, five or six companies of them, well drilled and well armed and equipped. And I will tell you here, now, that the white people in Louisiana are better armed and equipped now than during the war, and they have a better standing army now in the State of Louisiana than was ever known in the State, and I defy any white man in Louisiana, Democrat or Republican, to deny that assertion. We have brigadiers all over the State, and we have not got a ragged corporal and not a colored militia company in all the State, not one. And we have an excellent army there. You see them parade the streets of New Orleans with their gray uniforms on, and with their improved Winchester rifles and their Gatling guns, and they have now got everything except the rebel flag—even to the gray uniform.

Q. Why do not the colored people get arms to defend themselves?—A. We are going to get arms. The State authorities will not give them; and the white people are not armed under the authority of the State and appropriation from the State government. They have got rifle companies in every parish and every town in the State of Louisiana. They are well organized with rifle companies. We had a secret meeting among the colored people to decide for ourselves whether we would resist these men that were coming in or not; whether we would make a fight or not to defend ourselves against them; and out of eight hundred colored men assembled in this meeting we discussed the question whether we would arm ourselves with such arms and buy ammunition to defend ourselves in case it was necessary, and it was a fact that we could not buy any powder. And whenever these men got ready to come you can always tell—they put out what we call "a feeler"; the white people begin to talk this way; they say "The negroes are going to burn the white folks' gin-houses; a massacre will come; the negroes are getting ready to burn our gin-houses." And whenever you hear that kind of talk our people understand and know very well that they are fixing to come. That is the excuse they make beforehand.

Well, we held this meeting to decide——

(The hour for adjournment of the committee having come, witness was cut short in his examination.)

Adjourned to Saturday, April 3, 1880.

THIRTY-SIXTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 3, 1880.

Committee met this day at 10.30 a. m. Present Messrs. Voorhees (chairman), Vance, Windom, and Blair.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Mr. Murrill, when the committee adjourned yesterday, you were speaking about a meeting that the colored men held in Madison Parish; go on, and finish what you were saying in regard to that.—Answer. Yes, sir; we held a meeting in Madison Parish, when we heard that those bulldozers from adjacent parishes were coming in there to bulldoze us; we held a meeting of colored men. The purpose of the meeting was to take into consideration a proposition that had been made by some of the leading colored men, whether to resist the bulldozers or not. The question was, whether to ask some of the better class of white men in Madison Parish to join us in resisting these bulldozers, who, we had been informed, were about to come in on us from the other parishes. We held that meeting in a swamp, known as the Hackett Swamp, in the woods. About eight hundred colored men were present at that meeting.

Q. How far was that from the town?—A. It was about six miles from the town of Delta. At that meeting the leaders discussed the proposition as to whether to resist the white men or not. Some of the leaders seemed anxious to have a committee appointed to wait upon some of the better class of white men, and see whether they would act with us, and arm themselves, and resist these men—these bulldozers—in case they should come, as it had been reported they would. But after some speeches on that side by colored men of our parish, some colored men from other parishes, that had been bulldozed before our parish was, got up and made speeches on the other side of the question. They said that in their parishes, that they had lived in before emigrating into Madison Parish, that thing had been tried, and that it was utterly useless to do anything of that kind; it would turn out just as it had turned out before.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. How did they say it had turned out before?—A. They said if we appointed a committee to ask the white men to help resist the bulldozers, the word would go out that the negroes were arming themselves, and were preparing to rise and murder the white people, and the white people would come in from Vicksburg, and Yazoo City, and Natchez, and other cities; the steamboats and the railroads would bring them in upon us by thousands, as on one occasion before, when an old unpleasantness occurred, and not a colored man in the crowd would be left to tell the tale. They said there was no use of talking about resistance; we had nothing to fight with, while the bulldozers had the best guns to be had in all the country—the best made anywhere. They said it was of no use asking the white people to help us, for that would only give publicity to the fact that we had held a meeting, and were talking about resisting; that the whites would misconstrue our purpose, even if we appealed to the better class of white people, while it would give the other class the very excuse the bulldozers wanted for coming in on us. The telegraph operators would get hold of it and would send it abroad all over the country that the negroes were rising and preparing to murder all the white people; but the facts in the case, if they got them, they would never send them. It was of no use talking about resistance; we had had a very sad experience of that thing all through the State of Louisiana; the more resistance the more colored men were killed—that was all there was of that. It was all nonsense to talk about resisting the white people, especially in Louisiana, where there was so much odds against us. There was not, it is true, a majority of white people in our immediate vicinity, but the white people would double in on us from the other parishes all around us, and the result would be not one colored man would be left to tell the tale; so it was concluded not to make any resistance, nor to ask the white people, nor any part of them, to help us against the bulldozers. But it was agreed that we should submit a proposition, and see whether they would accept it, to give them the local ticket. The meeting then adjourned, with the understanding that everybody should go home peaceably, and do nothing that the white people could take any exception to, or that would furnish any excuse for the bulldozers to come in onto us.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Who was shot at that time?—A. Armstrong—David Armstrong.

Q. Was he present at that meeting?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was his position in that meeting?—A. He was one of the leaders from his ward.

Q. Well, go on with your statement; what next occurred?—A. We went home from the meeting with the understanding that we would do nothing that could be construed into an excuse for the bulldozers coming in onto us. We appointed a committee; this committee was appointed to act for the Republicans of the parish. They were to see—this committee was—the better class of white men, and ask them to accept certain positions on the local ticket, the parish ticket, in order to defeat this bulldozing ticket, the ticket the bulldozers were going to put up. No convention of the Democratic party had been held yet; the Democrats had never put up a ticket—that is, hardly ever—until this election. There was simply a remnant of the Democratic party in the parish. I was on that committee to consult with the better class of white men, and Governor Hawkins, and several others. We went and asked Dr. Askew, who was ex-president of the executive committee of the Democratic party of the parish—we asked him to accept the position on the local ticket of clerk of the court. He agreed to accept, providing we would put one white man whom he named—Judge Burns—for member of the House of Representatives. I agreed to withdraw as the nominee of the Republican party, and have Judge Burns put upon the ticket in my place, in order thereby to have a peaceable election, and save the State ticket. All we cared for was the State ticket and the district ticket; we were willing to give up the local ticket for the sake of peace. Dr. Askew said to me that he would go and have a consultation with the leading Democrats, and see if the matter could be arranged in this way. He went to see the leading Democrats, and after came to tell me the result of his consultation. In his interview with me he said, "Murrill, it's no use talking; these fellows want to carry the parish on the State ticket; they want the State and the district ticket too." I said, "You are asking too much; there is no use of our trying to get the colored men to vote for a Democratic governor, or for a Democratic Congressman, or for a Democratic President; but on the local ticket we might get some of them, maybe the most of them, to vote a mixed ticket." He said, "If you all meet and nominate me for clerk of the court, and Judge Burns for the House of Representatives, I think this thing can be settled." And then he went out home, at Tolulu. We thought we would see whether we could get the colored men of the parish to accept this condition, though we thought it was pretty hard. But almost anything was better than the bulldozers. So we called a convention.

The day before the convention was to be held, one of the Democrats, who was then at work getting ready to bring these bulldozers in from the other parishes—corresponding with these men all the time—he came to me and said, "See here, Murrill, I hear that you are going to have another convention." I said, "Yes; another convention will meet here to-morrow." He said, "Let me tell you something, Murrill; if you nominate one white man on that ticket, I would not give that (snapping his fingers) for your life." You see, the bulldozers had heard that we were going to put up a ticket which would bring the better element of the white people to that ticket. He said, "Let that ticket stand just as they made it." He said, "By God, I tell you for your own good, if you put a single white man on that ticket, we shall hold you personally responsible; for you can put a stop to this thing if you choose." I said, "I am not the people; I am not the convention." He said, "You need not try any evasions; we shall hold you personally responsible; if that convention to-morrow puts one white man on the ticket, I would not give that for your life" (again snapping his fingers).

I went and had a conversation with Governor Hawkins, my colleague in the legislature. Said he, "This looks rather desperate. Here is one class of white men who say that they want this ticket; and here is another class who say that if we do put up this ticket it will be dangerous for us. We are between two fires, and it is hard to say what is best to do." The air was full of rumors. The statement had gone out that the bulldozers were coming, and the colored people were looking for them every minute. I said, "I shall not have anything to do with it. I will withdraw, and have nothing whatever to do with it." Then I went to Mr. Crandall, one of the members of the Democratic committee, and said, "Crandall, I am out of this fight. I do not propose to be killed for the sake of position. If the convention meets to-morrow and nominates a compromise ticket, do not hold me responsible."

The next day the colored men came into town there, but they did not meet—they did not hold any convention, did not nominate any ticket.

The consequence was, that on the 28th of November last, the 27th or 28th, I do not remember exactly which, they came in. When the cars came in, they came in a way that was something unusual. The cars stopped at the court-house, about three miles below the city, and these men got off, the first company, at the court-house, and established their camps at the court-house. It was Captain Tibbals, with a company of men from Washita Parish, Richland Parish, and Franklin Parish.

By Mr. Blair:

Q. How many?—About a hundred and twenty-five men, in the first company. We, up in town, knew that something unusual was up, for the cars hardly ever stopped at the court-house. We could hear the cars when they whistled and blowed down there, and we wondered what it all meant. An old colored man, who came up on the cars, when they came from the court-house to the town of Delta, came to me, very much scared, and said, "Murrill, the white folks at the court-house have all got guns; something is wrong!" Then I met Mr. Joseph, who is keeping a store in Delta. He testified here the other day, I believe, and he told me that they had brought the police jury in with them. It was the strangest thing in the world that they should bring in the police jury with them. They had been out in the parish and got the Republican police jury; at least, it was Republican in the main. We elected two Democrats on the police jury, and four Republicans. We always gave the Democrats a representation in the parish. For president of the police jury we elected a man who had always been looked upon as being a mild and conservative man. These men had him with them.

The law requires that before the police jury convenes, at least ten days' notice shall be given; and also that notice of elections and the places of holding elections shall be given thirty days before election, and that no changes of polling places shall be made within thirty days before election; and that the commissioners shall not be changed without thirty days' notice. When these men came in they brought the police jury with them; and they convened the police jury about five o'clock that afternoon. Nobody knew that the police jury was going to meet that day. Crandall and another of the leading Democrats there, who were not members of the police jury, stated that they wanted the polling places changed. So the polling places were changed. Then they changed commissioners, and made my opponent one of the commissioners of election. When the election come off he came out with a larger majority than there pere veters in the entire parish; that is the way they returned it. The police jury changed polling places in that meeting that night; and they changed commissioners of election. When the police jury adjourned *sine die*, two of the colored members were to stay there until election. I asked one of them what he came in for. "Come in," said he, "they came and got me!" I said, "Did you vote for all they said?" He said, "Yes; we *got* to do it, I tell you."

The election was held on the 2d day of December. On the 11th the police jury changed polling places and changed commissioners. The Republicans always gave the Democrats a minority representation; we gave them one commissioner at each poll; we published the polling places, and the people all knew where they were. They changed polling places, and made the police jury change commissioners of election. They made three Democrats commissioners of election and the clerk. They gave us no commissioner at all.

Q. Not in the entire parish?—A. No; not in the entire parish; they changed every polling place and every commissioner.

Q. How many commissioners were there at each polling place?—A. Three; and one clerk. They made all three of the commissioners Democrats at each polling place; they occasionally gave us Republicans a clerk; but when they did give us a Republican clerk it was generally from that class of Republicans who had been controlled by and working with the Democrats all the time; so that we might as well have had nothing at all.

Q. What followed next?—A. Two members of the police jury came over to Vicksburg that night. I said it is now only about three or four days to the election, and the people do not know where the polling places are, and do not know who the commissioners are. He said it was not necessary that they should know, for the Democrats were going to carry the election anyhow in that parish. After they did that they went to the stable of a man named Roletta, who keeps a stable in town, and pressed into service his horses and mules. They divided into squads of fifteen or twenty. One of the squads went out to the house of a colored man named Charles King, near Tolulu, and gave him a good whipping; made a good negro out of him, as they said. Then they went up to Milliken's Bend, on Saturday night; Monday and Tuesday the election was. On Saturday night they went to Milliken's Bend. David Armstrong was at Milliken's Bend. They said he had been talking a deal too much; he had said that men from other parishes had no business nor right interfering in the affairs of our parish. They say they went to give him a whipping; but instead of whipping him they killed him. After the killing of Armstrong, here is what followed: As I said in my testimony yesterday, I was responsible for the statement that appeared in the Associated Press dispatches that three men had been killed, when it turned out that only one of them was killed. I will now state what followed next, so that you will see just how it got into the papers that Armstrong, Peck, and Brown were killed, when it turned out that Brown and Peck were not killed, but Armstrong *was* killed. After Armstrong was killed about forty of the colored leaders in the parish went to Vicksburg—ran away. Those that didn't go to Vicksburg went into the woods and hid there; a great many, as many as one-fifth of all the colored people of the parish, were in the woods, and staid there three or four days, while the bulldozers went around whipping such as they could find that had taken any prominent part in politics.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What year are you talking about?—A. I am talking about the last general election in Louisiana in the fall of 1879. After they went to Milliken's Bend and killed this man Armstrong, the most of the leaders of our colored club, about forty in number, went to Vicksburg, while others went into the woods. Judge Price was over there; he is a colored lawyer, and was then candidate for district attorney of our district. They told him about the killing of Armstrong. They told him that Peck and Brown were also killed. I had left for New Orleans. I went down there for the purpose of seeing the governor and laying the facts before him, and finding out whether anything could be done. When I got to New Orleans, however, I did not see the governor; I changed my mind. I will tell you the reasons after a while. Here is a letter I received next day; it was brought me by the porter on a sleeping car running between Vicksburg and New Orleans. Judge Price says:

> Dave Armstrong was hung at Maransas Sunday night. R. H. Brown was reported hung on Monday night. Peck was whipped and stretched Monday night. Both Whittens, Bill Johnson, John Hudson, William Allen, Bryant Moore, and twenty others were run off, and are now here in Vicksburg. Jim Smith, A. J. Smith, and others were run off; Bobé and Hawkins have gone to New Orleans. There are four of the bulldozers over here looking for me and Bobé to-day.
>
> Our parish has been counted by over a thousand Democratic majority. Those fellows went to Bridewells's house and forced him to give up the tickets or be hung; he is here. We did not poll a hundred votes in the second ward. They counted three hundred and seventy-five.
>
> It is terrible here. They are sworn to kill you and Bobé, so Milt. has just told me. You better stay in New Orleans.
>
> PRICE.
>
> P. S.—I hear they paid my house two visits.

The way that dispatch got into the papers, that Peck and Brown were killed, was this: when I got to New Orleans, of course the news of the condition of affairs in Madison Parish had reached the city, and the newspapers hunted me up to have an interview. I never allow newspaper men to interview me, because down there they do not report me correctly; I refused to say anything to anybody, except to the correspondent of the National Republican; I showed him Judge Price's letter to me, the original letter, and he copied Price's letter; and so it got into the papers and into the Associated Press dispatches that Armstrong and Peck and Brown were killed, when in reality Peck and Brown were not killed, though Armstrong was. I was very sorry that it happened as it did. One of the Democrats who was mixed up in the matter said to me: "Murrill, that dispatch sent off in regard to that letter Price wrote you has done the Democrats more good than anything that could have happened; after all the ado, Brown and Peck are not killed; and the contradiction has been sent all over the country, and the people will not believe anything now." I said to him, "Nevertheless, that does not cover up the murder of Armstrong; he is dead; those bulldozers killed him, and you will agree that that is not right." Yesterday one of the Senators asked of me a copy of the proceedings of the Mississippi Valley convention, held in Vicksburg last May by the white people of the Mississippi Valley and some of the colored people. I have, since giving my evidence yesterday, procured a copy of the proceedings of that convention, which I will hand in as part of the testimony.

(The document referred to will be found in the appendix.)

Q. When and where was that convention held?—A. At Vicksburg, Miss., on the 5th and 6th of May, 1879.

Q. Were you a member of that convention?—A. I was a member of that convention. I desire to read to you a resoulution which was adopted by that convention. The resolution to which I refer was a pledge made by the white people of the convention to the colored people, in which they said:

> *Resolved*, That to this end the members of this convention pledge themselves to use whatever of power and influence they possess to protect the colored race against all dangers in respect to the fair expression of their wills at the polls, which they apprehend may result from fraud, intimidation, or bulldozing, on the part of the whites.

Of course that is an acknowledgment that the colored people *did* "apprehend" these things. The resolution goes on to say:

> And as there can be no liberty of action without freedom of thought, they demand that all elections shall be fair and free, and that no repressive measures shall be employed by the colored people to deprive their own race in part of the fullest freedom in the exercise of the highest right of citizenship.

There was no sense in bringing that last remark in there, for I never knew or heard of the colored men in Louisiana attempting to deprive a colored man of the right to vote in any way he wanted to.

In this resolution, adopted by the white people at Vicksburg, they pledged themselves to give the colored people free and fair elections. That was in May. As soon as November came, in the parish at Madison, right across the river from Vicksburg, in sight of the people of Vicksburg, this bulldozing was carried on; and the white people of Vicksburg who claimed to have the interests of the colored people so much at heart, and the interests of the Mississippi Valley at heart, stood there and without lifting a hand allowed a reign of terror to be established in that parish, and allowed colored people to be run out of the parish, if they did not actually take part in the whippings and intimidations, simply in order to carry the local ticket and half the Democratic State ticket.

Q. How came those pledges to be made? Were there complaints in the convention of these cases of outrage?—A. Up to the time of this convention the colored people were leaving the Mississippi Valley in such large numbers that the white people deemed it proper to call a convention to see what could be done to put a stop to the exodus.

Q. They understood that the colored people were leaving on account of the bulldozing and outrages that were committed upon them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the resolution which you have read was in response to those complaints?—A. Yes, sir; they acknowledge, in one part of the resolutions, that the cause of the colored men leaving was this bulldozing; then they came around with a white-washing resolution, talking about the exodus being caused in part by incendiary parties fooling the colored people by promises of forty acres of land and a mule if they would go to Kansas. Why, that is all nonsense; you could not find a colored man in the most benighted part of the South to believe any such story as that. The negro is ignorant enough, thanks to the white man whose interest it has been to keep them so, but there are none of them so ignorant as that.

Q. Did you ever hear of any such inducements as that being offered to negroes?—A. Never. The first colored man who left our parish was

George Washington, a very wealthy colored man; he sold his land, and mules, and wagons, and other property at a great sacrifice, and went to Kansas. After he had been there awhile he wrote a letter back to Adolphus Prince, a colored field-hand in Madison Parish; he wrote that he was in a place called Wyandotte, Kans.; he advised Price to get out of Louisiana and come to Kansas. He said, "They do not kill negroes here for voting. I am living here as happy as a lark. You can buy land at from a dollar and a half to two dollars an acre." Then Adolphus Prince went out there, and sent back letters to his friends, telling them to come out to Kansas; then the colored men held a meeting, and those letters were read in that meeting. I went to that meeting. It was the better class of colored people that were leaving. I went out and made speeches against their going, and tried to reason with them. And then I found out one thing that was very peculiar—one thing that I would not have believed if I had not seen it—those who had been leading these colored people in political matters could not lead them any more when it came to this matter; the colored people would not pay any attention to them whatever.

By Mr. **BLAIR**:

Q. The political leaders of their own race?—A. Yes, sir; the political leaders of their own race. I had been leading them since the war, in a manner, but they would not trust me at all when it came to the exodus movement. This is the mysterious part of it. I never could understand it. I tried all I could to keep them from rushing off to Kansas; from selling everything they had at no matter what sacrifice, and going away into a country that they knew nothing about; but, Lord of Heavens, I might as well have been singing psalms to a dead mule!

By Mr. **WINDOM**:

Q. Have you ever heard of the organization to which the witness Adams referred to, which he says numbers ninety thousand colored men, who will not let a politician into it?—A. Yes, sir; there are fifteen thousand in the district in which I live; and they will not take a politician in.

Q. Wouldn't they take you in?—A. No, sir; they got the idea into their heads that we wanted them to stay there in order that they might vote for us. One of them said to me, "You want us to stay here in order to vote you into office."

Q. Have you changed your mind in reference to the propriety of colored people going to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; since last December, I have changed my mind. When they came to my door, to the door of my own house, and committed such outrages, then I gave up all hope. As I said to one white man of the parish who knew me, "It is of no use talking; the best thing the negro can do now is to get out of the State and teach these white people a lesson." This thing of bulldozing from one parish to another, of whipping and murdering, has got to stop. Now I withdraw all I have ever said against leaving that country, and I pray God to forgive me for ever opposing the exodus. But I fear it is one of the sins that God will not forgive me for, in the last great day. After the way the negroes have been treated, the best thing they can do is to quietly get away in squads—as quietly as possible, and as soon as possible. I think they ought not to go to the same place in too large numbers. I should say a thousand to California, a thousand to Illinois, or wherever they can find comfortable homes—anywhere in God's world except Louisiana. After the pledges made by the white people of the

South in that convention, we thought, some of us—I thought at least—that it was best to try once more, and see whether the two races could not get along together in the South. The men who figured in that convention are the wealth and respectability of the Mississippi Valley; they are the aristocracy of Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Alabama, and other Southern States. In the face of their pledges, solemnly made in that convention, they looked on and saw us whipped and murdered, and driven from our homes; some of them undoubtedly helped to do it, or encouraged those who did it, and we do not propose to trust them again. It is the last time. Now we will take ourselves beyond their reach.

Q. How far is it from Madison Parish to the place where this convention was held?—A. The convention was held at Vicksburg, which is on the opposite side of the river from Madison Parish—right across the river, hardly a mile away.

Q. Is it the feeling generally that all confidence is lost? Is the feeling of desperation such as you expressed general among the colored men, or not?—A. Yes, sir. I will give you a few words from a speech from one of the leaders in the movement, in opposition to a speech of mine. He said: "Mr. Murrill comes and tells us that it is unwise to go to Kansas. Now, we remember that when Nicholls was nominated for governor, he said, in his speech at the Baton Rouge convention, that he would see that the negro got his rights and was afforded protection. When outrages were perpetrated under Republican rule, we were told that when the Democrats got possession of the State all that would be stopped. Now the Democrats have got possession of the State, has got the governor and State offices, and murders and outrages are worse than they were under Republican rule." That is what he said, and it is true. Governor Nicholls, the Democratic governor, and the Democratic legislature, have failed to protect us.

The legislature that has just adjourned has called a new constitutional convention. The colored people have great fears in regard to this constitutional convention. They fear that when this constitutional convention assembles it will pass such oppressive laws that the negroes cannot live in the State any longer. As has been well expressed by a witness who has been already on the stand, they are fleeing from the wrath to come. They remember that the white people passed a joint resolution, which was approved by the governor of the State and the presiding officers of both houses, and put upon the statute books of the State, pledging protection to the colored people; and on top of that, they allowed these outrages, but a few months after pledging to the colored people all the rights granted them under the amendments to the constitution—one of the bloodiest outrages that ever blotted the pages of history, blackened the soil of earth, or roused the wrath of heaven. It was not only allowed by them, but led by an organized force under the command a man who now, in consequence of that gigantic crime, represents Louisiana in the councils of this nation.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Whom do you mean?—A. J. Floyd King.

Q. What would be the effect on the exodus of the election of a Democratic President next fall?—A. Why, sir, if a Democratic President should be elected next fall, there would be such an increase in the exodus that what has already occurred would not be worth making any note of at all. And it would go on, and increase until there was not a negro left to tell the tale, in all the State of Louisiana. For they do actually believe that if the Democrats get into power in the nation again, if they are not actually put back into slavery, they will pass such oppressive laws that we shall wish we were back in slavery. If the Democrats of the South want us to stay in the South, as they claim, it would be better for them to vote for a Republican.

Q. Then these people in Indiana, who are so terrified about a couple of hundred colored people coming into their State, will not be apt to gain anything in the way of keeping them out, by helping to elect a Democratic President?—A. No, sir; they wouldn't gain anything—not a thing.

Q. How can the exodus be stopped, in your judgment; or can it be stopped at all?—A. I do not think it can be stopped now, in Louisiana, for this reason: It has come to be a by-word with the colored people there that "you can't trust white folks." Every pledge the white people have ever made they have gone back on.

Q. That is what they believe, is it?—A. Yes, sir; that is what they really believe. After the Vicksburg convention there was a very good feeling among the colored people in the parish of Madison. It did, to a great extent, stop the exodus, for a while. The feeling was growing very pleasant between the two races. But right on top of that came these November and December outrages again.

Q. Even if the colored people are well treated in a certain parish, there is no security that the bulldozers from outlying parishes will not come in upon them?—A. Not at all. In some of the parishes of Louisiana there are very good white people; but the colored people look upon them as being accessories before and after the fact; because they all sit quietly and see these men come in from other parishes, and do not attempt to drive them out, or to protect the colored people against them.

Q. Is it customary, is it the rule, to borrow bulldozers, as it were, from adjacent counties, to arrange that these outrages shall be committed by men residing in other parishes, in order to avoid identification and shirk responsibility?—A. That is always in order, sir, especially just before elections.

Q. Have any bulldozers ever been sent into your parish from other parishes?—A. Yes, sir; that was what led to our holding that meeting to discuss the question of resisting these men who threatened to come into our parish. In 1873, I think it was, there was a row over in Vicksburg between the Republican officials and the Democrats; at that time it was reported that the negroes in Madison Parish were arming themselves to come over. No such thing was thought of. The report was that I, as colonel of a militia regiment (a regiment that had no arms!)—that I was bringing over my regiment, with the negroes of Warren Parish, to help take the city. This false report was telegraphed all over that region, and all over the United States, for aught I know; and thereupon the white people in the city of Yazoo, and every other city and town for seventy-five or a hundred miles around, armed themselves and made ready to march at a moment's notice. Talk of our defending ourselves! Why, if a thousand colored men were armed, each with a good Winchester rifle, we might be able to stand back a crowd of bulldozers for a time, but what of it? The telegraphs to carry the news, and the railroads to bring the men, are in the hands of the white people; they would pour in upon us by thousands, and in twenty-four hours not a man of us would be left to tell the tale. That is what makes the colored people cowards.

Q. That is why it is impossible for the colored people to defend themselves—because all the surrounding country, and the methods of transportation, are in the hands of the whites?—A. Yes, sir; and the arms.

The white people of the State of Louisiana have a better standing army to-day, they are better armed and equipped to-day, than ever before since Louisiana has been a State.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Do you mean that they are as well armed and disciplined as during the war?—A. More and better; they have got more guns to-day than when the war was raging; if you dont believe it, you can go down there, and then you will believe it.

Q. How do you account for that?—A. They have got rifle companies, officered in due form, with captains and lieutenants——

Q. I mean, what do they want of this standing army? For what purpose is it organized?—A. To preserve and defend the State, they say.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Are the arms furnished by the State?—A. They are furnished by the government of the United States to the State, and the State furnishes them to the companies; that is, to the State militia. And there are more outside the State militia than there are of the State militia.

Q. What is this general arming of the white people for—to enforce these outrages at the ballot-box, or in view of possible complications with the general government?—A. In order to carry out their devilishness whenever they want to, whether against the general government or the colored people. They are funny people, down there in Louisiana; as I heard one of them say once, they believe in preparing for war in time of peace. They are thoroughly armed and equipped. There is not a store in the parish in which I live that has not a breech-loading Springfield rifle or a Winchester rifle, or some other first class gun; and many of them more than one.

Q. Whom do they expect to fight with these weapons?—A. That depends upon the demands of the occasion. Whenever they want to put a negro down, they generally put him down; whenever they want to carry a largely Republican parish for the Democratic ticket, they take their guns and go in and carry it. If they can carry it without whipping somebody or killing somebody, they do it; if somebody has to be whipped or killed in order to carry it, the whipping and killing is done. That is a matter of record.

Q. What is the condition of the colored people through the State as to making a living?—A. Well, sir, the colored people of Louisiana can make a very good living in time of peace; up to the time of this exodus they were many of them making an excellent living.

Q. Do you think that they would stay there if they could have peace and the enjoyment of their political and personal rights?—A. They have now no faith that any of their promises would be carried out.

Q. But *if* this just and kind treatment were to be carried out, do you still believe that it would be best for the negro to remain in the South?—A. I still believe that it would be best for the negro to remain in the South. The South is glory for the negro; it is heaven for the negro. He can make more money in the South than anywhere else; he can raise cotton, raise rice, raise sugar, corn, which he understands how to cultivate, and accumulate wealth. But, as I said before, it is impossible now to make a negro believe that he will be protected. Not all the lawyers in America can make them believe it. I have tried to convince them of that very thing, but their answer to me is, "That is too thin; that has been tried too often; we have got nothing for it; promises won't go down any more."

Q. How is it in the courts; have you any knowledge of that?—A. No, sir; I have not; I do not deal in the courts.

Q. You told us, I think, that you would give us the reason why you did not see the governor when you went to New Orleans?—A. When I went to New Orleans, from the fact that the constitutional convention had got Governor Nicholls out of power, a very bitter feeling existed between Governor Wiltz and Governor Nicholls. There was a faction in New Orleans calling themselves the Anti ring Party. I saw some of the Anti-ring leaders. They said to me, "It is of no use, Murrill; you cannot do anything; the election comes off to-morrow." I got to New Orleans on the 1st of December—on Monday, I think it was. At any rate the next day was election day. They said to me, "Nothing can be done now; to-morrow is election day." There were some things said which I do not care to mention as the reason why I did not go and see Governor Nicholls.

Q. Do you know of anything more that would tend to throw light on this question?—A. I want to state this. While we were discussing this question of leaving Louisiana as a cure for the evils that we suffered under there, one colored man, whom we had always looked upon as an ignorant man, made this statement as a reason why we should leave Louisiana; because from 1866 to 1875 there had been killed in Louisiana 2,141 black men, for political reasons, simply because they were Republicans and differed from the Democratic party; that there had been wounded during the same time and for the same reason 2,115, making a total of 4,256 killed and wounded; that is, from 1866 to 1875. In this estimate—I should not say estimate, for these statistics were the result of actual count of the lives lost in various massacres and murders—was not included the murders in Tensas and Ouachita Parishes; the killing of Dr. Dingree in 1876; nor of Eton Lockwood, in Concordia Parish, in 1878, at the last Congressional election; nor of Hyams Wilson, nor Wash. Ellis, nor John Robinson, nor Charles Carroll, all in the parish of Concordia; nor of seventy-five others; nor yet those in Tensas Parish in 1878; nor of Doctor Smith; nor of William Hunter; nor David Armstrong. The last of which I have spoken was that of those killed simply between 1866 and 1875.

Q. About how many were killed in Tensas Parish at the last election?—A. At the last election—the very last election—about seventy-five; some say one hundred and twenty five, but it was, at the very least calculation, seventy-five.

Q. Since 1875, the last year included in that estimate of which you have spoken, is it true, or not, that a general system of outrage has been carried on, continuing all the time, in some part of the State?—A. Yes, sir; ever since the colored men have had a right to vote.

Q. How do the people of the South—the Democrats—generally regard the right to vote?—A. I have had leading, intelligent Democrats say to me that no negro had a right to vote; that it was a damned outrage; that they were ignorant, and had no right to vote. I think this is the opinion of the most of the white people. Since this exodus has commenced, and gone on until it begins to look as though it would cut down the Congressional representation of the South, unless the census takers just appointed can manage in some way to keep up the population, they begin to think that the negro ought to vote. They did not want to lose their representation in Congress.

Q. During the days of slavery, the white people of the South owned the negroes, and of course owned the avails of their labor; do they still regard this as their right—merely their right—of which they have been robbed, and which they may regain as best they can, or not?—A. I can illustrate that in no better way than by saying what a Democrat said to me on one occasion, some time ago, "If ever we get possession of the national government we will get pay for the negroes we have lost; they had no right to come in and rob us of our property that we had worked hard for."

Q. Do you not think that they actually believe they have been wronged, and that if by cheating they can get the avails of negro labor, they will get only what they have a right to?—A. Yes, sir; I have no doubt that is the way they look at it.

Q. They do not regard it as wrong, as they would to cheat a white man, or prevent him from even the avails of his labor?—A. No, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Mr. Murrill, where were you born?—A. In Louisiana.

Q. How old are you?—A. Thirty-three years last February.

Q. How long have you been a member of the legislature?—A. From 1872 to 1876; in 1876 I did not run; I was re elected in 1878, and served till this year. The year I didn't run for the legislature I was appointed to office by Governor Nicholls as inspector of weights and measures.

Q. You are in office now, are you not?—A. Not in any State office; I am in a Federal office.

Q. You have not been out of office for a single hour since 1872, have you?—A. Yes, sir; I have been out of office for a single hour.

Q. How many hours?—A. I have been out of office; but it is a fact that as a general rule I have been in office since 1872.

Q. And still you think that Louisiana is a bad country for negroes to get their rights?—A. Yes, sir; it is a bad country for negroes to get their rights when these bulldozers come into a place.

Q. Well, you have not been bulldozed out of an office for the last eight years. How many times have you been elected to the legislature?—A. I will answer the first question first; I was never bulldozed out of office until last December.

Q. But you were bulldozed into another one, at the hands of the Federal Government?—A. No, sir.

Q. How many times have you been elected to the legislature, in this God forsaken country, where a colored man has no rights?—A. I was first elected in 1872.

Q. That is once.—A. I was elected again in 1874.

Q. That is twice.—A. I was elected again in 1878.

Q. That is three times. When again?—A. That is all.

Q. You have served in the legislature three terms?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And was appointed by Governor Nicholls to what position?—A. Inspector of weights and measures.

Q. What position do you hold now?—A. A petty position in the custom house.

Q. You have held five offices in eight years?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And still, you think, and conscientiously say on oath, that Louisiana is a bad country for a negro to get his rights?—A. Yes, sir; I think, and conscientiously say on oath, that any country where white men go around whipping and killing negroes, is a bad country for a negro to get his rights in. And that is the general feeling, and that is the reason why they have pretty much all concluded to leave.

Q. I am not speaking of the rest now, I am asking about you.—A. Very well; I only spoke of others because I have felt the public pulse, and know how they beat. I am ready to answer any questions you may ask me, individually or collectively.

Q. Just now I am wanting to see how badly you have suffered yourself; so I will take you individually, for the present. What is the position you hold now?—A. I hold a post as night officer in the custom-house.

Q. How much are you paid?—A. Fifty dollars a month.

Q. That is six hundred dollars a year?—A. Yes, sir; six hundred dollars a year.

Q. You are now thirty-three years of age?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. At twenty-five years of age you commenced holding office, and have been holding office ever since?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, in regard to some other points. You live in Madison Parish, do you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you not state to Mr. Burns here, or to some other gentleman in his presence, that you expected to come to Congress next year, or soon?—A. O, no.

Q. Did you not speak about being a candidate for Congress?—A. I may have done that; but I did not say that I expected to come to Congress.

Q. Do you expect to come to Congress?—A. I do not.

Q. Then why are you talking about it?—A. I suppose I can talk about what I please.

Q. Yes, sir; and swear what you please, too.—A. I shall not swear anything but the truth; I do not take oath on falsehood.

Q. But if you talk what is false, are you not aware that it tends to give rise to a little suspicion as to what you say on oath?—A. I do not remember saying to any gentleman those words.

Q. Mr. Murrill, did you ever see that gentleman?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know this gentleman?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know Colonel Baxter, of Texas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been here?—A. Since about Friday week.

Q. Since you came here did you not meet these three gentlemen, and perhaps another, in the rotunda and tell them that you wanted to see me?—A. Yes, sir; I did. And I will tell you why. I had a speech in my pocket that you had delivered in regard to the fresco on the wall there. I stated to those gentlemen that I had in my possession a speech which I considered one of the best I had ever read; and I said I would like an introduction to Senator Voorhees, for I considered him a very able man, although we differed in politics.

Q. Did you not state, in the course of that conversation, that you were opposed to this exodus and would like to give me some points upon which I might draw you out?—A. No, sir; I did not say that. I said that I *was* opposed to this exodus up to a recent time.

Q. Did you not tell them that you were opposed to this exodus *now*?—A. No, sir; not *now*.

Q. Did you not tell them that you wanted to give me some points on which to draw you out?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are you quite sure of that?—A. I am quite sure of that.

Q. Then you were joking, or blowing, or whatever I may call it without giving offense, when you were talking about being a candidate for Congress this fall?—A. I do not remember saying anything about that. I may have said something on the subject in a joking manner, but I do not remember it now.

Q. Do you not remember talking on that subject?—A. I do not remember even speaking on the subject at all.

Q. Did you not tell Mr. Burns here when you were going to get your check cashed that you intended to be a candidate for Congressman?—A. I do not remember it.

Q. If you did say it you were simply "gassing;" is that it?—A. If I said such a thing as that I may have meant it; but I don't remember saying it.

Q. Did you not also say that you stood well with the white people down there, and did not like to see the State and community slandered?—A. I said nothing about "slandering." I said I stood well with the white people of that community; and I say so now. I stand well except with the bulldozing portion of them.

Q You live in Madison Parish?—A. No, sir; not now—not since they run me away.

Q. Since you got a position elsewhere?—A. I said since they run me away.

Q. It is a pretty good thing to be run away into a Federal office, is it not?—A. The men that run me away did not give me a Federal office.

Q. Were you a member of the Kellogg legislature, so called?—A. No, sir; that is the legislature that I was not a member of.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Raby?—A. George T. Raby?

Q. Yes.—A. I am slightly acquainted with him.

Q. He edits a paper in New Orleans; what is the name of his paper?—A. It is the New Orleans Observer.

Q. How does he stand down there?—A. How do you mean; politically?

Q. I mean as an individual.—A. He stands pretty well in New Orleans, where he lives, so far as I know. I have not been in New Orleans very much. I know they elected him to the emigration convention held there in New Orleans.

Q. Did you not tell Mr. Burns that about three days before you came up here, Governor Pinchback cowhided him on the streets of New Orleans, and that nobody would believe him under oath?—A. O, no, sir; I did not say that. I did not suppose that private conversation I had with Mr. Burns would come up here in committee.

Q. I presume not.—A. I said that Governor Pinchback had caned Raby on the street in regard to an article that he had written in which he said that he would not believe him under oath. This article appeared in his paper; afterward Pinchback met Raby on the street and caned him.

Q. Did you not say, yourself, that you would not believe Raby under oath?—A. No, sir, I could not; because I always regarded him as a gentleman, and a man of truth.

Q. You spoke something of Henry Adams' Association, into which they refused to admit politicians.—A. Pardon me, I did not name Mr. Adams; I said there was an association of that kind.

Q. Do you know Mr. Adams?—A. Somewhat; I have known him for the last twelve months.

Q. Do you know of his having an association?—A. I know of an association of that kind, said to have its headquarters in that part of the country.

Q. And you are too much of a politician to get into it?—A. Well, they never did let me into it, that is a fact. It seems to be a sort of Christian association; I think a Baptist association; the most of them that belong to it are Baptists, I understand; I am not a Baptist; I don't belong to the Baptist Church, and never did, and don't suppose I ever will. But four-fifths of the colored people down there are Baptists.

Q. Do you mean to be understood as saying that the Hon. J. Floyd King, of the House of Representatives here, was the leader of the bulldozers?—A. I mean to say that the Hon. J. Ross Stewart, of Tensas Parish, told me that Gen. J. Floyd King, as acting commanding general of the fifth district, led the bulldozers that came into his parish—the parish of Tensas.

Q. You say that the people of Louisiana have a military organization equal, if not superior, to anything they ever had before, even during the war of the rebellion?—A. Yes, sir; I say that the people of Louisiana are better armed and equipped to-day than ever before, to my knowledge, since it has been a State. First, there are the militia, organized under the constitution and law of the State; second, there are the "regulators," as they are called.

Q. You say that you, yourself, have been an active politician, and your record shows such to have been the case; you were elected to the legislature in 1872, 1874, and 1878; and during the term of the legislature when you were not in that body, Governor Nicholls appointed you inspector of weights and measures?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you have had no trouble in your parish until recently; this last year the trouble commenced?—A. This last year we have had trouble.

Q. You had no trouble until then?—A. We had no trouble in that parish; but in the adjoining parishes they had.

Q. I am speaking of your own parish; in your parish you had no trouble until last fall—no bulldozing, killing, whipping, or anything of that kind?—A. No, sir.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. And that is the way you came to be elected to office—because you happened to live in a parish that had never been visited by bulldozers?—A. Yes, sir; and I would have been a member of the legislature this time, but for the bulldozing in that parish.

Q. What has been the Republican majority in that parish, during these years—before the bulldozers came in?—A. Twenty-five or twenty-six hundred majority, or a fraction over that.

Q. How many votes did the Democrats have?—A. About 255; for years there has been over 255; the Democrats never have polled, have never been able to poll, four hundred votes in that parish since the war.

Q. Then up to this last year it has not been a bad place for a Republican colored man to live, in Madison Parish, Louisiana?—A. Of course not; it would not be a bad place for us anywhere in Louisiana if the bulldozers would let us alone.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You say there is no hope for the negro down there, and that they ought not to stay; when do you propose to start yourself?—A. I do not propose to start.

Q. Do you not expect to leave also yourself?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you not expect to go to Kansas?—A. No, sir; nor to Indiana either.

Q. Have you got your place picked out?—A. No, sir; but I shall not go to the coal regions. If I go at all, it will be to California, or somewhere.

Q. You expect to leave Louisiana?—A. In time; whenever I feel like it.

Q. You will not probably feel like it, so long as you hold your position in the New Orleans custom-house?—A. I do not expect to hold that position long.

Q. Not longer than the 4th of next March, I suppose?—A. If the Democrats should happen to carry the next election, I shall have plenty of company in leaving Louisiana, I can assure you.

By Mr. **Blair**:

Q. Do you own any property in the parish where you did live?—A. I have sold pretty much all, and I am trying to sell what little is left.

Q. You never expect to return there to reside?—A. No, sir.

Q. Should you have remained there except for this violence?—A. Yes, sir; I should have made it my home for the balance of my days.

Q. Then, by this process, you have been really driven away from the place which you had selected as a home, where you expected to spend your life?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you any property in New Orleans?—A. A little.

Q. Have you any property there except what was derived from the sale of that which you abandoned?—A. Yes, sir; a little. I manage to support myself independent of office; I can live without office.

Q. You expect very soon to go out of the State?—A. Yes, sir; before long.

Q. You would not have had this office in New Orleans but for the fact that you had been expatriated from your home?—A. No, sir; I am very sorry that my conversation with these gentlemen has been misrepresented and misinterpreted; they have gone to work and fixed it up to suit themselves. When I said I wanted to get acquainted with Senator Voorhees, it was not——

The **Chairman**. O, never mind about that, there has been no harm done.

The **Witness**. But there *is* harm done. It has been made to appear here that I have attempted to scandalize Mr. Raby; that I said nobody would believe him under oath. What I said was, that Raby charged Pinchback with that. Raby and myself do not agree in regard to politics, but personally we are friends. I do not know anything against him as a man. I would not make such an assertion as that unless I was ready to back it. I am very sorry, however, that I ever said anything about the trouble between him and Mr. Pinchback, even in private conversation.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES M. FOSTER.

Washington, D. C., *April* 3, 1880.

Col. **James M. Foster** sworn and examined.

By the **Chairman**:

Question. Colonel Foster, where is your residence?—Answer. Shreveport, Louisiana, parish of Caddo.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. About thirty-seven or thirty-eight years.

Q. What has been your occupation there?—A. That of planting, before and since the war.

Q. You planted with slave labor before the war?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What labor supply have you had since the war?—A. From freedmen, as they are known in that country; negro labor mainly.

Q. What per cent. or proportion of your people that you had before the war have remained with you since?—A. With me personally, do you mean?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. But a very small per cent. of them; they all broke up immediately after the surrender and became scattered; some of them returned and some did not; I have been supplied mainly from others.

Q. Others in that vicinity?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many people do you hire on your plantation?—A. My brother and myself plant both on the river and in the hills on the river near Shreveport, and in the hills lying back fifteen or twenty miles from the river. On the plantation on the river we employ from three hundred to four hundred working hands.

Q. Will you state somewhat in detail your system of working?—A. We have several ways of working, just to suit the laborers. A good many of the hands on our place own their own mules; we let them have the land for a three-fourths interest in the crop, we retaining one-fourth for the use of the land, paying taxes, furnishing houses, wood, &c. We also keep up the plantation, gin-house, &c. That is one way. Another way is to give them one half the crop, and retain the other half for the use of the land. In this case we furnish everything except the food of the laborer. Another way is to hire men for wages. When we hire in that way, we pay as high as fifteen dollars a month—one-half at the end of every month, and the other half when the crop is made, not gathered. In every case we furnish house room, wood, water, &c.

Q. When you pay fifteen dollars a month do you furnish house-room, rations, &c.?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is, board and lodging?—A. Certainly.

Q. For themselves and families?—A. No; for the working hands themselves.

Q. If the families get anything outside of that they pay for it?—A. Of course.

Q. Do the women and the partly grown children get employment also?—A. Yes, sir; anybody that can work or that will work can get employment.

Q. Is there any trouble about sober and industrious men, women, or children getting employment if they desire it?—A. None in the world. There is a great demand for labor, and generally a scarcity of it. They can get employment anywhere.

Q. Do you mean to say, then, an industrious colored man can lay up money in Louisiana?—A. I mean to say this, that an industrious colored man can lay up money on the Red River and not work more than half the time.

Q. What obstruction is there, if there is any, to a negro laborer getting along as well there as laboring people generally in other parts of the world?—A. I think they can do better than in any other part of the country. And then, as to climate and soil, there is no comparison. They are adapted to the country and climate; they are healthy on the river bottoms, the malaria does not affect them as it does white people.

Q. Are the wages you have been paying—fifteen dollars a month, with house room and fire-wood and rations—the customary price of labor in that part of Louisiana?—A. From twelve to fifteen; a good many planters in our part of the State pay only twelve dollars.

Q. Do you know a man by the name Henry Adams, from that parish?—A. I do, sir.

Q. What is his standing in that community?—A. Well, Adams is a sort of politician there, I think. He has had a good deal to do with politics in the country. I suppose he labors some on a plantation sometimes; I think he has worked on my plantation.

Q. Politicians, white or black, are not a success as laborers on a farm, are they?—A. They are not very desirable, as a general rule. Adams, I believe, is a pretty good cotton-picker. In the fall some of them make two or three dollars a day. That is a business in which they can utilize the labor of the larger children; those ten years old and upward.

Q. And the women folks?—A. Yes, sir; almost anybody can pick cotton.

Q. Since this investigation commenced it has been advised here, or I have read, I am not certain which, something about somebody who had left your place and gone to Kansas, and had become dissatisfied with Kansas and returned. Please state whether you have had any experience of the sort; and, if so, what it was, and how extensive.—A. Last spring, the spring of 1879, there was considerable feeling in our section in regard to going to Kansas; I think more on this plantation than anywhere else, notwithstanding they were doing well there. They partly quit work. I insisted on their working out their contracts—starting their crops. The end of the whole matter at that time was, that but one man left. I refused to give him rations, and he left. I insisted on their remaining till fall, till the crops were gathered, and I told them that as soon as the crops were gathered I would afford them every facility for packing up and getting away. This arrangement was mutually agreed upon. About the last of December, 1879, about eleven families left that plantation, the largest number that left any plantation in Northwestern Louisiana. It is called the Liberia plantation.

Q. Eleven families left, you say?—A. Yes, sir; making thirty working hands, and between fifty and seventy-five persons in all. I believe it was not more than two weeks before I got a dispatch from one of the men, asking me to help him get back. In a few days more I commenced receiving letters, and that went on until I had received fifteen or twenty letters on the same subject. In the end, to make a long story short, four of the families returned; they were able to get back. The heads of all of these families are present here in this room at this moment. Three more have asked me to help them return, and one of them has written me that he is coming back. He has not come back yet, however.

Q. That makes eight out of eleven families that have come back or are about coming back?—A. Yes, sir; eight out of eleven families. The other three I have not heard from directly; the other three I think bought land there.

Q. Four of the eight have already returned?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And three others have asked for assistance to get back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you be able or willing to furnish them assistance?—A. I had plenty of labor, and I did not feel like advancing the money necessary to bring them. One of them I thought of helping, but he did not want to come as I wanted him to. He wanted to hire a car to bring his mules and wagons. I wrote him that if he would sell them up there I would advance him the balance of the money necessary to bring him back. These negotiations are necessarily slow. They have been going on since about the 1st of February.

Q. Have you talked with any of these men, and learned what reason they assign for desiring to return to you?—A. I have talked with some of them; I never talked with them much before they went away, because it would have been of no use; they were bound on going.

Q. I speak of the reasons they assigned for coming back—not for going off.—A. They say that they met with great hardships up there; that it was too cold for them; the seasons up there do not suit them; they do not know how to raise the crops they have up there; as they express it, some of them, they could not make a living up there. From their standpoint, from the way of working that they had been accustomed to, I do not suppose they could.

Q. Who are the men that returned from Kansas who are here now?—A. Henderson Alexander and Wash. Walker.

Q. You spoke about the three remaining families, that you had not heard from, having plenty of money; that they had bought places there in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did they get plenty of money?—A. They made it on the plantation.

Q. Do you know anything of any disturbance that the Democrats have been engaged in, such as he spoke of here?—A. I did not hear his testimony; I never have read it, only fragments of it, as reported in the Associated Press dispatches.

Q. What outbreaks, if any, took place in Caddo Parish last year?—A. In 1878, I believe it was, was the Caledonia riot; at the election in the fall of 1878. I do not remember any troubles there in 1879.

Q. There were no troubles there in 1879?—A. I cannot call to mind any.

Q. Were such people as plantation laborers engaged in the Caledonia riot?—A. The plantation laborers got involved in this way: Perhaps the politicians were at the head of it, as there are politicians generally at all these polls. The deputy sheriff, whose official duty it was to preserve the peace, got information that the negroes had armed, or were arming. There were but few white people at Caledonia; there was a number of large plantations around there, and the population consists mostly of negroes. The sheriff got information that there were arms in certain houses, and went there, in his official capacity, to inquire into it—or started to go, and a posse with him, when they were fired on.

Q. By whom?—A. By the negroes in the house.

Q. Was that proved on trial?—A. Yes, sir; I was not present at the time; but that was the evidence of the deputy sheriff, and those with him. A man named McNeill was shot. While on this subject I would like to state, in regard to the colored men who went to Kansas from my plantation, that the two men who are here present carried off with them about fifteen hundred dollars in money.

Q. The families that left you?—A. The two men that are here present. The eleven families took off, as nearly as I can ascertain—I cannot state exactly, because they marketed their own produce to a considerable extent—they took off about seven thousand dollars in money and about three thousand dollar's worth of personal property; they took off some twenty head of mules, eight or ten wagons, &c.; that is what I mean by personal property. What with their families and their effects, there was quite a caravan of them, and they created quite a sensation when they passed through Shreveport. The total value of what they took with them, money, and personal property, could not have been less than ten thousand dollars. The negroes working on my plantation owned in their own right over a hundred head of mules. The most of them worked on the first system I spoke of.

Q. What profit could they make yearly working in that way?—A. Many of them made from five hundred to one thousand dollars a year. But they were pretty extravagant, and generally spent the most of it, otherwise they would have bought out all that country directly.

Q. There has been a good deal of talk here about white people cheating the colored people. I do not mean that anybody has said that you cheated your men.—A. O, I expect they would say that.

Q. There has been a great deal of talk of that kind in regard to others—in regard to the white people down there in general. Do you know of any system or practice by which the colored people are cheated out of their wages down there?—A. There is no such system; there cannot be. Here is the security against anything of that kind; the demand for labor down there is greater than the supply; and with the scarcity of labor, and the demand for labor, a planter who practiced any such system as that would soon lose his hands. Negroes can move like anybody else; when they are not properly used in one place they can go to another; they have gone off and left me, and left themselves in debt to me, before now.

Q. If they are not well used at one place they can go elsewhere?—A. Yes, sir. In fact, there has been a great deal of dissatisfaction about that very thing; sometimes one planter will hire another's labor in the midst of the season; and the negro will go off to a neighbor's place and get employment, and that stirs up bad feeling between the planters; they do not think that is right. A does not think it right that B should hire his labor--a laborer who has gone on and partly made his crop.

Q. Therefore you say that the employers, as a class, are moved by interest, if not moved by any better motive, to treat their laborers fairly? —A. If they do not do so they will lose their labor, and be the sufferers themselves. Somebody else will get the labor, and they will find themselves with crops on hand, and no means of caring for them.

Q. You spoke of a deputy sheriff that was shot, or shot at, upon the occasion of the riot to which you alluded; was he killed?—A. No, sir; he was not killed.

Q. What were his politics?—A. Republican.

Q. Was he a colored man or a white man?—A. A white man.

Q. Are the negroes in the majority in your neighborhood?—A. Yes, sir; largely in the majority there and all along the river. That is a river precinct.

Q. If there is anything in addition to what you have already said in regard to your labor system that you would like to say I would be glad to hear it.—A. I might say that the negroes generally do their own trading; they have their own mules; in many cases they market their own crops; in our place last season they marketed over six hundred bales of cotton.

Q. What was paid for that cotton to them?—A. The amount they realized for it?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. About thirty thousand dollars.

Q. They sold cotton to an amount that brought them in about thirty thousand dollars?—A. Yes, sir; and outside of that I had settlements with them; I would sell the cotton, and give them an account of sales, and settle by giving them the amount due them.

Q. After they had marketed six hundred bales of cotton, bringing them in about thirty thousand dollars, you marketed some cotton in which they had a joint interest with you, and accounted to them for it? —A. Yes, sir. On that plantation, last season, they realized, in cash, somewhere between thirty and fifty thousand dollars.

Q. What year was that?—A. This past season—1879. Besides that they raised considerable corn.

Q. To what extent did they raise corn?—A. About one acre of corn to five acres of cotton.

Q. Was that more than they wanted for their own use?—A. They aimed to make what they wanted.

Q. To make their own bread?—A. Yes, sir; and to feed their stock.

Q. What stock?—A. Of all descriptions; principally their mules; and besides that, they own a good many cattle and hogs.

Q. Did they raise their own meat?—A. Not a sufficient supply; they had not the facilities. Some of them raise it, in the main.

Q. But they do not, as a rule, make their own pork?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nobody, in that region of country, make their own pork in full?—A. No, sir; we get our pork supply from the West.

Q. In that respect, the negro does as the white man does?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They have their cows for milk and butter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They raise poultry?—A. Yes, sir. I might add that some of them own land.

Q. How about their being schooled—the people that are on your plantation?—A. They have a church on the plantation that is used also as a school-house; I pass it frequently, and see the school in session; I saw the school in session when I passed it the day I came away. They have public schools, and, I think, private schools; I know they are abundantly able to employ a private teacher, and a good one.

Q. Have you a system by which the teachers are supplied and paid by the public—out of the public funds?—A. Yes, sir, in the State. I am not well acquainted with particulars as to our parish especially.

Q. How many months in the year is school kept in your parish?—A. I cannot answer that exactly; I know the school is generally in session.

Q. The year round?—A. Mostly the year round; eight or ten months at least. I only observe it as I pass the school-house occasionally.

Q. Then the children are by no means denied an opportunity of obtaining an education?—A. O, no, sir. I do not mean to be understood as saying that the public school is kept open ten months in the year.

Q. Do they have any religious services?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there any restraint in the preaching?—A. No, sir.

Q. I think our friend Adams spoke about some of the colored people being required to forego some of the privileges of the Gospel?—A. I do not know anything about that. I know that some preachers came to that place from thirty miles away; they preach whenever they please and wherever they please. In fact, it disturbs me a good deal—not the preaching exactly, but the night services in the quarters, their praying and shouting and singing, and so on.

Q. Of course you must have some difficulties with your people in the courts sometimes?—A. Very rarely. I think I never had but one suit with a negro in all my life.

Q. And you have been planting how long?—A. I was raised there, partly, and have been on the plantation ever since.

Q. You have been planting over thirty years?—A. About thirty years.

Q. Do you know of any cases of men being denied their just rights in the courts on account of their being colored men?—A. I do not.

Q. Do they serve on juries?—A. O, yes, sir. I have served on juries with negroes.

Q With negroes?—A. Yes, sir. There are negroes on most of the juries there.

Q. In the State courts?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have no Federal court?—A. We have in the State, but not up in that country.

Q. You have no separate Federal court for the north part of Louisiana?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you yourself have served on a jury with colored men?—A. Yes, sir; often.

Q. On the trial of what kind of cases?—A. Civil and criminal cases, both.

Q. On the trial of white men and colored men, both?—A. Let me see: Yes, sir; I have been on juries with both; on the trial of white men and colored men.

Q. Do colored men sometimes sit as jurors on the trial of white men for criminal offenses?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. And on the trial of each other?—A. Yes, sir; white men try colored men, and colored men try white men; the jury is generally mixed, no matter who is being tried.

Q. Are there any colored lawyers in your parish?—A. I do not know that there is a colored lawyer practicing there now.

Q. Do colored men go on the grand juries in your parish?—A. Yes, sir; often.

Q. And on the traverse juries?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If you know of any distinction that is made between colored men and white men, either in the trial of their rights, or in the selection of jurors, or in any other way, I would be glad if you would state it.—A. I do not know of any; I do not mingle in public affairs much; I have never been an officer—I never held an office in my life; I do not know of any distinction or injustice on the part of the white people of my section toward the colored people.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. **BLAIR**:

Q. Is Louisiana your native State?—A. No, sir; I was born in Alabama.

Q. How long have you resided in Louisiana?—A. Since 1842—thirty-eight years.

Q. As you are addressed by a military title, may I ask if you were in service during the war?—A. I was not; that title is gratuitous.

Q. It may be deserved, however. You now reside in Shreveport, I think you said?—A. I have been living in the vicinity of Shreveport about ten years.

Q. How long have you been on Red River?—A. The same length of time, about ten years.

Q. And all the time you have been on Red River you have been in the vicinity of Shreveport?—A. Yes; in the parish—Caddo Parish. I have resided about twenty-five miles from Shreveport, in what is known as the hill country, on the borders of Texas.

Q. Have you resided in the northwestern part of Louisiana ever since you have resided in the State?—A. With the exception of two or three years, I have.

Q. Your active business life has been chiefly spent there?—A. Yes.

Q. You are a planter?—A. Yes.

Q. How large an area of land do you and your brother—I believe you spoke of your brother as being in business with you—control?—A. Three of us together have some nine thousand acres or land on the river, and some hill land.

Q. Including the hill land, what would be the whole amount under your control?—A. We had about three thousand acres of hill land, but we have sold some of that to the colored people.

Q. Well, it would be about twelve thousand acres altogether, in round numbers, would it?—A. Yes.

Q. Is the great mass of land in Louisiana owned by planters, gentlemen like yourself?—A. Yes; the bulk of it is.

Q. About how many of these planters are there. I do not know that that is a very definite question; but what proportion of the valuable land, the land which is cultivated in your section of Louisiana, is owned by planters?—A. What proportion?

Q. Yes; of white men who conduct the business of planting on a large scale.—A. Well, some of the land is owned by merchants; I have not the statistics; it would only be guess work if I should give you figures. There are three classes of men who own the land; the planters own the majority; the merchants own some land that they have advanced on and got possession of.

Q. Taken by way of execution for debts?—A. Yes, sir; and the balance is owned by colored people.

Q. Is that balance a very small proportion of the whole?—A. Yes, sir; a small proportion.

Q. How is the population divided between the races; are there more white, or colored people in your parish?—A. There are more colored people in Caddo Parish than white people.

Q. What is the mathematical proportionment between the two races, should you judge?—A. I think that the colored proportion in that parish is something less than two to one.

Q. Nearly two colored men to one white man?—A. Yes; in the neighborhood of that.

Q. You are very thoroughly acquainted throughout the parish, I take it?—A. I cannot say that I am, because I have never been in any public position at all.

Q. But I do not mean that you have a personal acquaintance with all these people.—A. No; I know of more than I know personally.

Q. But you have had occasion to go through or over your parish and you know the lay of the land and the location of the people?—A. Some portions of the hill country I have been over, and some portions I have never been in.

Q. But you know its general characteristics?—A. Yes; I think I do.

Q. How many colored men do you personally know of who own land?—A. Well, it would take me some time, as I said before, to get at that; the proportion is very small, however.

Q. Do you suppose that one acre in a hundred is owned by colored people?—A. No; I do not think as much as that.

Q. One in a thousand acres?—A. Very likely as much as that—yes, more than that.

Q. Possibly one in a thousand, you say?—A. Yes; we have sold several hundred acres ourselves to colored people.

Q. During the last ten years, do you mean?—A. Mostly during the last five years.

Q. Have you known of sales made by others to colored people?—A. yes, sir.

Q. How many sales have you and your brother personally made to these people?—A. I think to six or seven families on our lands.

Q. You say seven families on the river lands; now what amount have you sold?—A. About forty acres to each.

Q. That would be about two hundred and eighty acres in all?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that is the amount of land to which the negroes have acquired title from you and your brother, out of the nine thousand acres, during and since the war?—A. Yes.

Q. In what amounts have these lands been conveyed?—A. About forty acres to a family, on the river; on the hills land is not worth as much, and they have bought from one hundred and fifty to two hundred acres.

Q. In what section of the country are these sales usually made?—A. In both; but the majority of sales have been made in the hill lands, because of their cheapness, and a family can buy more there than they can on the bottom lands.

Q. What was the price in the several purchases they made of forty acres each?—A. From fifteen to twenty dollars an acre.

Q. And they have been able to make purchases in the vicinity of six or eight hundred dollars?—A. I did not say that they have been able to do it.

Q. Well, this is what they have made?—A. Yes; but I think they can buy more.

Q. But as a matter of fact they have not bought more?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you noticed on the part of the colored people a desire to obtain lands, and come into possession of homesteads?—A. Some desire, of course, because I have sold them land.

Q. Yes, that must be so in the case of those who have obtained land of you; but have you observed generally an inclination amongst these people to become possessors of homes?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you think the colored people as a race generally desire to own land, and are anxious to possess their own homes?—A. I do not think the colored race is very enterprising; that is, the majority of them. I do not think they make money enough, particularly in the hill country, to buy lands and pay for them.

Q. As the result of their labor and the way in which they spend its proceeds there seems to little left, but you attribute that result rather to their improvidence than to a lack of industry, do you not?—A. It is both a lack of industry and then an improvidence in spending what they make, either before or after they make it.

Q. For the whole period of time that has elapsed since the colored people in your vicinity were emancipated down to the present time, what has been the result of emancipation to the race; has the race improved or otherwise?—A. In what respect?

Q. In all respects socially, and in reference to their personal habits and their prospective condition; are they going up in the world or down in the world, or remaining about as they have been?—A. I think the habits of the freedmen are improving; they are getting more industrious and more economical; they are learning more and more that they have got to work for their living, and that they must provide something to live on.

Q. Taken as a whole, do you think they perform the actual amount of labor they did before emancipation?—A. O, no; I do not think half.

Q. You do not think they perform half the labor now that they formerly did?—A. I know they do not. I can illustrate that. I am satisfied that, on the plantation we own, I could work and make the same with one-half of slave labor—with one-half of the number that I now employ. I know that I could do that, because I know what I did make with slave labor, and I know what is produced now. It does not matter to me how many hands are employed, only so that they do not get in debt to me, and are able to pay what they owe me, and thus make something for themselves too. My view is, that to keep my labor I must make my planting a success to them as well as to me, for if I do not it will ultimately fail to be a success to me. And there is twice the amount of labor on that plantation now, in proportion to the land cultivated, as there was before the war.

Q. That is, twice the number of hands?—A. Yes; three to four hundred hands out on the river would make ten bales of cotton to a hand, while now they do not make more than four to five.

Q. Would you find on each individual plantation as large a proportion of women and children before the war as you find now—that is, have the colored men more generally families?—A. I do not see much difference; they have families now and had then.

Q. Before the war had you a larger supply of laborers brought from Virginia and elsewhere; did you import more labor then than you do now?—A. Well, there has been considerable labor brought from Virginia since the war—from Virginia and Alabama mainly.

Q. But it comes voluntarily now?—A. Certainly; the planters go on and get them; labor is scarce in that country since the war, and they go on and get them and induce them to emigrate.

Q. I got the impression from what I have heard that there is a larger demand for labor in your part of the South than generally exists in the South?—A. I do not know as to that.

Q. You spoke of going to other portions of the South and bringing their labor to Louisiana?—A. That is confined to the Red River country, principally, and in those States, perhaps, the land was poor and labor could thus be induced to migrate.

Q. The land is quite as fertile as in other portions of the South?—A. Yes; the lands are fertile and well adapted to the growing of cotton.

Q. What are the principal articles that enter into what you would call the necessaries of a colored man's family?—A. For subsistence, do you mean?

Q. Yes; what does he eat, and what does he wear?—A. A great many hands on my place buy their own provisions and clothing.

Q. Well, I meant to ask what the articles are that they need and generally use?—A. Corn meal, flour, sugar, coffee, bacon, &c.—mainly these.

Q. And this plantation of yours is how far from Shreveport?—A. From five to ten miles.

Q. There are several of them, then?—A. We call it one plantation.

Q. Do the lands join?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. These nine thousand acres, then, are substantially in one body?—A. Yes.

Q. But the location of the laborers is scattered here and there?—A. Yes; they are in settlements scattered about over the land for two or three miles.

Q. And the supplies that they consume are taken to these little villages or hamlets where the colored men reside?—A. Certainly.

Q. And they are brought there from Shreveport?—A. Yes; from Shreveport mainly.

Q. Through whose agency are the supplies furnished?—A. I advance to them when they are not able to supply themselves, but the majority of them do it themselves; they buy directly from the merchants in Shreveport; some of them have credit there and run annual accounts.

Q. Now, what grade of flour does the negro usually consume on your plantation?—A. I do not know about that; I only know that I see them hauling flour out there; they are like white people, and a little fastidious in taste, and many of them have as fine flour as others; they are their own judges about that.

Q. And you do not know particularly about that?—A. No, sir; I have not observed that particularly.

Q. Have you had occasion to furnish these supplies and to know what they have consumed?—A. Certainly; I do furnish some; I have furnished some flour, I suppose.

Q. At what price was the flour sold?—A. Of course I have two prices; I have, as I have said, established very recently a store of my own on the plantation.

Q. Well, won't you give us the particulars in regard to the way this is done?—A. I have a young man who does all the buying and selling; I have not myself time to attend to that. I instruct him in his cash prices to sell at a little over the Shreveport prices so as to cover the cost price and carriage and leave a very small profit after that. In his credit prices, of course, we have more—I think about 25 per cent. on flour, or perhaps 30 to 35 per cent.

Q. More than for cash?—A. No; not in addition to the cash price, but that much over the cost price; of course when we sell for cash we have enough to cover the first cost, and the transportation.

Q. The transportation from Shreveport is by wagon, I suppose?—A. By wagon when the roads are not very bad, and at other times by the Bayou (which makes up into the river) by water; we send around in a few hours by a flat-boat.

Q. How long have you had this store?—A. Only since December.

Q. This last December?—A. Yes.

Q. And very little has been done as yet through your store?—A. We have just established it.

Q. Where they do not pay you a cash price your profit is twenty-five to thirty per cent. above the cost in Shreveport, you say?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, what is the cost of flour in Shreveport?—A. Well, as I said before, I am not very familiar with prices; I have a young man in the store who does all that business for me.

Q. You buy it, however?—A. Yes, sir; I have bought, but I do not keep the run of prices.

Q. It would come to you as a wholesale transaction?—A. Yes; I pay cash; I do not buy on credit. I think that flour is now about six dollars and a half to seven dollars a barrel in Shreveport—although I do not keep posted particularly on that.

Q. That is about what you pay?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you know anything about what the colored people pay for flour that they purchase in Shreveport?—A. I do not know only this, that they can buy a single barrel of flour in Shreveport as cheaply as I can.

Q. You do not know to what extent they do it, however?—A. No; I know they buy a great deal.

Q. What does corn cost them in Shreveport?—A. I believe it is now from three dollars to three dollars and fifteen cents a barrel.

Q. What does it cost on the plantation?—A. As I have sold it through the store on twelve months' time?

Q. Is it on twelve months' time that you sell it?—A. Yes; whenever we get the crops ready for the market in the fall of the year.

Q. What would it amount to with the usual percentage of twenty-five to thirty per cent.?—A. Well, at that rate I would instruct my young man to sell it at four dollars a barrel.

Q. That would be thirty-three per cent.?—A. Well, we pay from three dollars to three dollars and twenty cents a barrel in Shreveport; it varies, of course, as freights advance or diminish from Saint Louis or the west to Shreveport; and then there is the transportation and cost of carriage.

Q. Do you know anything of the quantity and of the various kinds of food that a colored family consisting, say, of a husband and wife and four or five children, consume in the course of a year?—A. Well, they can consume a great deal or they can do with a little.

Q. Have you not some idea of the average cost of it?—A. I can tell you what is necessary.

Q. But do you not know what they actually consume?—A. When they get it from me I can tell, but otherwise I cannot tell; I have no means of knowing.

Q. You have some families with five or six children, have you not?—A. Oh, yes; and some families with as many as ten or twelve children.

Q. Can you not tell us, approximately, what these families consume?—A. The rule I adopt is to advance them about two hundred pounds of meat a year, and meal in proportion, and, of course, to hands that get along well, and that I see have a good prospect, I advance also flour, sugar, coffee, and some clothing.

Q. Well, how have the accounts come out in the final settlement; how has the balance stood?—A. It has always stood in favor of the hands, as I stated a while ago; they marketed six hundred bales of cotton from our place, and their interest in that crop amounted to from thirty thousand to fifty thousand dollars in the aggregate.

Q. Can you not give it more closely than that?—A. I cannot; as I said some of them run up accounts in Shreveport.

Q. Well, take the accounts that are carried on wholly with yourself, the families that you deal with yourself. What was the net balance coming to the help?—A. I would have to have my books and go over them in order to answer that. You will understand that my books are kept by a young man I have on the plantation; he writes up the books and makes the settlements, and calculations on the crop. I get an account of sales and turn it over to him and credit the hands on the one-half or three-fourths system, as the case may be.

Q. How much do the hands earn on the plantation? I would like, if you can give it, to know about what the net balance was that was due to the hands who worked for you on your plantation?—A. Well, take the eleven families that went from my plantation to Kansas—I paid more attention to what they got, because since their return I have felt some curiosity to know how much money they started away with.

Q. I do not see how that will help me in the direction of my question. They took an aggregate of money that represented what they had saved since commanding their own wages; what I wanted to know is how much there was left upon your books as due to your labor at the close of last season when as you say the entire interest that they had in the crop was from thirty to fifty thousand dollars?—A. You will understand the impossibility of approximating to that when I tell you that we begin to work about the first of December, and just as soon as the gin-houses are put in operation (I have three gin-houses on my plantation, two of them being run by steam), we hire then from two to three hundred extra hands, and a great many of these laborers on plantations hire their own hands and settle with their own hands. For instance, a man will make thirty bales of cotton, and he will take out from that four or five bales; they are brought up to the gin-house and in a few hours ginned out, and he takes them to Shreveport. I will perhaps retain one, and he takes the other three and goes down to Shreveport, sells the cotton, and comes back and settles the balance he owes me;

this settlement is about the 10th of December, the picking begins in the latter part of August, and by the 1st of December the gins are started and then these settlements are made nearly every day with some one or other, and they run on through September, October, November, and December—four months. Now, I pay no attention to what they get in the aggregate except that I know how many bales of cotton each one has made, and I know what his account is. And as I said, in some cases I take part of the crop and sell it for the laborer, and settle with him. In another case one has rented the land for so much money, and he will take the crop and go to town with the first installment of his crop, say, four to six bales, and come back and and pay me the amount he owes me on the books. He will perhaps rent his land for so many bales of cotton, or so many acres of land for so much money; in either event he will take the crop and go to town, and I know that he will pay me, and if he does not pay me out of the proceeds of his first installment I know that there are other installments to come on of that crop; and in that way this settlement by different systems running through four months of the year makes it impossible for me to tell you how much each has received; I will state this, that I have paid them a good deal of money, several thousands of dollars in the aggregate.

Q. Can you give an explanation that will show us the profit that comes to the laborer as the result of his year's work? You have given us some idea of it when you say that few of them save anything; but you attribute that to their improvidence?—A. I do not say that few of them save anything.

Q. I understood you so to say.—A. No; on the contrary, they own three-fourths of the mules and wagons on the plantation.

Q. How many would that be?—A. Between one hundred and fifty and one hundred and seventy-five.

Q. How many hands, men, women, and children, are upon the plantation—these nine thousand acres, I mean?—A. But you must remember that only a small proportion of that is in cultivation.

Q. No; I did not understand that that was the case; but assuming that to be so, how many colored people have you of all classes upon the plantation?—A. In the aggregate from three to four hundred that go to the field and labor.

Q. And there would be in addition to these that labor in the fields, their children and those that were not able to labor?—A. Of course; some of them.

Q. But how many hands, men, women, and children, do you have on the plantation?—A. That labor in the field?

Q. No, the entire number as you would go to take a census of them? A. I estimate the number to be from nine to twelve hundred; this year it is more than it has ever been before.

Q. From nine to twelve hundred?—A. Yes.

Q. And they own one hundred and fifty mules?—A. No; I say there are from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy-five mules on the plantation.

Q. Well, how many do the negroes own?—About one hundred and twenty-five mules; I suppose three-fourths of them.

Q. What else do they own that is there on the plantation?—A. Stock, cattle, and a great many of them own milk cows.

Q. How many cows are owned by the negroes on this plantation?—A. I have no idea; I think one of these men who left had perhaps twenty to thirty cows when he went to Kansas, but he sold out his cattle; I saw him driving them to town.

Page.

- Hughes, J. B., merchant, Shreveport, La 134
  - Peaceful relations between races in Louisiana 134
  - Negroes hold office, serve on juries, &c 134
  - Wages paid in Louisiana 134
  - Merchants' dealings with negroes 135
  - Riot in 1878, how many killed 135
- Irwin, George S., printer, North Topeka, Kans 313
  - Printing done for relief association, by whose order and checks 313
  - Injudicious for negroes to come to Kansas 315
  - No law in Kansas excluding colored children from schools 315
  - Republican school commissioners in Soldier Township refused to admit colored children 316
  - Who are the business people of the association 317
  - Opposed to the exodus, why 318
  - White people of Kansas prefer white immigrants 318
- Johnson, A. S., land commissioner, Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad, Topeka, Kans 116
  - First white child born in Kansas 116
  - Concerning destitution of the exodusters 116
  - Their desire to return South 117
  - No demand for their labor 117
  - Description of the barracks in Topeka 118
  - Negroes huddled and crowded there 118
  - Where supplies come from 118
  - Number usually in barracks 119, 125
  - The railroad sends those who wish to return, free to Kansas City 119
  - Kansas people generally opposed to exodus 120
  - About the first shipment to Kansas 120
  - Governor St. John's expressions on the subject at that time and now 121
  - Concerning the poverty of lands on the frontier 121
  - Impressions of the negroes concerning government lands 122
  - An increase of exodus will make much suffering, &c 122
  - Demoralizing effect of contributed aid 122
  - Influx of excess of pauper laborers causes dissatisfaction among the working classes and provokes hatred against the negro 123
  - Reports of exodusters concerning causes of immigration 123
  - Where the negroes came from, and number of 124
  - Where white immigration comes from 124
  - Their temperate habits better than whites 125
  - His impressions concerning the negro resolution in platform of Republican party in Kansas 125
  - About the barracks having been torn down 126
  - Governor St. John opposed by his own party, whisky and anti-exodus men, because of the negro question in politics 126
  - Laboring people of Kansas opposed to Chinese 126
  - Opposition of people to pauper negro immigrants to Kansas, a mere question of humanity 127
  - City government and mayor of Topeka, Republican 127
- Johnson, Joseph P., farmer, assessor for Natchitoches Parish, La 219
  - About disturbances in the parish 219
  - Tried in United States court, New Orleans, for what 220
  - Wages to negroes, laborers, mechanics, &c 220
  - The exodusters who went away and returned 220
  - Peace and quiet reigns "salubrious" 220
- Kennedy, Absalom H., lawyer, Oxford, Miss 449
  - A Republican, native of Mississippi 449
  - Ill treatment and social ostracism of white Republicans in that State 449
  - Scalawags defined 450
  - Anti-Union sentiment of the people expressed 451
  - Negroes do not have a fair chance 451
  - Average of population and voters 452
  - Intends to exodus, why 453
  - About high prices, wages, and schools 454
  - Injustice in the courts 454
  - Penal offenses; article 24, on larceny, and chapter 57 of 1871, Revised Code of Mississippi 490
  - Laws of 1876, section 4, concerning modified hiring out and punishment of convicts 491

Page.

Laws of 1871, concerning adultery, &c.; relating also to intermarriage of 493
races 493
Is a Republican—and about bulldozing 494
Intimidation of himself and others on account of politics 495
Why negroes do not resist outrages 495
Military organizations in the State, and purpose of them 496
About cheating at elections, officers of, &c 497
No conviction of Democrats by juries of same politics 497
The opposite when Republicans are involved 499
About subpœnaeing his brother 409
Knox, John D., Topeka, Kans 409
A director in relief board 409
Report of moneys received and expended 410
Extract from finance report of Kansas Freedmen Relief Association 410
Purposes of the same 410
Reasons given by negroes for exodus 410
None going back; inducements held out to them 411
The Nicodemus and other colonies in Kansas doing well 411
About the diverting bureau at Cairo 411
About the uses of negroes in politics 412
All Republicans on the relief board 412
The other States than Kansas to which they ship negroes 412
Wants the exodus to Kansas to slow up 267
Lamb, Dr. J. B., editor Democratic paper, Parsons, Kan 268
Concerning the exodusters who arrived there 268, 278
The reasons given by the negroes 270
The number that returned South 271
Reports of individual cases concerning complaints, &c 272
The unreliability and character of the negroes' stories 275, 281
Concerning the promises in Governor St. John's letters and circulars 274, 281
Rev. Mr. Duncan's (colored) complicity, &c 275
The invitation object of the Freedmen's Aid Association 275
The standard doctrine and reports of Republican press in Kansas 276
The inducements that caused negro emigration from Texas to Kansas 276
Deceptions practiced on the negroes 277
Is a freesoil Democrat without prejudice? 278
His opinion based on information gathered from exodusters 279
Concerning his representations and imitations of negroes' doings and actions 280
Concerning Governor St. John's disavowal of authorship of letters 280
Witness's charges against the Republican party for causing the exodus 282
Concerning Governor St. John as a politician 283
Where the circulars were printed, &c 283
About the shyness of certain exodusters in interviews concerning the objects of the movement 284
Politics of exodusters 285
Believes the negroes were trained to tell certain stories, complaints of bulldozing and outrages 286
Deprivation of schools in Texas a cause 286
His testimony refers to exodus from Texas only
Lane, V. J., editor Patriot, Wyandotte, Kansas 325
First negro immigrants who arrived in Kansas 325
No affiliation or association by old resident negroes with exodusters 326
How the first batch was disposed of 327
About their deception and the vigilance committee at Wyandotte 328
Mathewson, Angell, State senator, Parsons, Kans 431
Negroes arrived at and returned from Parsons 431
Reasons given by them for exodus 432
No employment for or given to them 432
McFarland, North Carolina, Republican lawyer, Topeka, Kans 220
An incorporator and director of Freedmen's Relief Association 221
Gravity of the exodus question 221
Increase of negro immigration not desirable 221
What the association has done to relieve distress, &c 221
Comparison of wages for labor in Kansas and South 222
Excessive charges made by Southern merchants in dealings with negroes 222
Wants the tide of negroes turned to Indiana 222
Does not wish to make distinction on account of color, only with regard to self-sustaining power of immigrants 222

Page.

McHenry, E. A. J., Macon, Miss 499
- Republican office-holders, revenue receivers, chancery clerks 500
- Causes of the exodus from his section 500
- Intimidation of negroes there, and suppression of the exodus 501
- Letter from Pettus (negro exoduster) from Macon, depicting evils of Kansas 502
- Letter from Senator Maxey concerning the success of negro immigrants to Texas 502

Mills, Edward S., grain-dealer, Atchison, Kans 28
- Republican member of city council 28
- No demand for negro laborers 28
- Shipped exodusters to country places 29
- Not adapted to labor in Kansas 29
- How the first shipment came, and character of the negro 29
- Republican opposition to the negroes in Republican city of Leavenworth 30
- People oppose the exodus, why 30
- Negroes better suited to older States 31
- Why they left the South 32
- Deceptions practiced on them 32
- Concerning lies about alarms 33
- Negroes' complaints, doubts about 34
- "Twenty thousand negroes could do well in New Hampshire" 34
- Idleness of exodusters in Atchison 35

Morris, Richard B., banker, Atchison, Kans 35
- No demand for negro immigrants 35
- Public sentiment against them 35
- How the negroes were brought to Atchison 36

Park, H. C., publisher of Patriot, Atchison, Kans 20
- Two thousand exodusters passed through there 21
- Public sentiment there opposed to their presence 21
- No demand for their unskilled labor 21
- Farmers prefer white laborers 22
- Negro colony in the county, failure of 22
- No knowledge of, but suspects the negroes were brought for political purposes and to swell Congressional representation 22
- Republicans favor and Democrats disapprove the exodus 22

Porter, Charles V., drygoods clerk, Natchitoches, La 239
- Explains how trading is done with negroes 239
- Dishonesty of storekeepers discussed 240
- No race troubles at elections, negroes peaceable 240
- Republican negroes ostracise and bulldose Democratic negroes 240
- Democrats are all good people down there 241
- Concerning political murders in all lands 241

Reynolds, M. W., journalist, Parsons, Kans 295
- Is on the board of an auxiliary relief association to that at Topeka 295
- His observations on the exodus 295
- Does not consider the negroes as paupers 296
- Those who returned South 297
- Condition of negroes when they arrive 297
- Reasons voiced by their representative men for their leaving Texas 297
- Their disposition to work 298
- Suffering from cold, &c 298
- Demand for labor 299
- No politics, or invitation, only humanity in the movement 299
- About the accusation against Rev. Duncan, of embezzlement 300
- The church bounced him 300
- Denies Governor St. John's complicity of using incentives to the exodus 300
- Agents wanting them to return found no encouragement 300
- Exodus would cease if negro got his rights 301
- About the circulars containing false promises of land, stock, &c 302
- The delusions not believed by negroes 302
- Witness a radical Republican 303
- Believes in mixing races, absorbing negroes 30
- Kansas can take many more 30
- Indiana will get many more 30
- The Southern people treat negroes better than Northern people do 30
- The social-equality question nothing to do with the exodus 30
- The Hegira of the Negro, published by witness 301, 37
- Correction of falsehoods contained in its assertions 30

Page.
  Disclaims having had any political object in view in his article........ 305
  Discussion on the political point........ 305
  Concerning the purchase of lands by the association........ 305
  The negroes' stories for effect of receiving charity........ 306
  Cunning of negroes in dealing with people........ 308
  Concerning being cheated and not allowed to vote in the South........ 309
  Concerning stimulus to exodus by charity........ 308
  Verification of circulars from Mrs. Perry and others, and State Relief Association........ 308
Rockhold, Dr. C., Parsons, Kans........ 309
  His knowledge of exodus........ 310
  Grievances and causes reported to him by negroes........ 310
  Number arrived and returned........ 311
  Where the immigration came from........ 311
  Industrious habits of negroes........ 312
  Concerning their expectations in Kansas........ 312
  Complaints by them of ostracism in the South on account of color........ 313
  Efforts by negroes to prevent others from returning South........ 313
Ruby, H. (colored), Oswego, Kans........ 413
  Resided in Texas; attended convention (colored) in '79 in Houston........ 414
  Complaints concerning application of laws, punishments, excessive fines, outrages, &c........ 414
  Hiring out of convicts........ 415
  Landlord and tenant law of Texas, concerning tenants selling produce........ 416
  The custom of making contracts and selling seed cotton........ 416
  Obstacles interposed against negroes buying land........ 416
  Outrages perpetrated on the negro (Skull Creek colony)........ 416
  Why negroes fear to buy lands in Texas........ 417
  Bad treatment of colored women in Texas........ 417, 427
  No political troubles there now........ 418
  His letters to and from Governor St. John........ 418
  Reasons for inducements offered to negroes to exodust........ 419
  Negroes on juries, schools, courts, &c........ 420
  What class of people control elections........ 421
  Military companies and uses........ 421
  "Cow boys" not political organization........ 422
  Witness was a Greenbacker........ 422
  Article 3009, revised statutes of Texas, on jurors........ 423
  Law of hiring out convicts, chapter 10........ 424
  Execution and misapplication of laws complained of........ 425
  About stealing of the school fund........ 426
  How he was bulldozed........ 427
  Negroes have same grievances in Kansas as in Texas........ 428
  Intends to return to Texas........ 429
  Hunting convicts with bloodhounds, what the dogs are........ 429
  Laws concerning the return of escaped hired convicts........ 430
  By whom fines are assessed........ 431
Sears, T. C., attorney of Missouri, Kansas and Topeka Railroad........ 160
  No feeling against the negroes on account of color........ 161
  People object to swarms of paupers........ 161
  Vague ideas of the exodusters concerning Kansas........ 161
  Dispersion of them among the people........ 161
  Disastrous results if the movement does not cease........ 161
  Number of colored immigrants to Kansas during last year........ 162
  Self-sustaining immigration welcome........ 162
  Suffering among exodusters, why........ 162
  Witness a Republican........ 163
  Climate influences severe in Kansas on negroes........ 163
  Political antecedents of Kansas........ 163
Shepherd, J. H., Shreveport, La........ 188
  Lawyer, inspector of schools of Caddo Parish........ 189
  No discrimination in color in school privileges........ 189
  Negro teachers, standard of qualification........ 189
  Defalcation of Republican officers having custody of school funds........ 190
  Schools in Caddo Parish........ 190
  Improvement in quality, &c., of education........ 191
  Comparison of facility, disposition, and capacity of whites and blacks for securing education........ 192
  No prejudice against public schools........ 193

Page.

- Races living harmoniously together 193
- Fourteen colored men in legislature of Louisiana 234

Singleton, Benjamin (colored), Singleton Colony, Kansas 379
- History of the colony, location, &c 379, 384
- How many negroes he fetched out 379
- Their success and prosperity 380
- The grievances of his race 381, 382
- "The Southern country out of joint" 381
- Where he sent his circulars 382
- "I am the whole cause of the Kansas immigration" 382
- Employment of and disposition of exodusters to work 383
- "Negro like a hog, used to being in a drove" 383
- All confidence in Southern promises perished away 383
- No way of stopping exodus except by stopping abuses 384
- Governor St. John did not send circulars 384
- "I am Pap Singleton," "the father of the exodus;" "I love everybody" 384
- Never encouraged people to come unless they were provided to live 385
- Birthplace, slave, &c 385
- Wages and treatment of negroes in Tennessee 385
- Voted Republican and Democratic ticket in Tennessee; why 386
- Charters and certificate of incorporation of his colony in Kansas 387
- Visited "Hurryana," (Indiana), when a fugitive slave 388
- Prices of land in Tennessee and Kansas 389
- Democrats in Kansas as good as anybody to his people 389
- No Democrats on board of relief 390
- His negroes depend on their own resources 390
- Negroes get justice in Tennessee, but many don't know when they have it 390
- Republican speakers told colored people "they would be put back into slavery if Democrats got into power" 391
- Democrats cursing negroes about suffrage 301
- Negroes scared without cause 391
- Testimonial of character from various persons 391

Smith, Green (colored), Atchison, Kans 223
- An exoduster from Vicksburg, Miss 223
- Doing well in Atchison, good wages, &c 224
- Invitations to come to Kansas 224
- Complaint about not having been paid for work in Mississippi 224

Solomon, H. C., city attorney, Atchison, Kans 22
- History of refugees who came there in 1879 23
- General opposition by the people and Republicans to the movement 23, 24
- Concerning no demand for this kind of immigrants 24
- City ordinance against their importation 24
- Republicans and Democrats composed the meeting 24, 27
- How the negroes are employed 25
- Their pitiful condition and no improvement 25
- The immigration obnoxious and increasing 26
- Worse off in Kansas than in the South; why 25
- Negroes not disposed to work there 27
- Number of them loafing about 27
- Supported by charity and as vagrants 28
- An anti-slavery Democrat 28

Stanton, H. H., Topeka, Kans 96
- Condition of refugees arriving there 96
- Conversations with them 96
- Their reports of ill treatment not verified 97
- How many returned to the South 97, 99
- A picture that was given a negro in the South representing the home that would be given him in Kansas 97
- Reasons why negroes cannot do well in Kansas 98
- Prevalent sentiment in Topeka opposed to the exodus into their State 98
- Political condition of Topeka and Kansas 98
- Number of exodusters in Topeka 99
- How money and clothing are distributed by the aid association 99
- A species of bulldozing in Kansas 100
- The barracks built by the board 100
- Objections to the exodusters coming to Kansas 103
- Permanent loafers wanting to live on politics 103
- Concerning the Republican mayor, Case; why Democrats voted for him 103
- Colored immigrants had better go to older States 104

Page
- Character of farm work in Kansas unsuited to negroes 104
- Senator Blair's invitation for 20,000 negroes to settle in New Hampshire.. 104
- Citizens of Kansas, no objection to self-sustaining immigrants 105

Stringfield, Dr. F. M., Topeka, Kan 329
- Concerning the first meeting at the opera-house for charity and organization of State Relief Association 329
- Effect of presence on white immigration 330
- The movement in hands of preachers and politicians 330
- Encouragement of exodus by circulars 330
- Discouragements against negroes returning South 331
- Governor St. John's political position 331
- Design to decrease the census of the South 331
- Class of voters in white immigration 332
- Class of voters in negro immigration 332
- Object of the movement political 332
- Cruelty and neglect of poor negroes; sketch from Daily Capital, Topeka. 333
- Concerning Mrs. Perry's connection with the aid association 333
- Concerning Mrs. Comstock's connection with the aid association 334
- Republican paper; statements concerning misrepresentations in her circulars 334
- Relief association interposed obstacles to return of exodusters to the South 360
- The fund not to be used to keep negroes in the State against their will.. 360
- Governor St. John's position and speech on the negro question reviewed. 361
- Circular headed "Come" issued by negroes 361
- Circular "Ho! for Sunny Kansas," issued by Benjamin Singleton, colored. 362
- "Kansas as the Utopia," by Mrs. Perry 363
- "The exodus" 365
- Why these statements induce negroes to come 366
- "A letter of great interest to emigrants" 368
- "The refugees in Topeka" 369
- "Employment bureau, Kansas Freedman Relief Association" 371
- "The hegira of the negro" 372
- "The exodus" 376
- "And still they come" 377
- "Mrs. Comstock's letter to Nixon" 377
- "An insult from the governor of Indiana" 377
- "A noble response" and report from the Inter-Ocean, Chicago 378
- Mrs. Comstock an advisory member of the board 379

Stubblefield, Louis (colored), planter, Bolivar County, Mississippi 517
- Greater demand for laborers than supply in Mississippi 518
- Effect of short crops 519
- Innocence and credulity of his race 520
- About Collins, the swindling agent for the Liberian scheme of colonization 520
- The Kansas movement 521
- The school system, privileges, and operations 522
- Witness a school commissioner on board with whites 522
- Why Mississippi is better for negroes than anywhere else 523
- Concerning ill treatment of his race 524
- Value of land owned by negroes in Mississippi 525
- Industry of whites and blacks compared 526
- Private schools 527
- Witness is county treasurer 528
- Negroes hold offices there from United States Senator to constables 528
- The riot in Coahoma County 529
- Swindling of negroes by negro emissaries 530
- Prosperous Northern men who settled in Mississippi since the war 531
- Deceptions practiced upon his people by agents from Kansas 531
- A tree that grows lard and bread 531

Tandy, Charlton H. (colored), Saint Louis 36
- About the first arrivals of refugees in Saint Louis 36
- What was done for them 37
- Memorial of citizens of Saint Louis to Congress 38
- Stories of negro exodusters; cases of outrage 39
- Signatures; politics of names appended to memorial 41
- Affidavits of negroes to outrages from—
  - Ed. Parlor 43
  - George Rogers 44

Page.

- Jet Gibbs 45
- Winn 46
- Pollard 47
- Childs 48
- Brown 49
- Daniel 50
- Parker 51
- Woods 52
- Marshall 53
- Watts 54
- Stevens 55
- Massey 56
- Weeks 58
- Cummings 58
- Wallace 59
- Leonard 60
- Jones 61
- About circulars sent South 62
- Article from New York Tribune on "Causes of exodus"; itemized bills.. 63
- Contracts between D. O'Brien and Louis Woods 64
- Contracts between William Riley and Montgomery Sons 65
- Specific causes stated concerning the exodus 65
- Bulldozing of voters and outrages 56, 66
- Concerning the chastity of negro women 67
- Reasons why the women want to leave the South 67
- Interferences by whites in the South to prevent exodus 68
- None wanted to go back 68
- Judgment as to the future migration 69
- Complaints in Kansas about "inundation of paupers" 69
- How Democrats can gain the negro votes 69
- Complaints concerning convictions and punishments of negroes as being penal, which is slavery in another form 69
- Discrimination in execution of laws 70
- Killing of the "Page boys"; why 70
- His evidence all from hearsay testimony 71
- Opinion concerning mayhem of Whittaker, cadet at West Point 71
- Senator Voorhees's opinion on West Point 71
- How long witness was chairman of relief board 72
- About Turners' and other aid associations in Saint Louis 73
- About Dixon's misappropriation of the funds of the Aid Society 73
- Prince's denunciation and card against Tandy (colored) in National Tribune 74
- Denounces Prince and Prentiss as liars 75
- The religious part of his testimony cut short 76
- Concerning injustice to negroes in all sections 76

Thomas, L. D. (colored), Minden, La 206
- Reasons Henry A. Adams wanted him to go to Kansas 206
- Colored people get along well if they behave themselves in Louisiana....
- Colored people serve on juries 207
- Reasons for exodus and alarm of whites 208
- Negroes going because they were told they could do better in Kansas.... 208

Tomkies, L. L., Shreveport, La 335
- Planter; statements concerning system of working tenants, &c 335
- No discrimination in any respect in Louisiana 335
- Productiveness of soil and employment of freedmen 336
- Negroes easily susceptible to influences of miscellaneous persons 337
- Black labor the best, and best protected in the South 337
- Complaints of negroes being cheated reviewed 338
- Employment for all in that section 339
- Should be more economical and industrious 339

Twine, W. M. (colored), Baptist minister, Atchison, Kans 318
- People of Kansas not pleased with and don't want the exodusters to come there 319
- Suffering among this class of immigrants 319
- Alarm at the movement; its political phases, &c., considered 320
- A Democratic candidate for office once 322
- When blacks were not allowed to vote in Kansas 322
- Who brought negroes as slaves to America 323
- New England slave-holders 323

Page.
"Not enough Republicans in heaven to get up a rebellion" 324
Bulldozing of negro witnesses by Washington negroes, to prevent them from testifying properly 324
Bulldozing of Democrat negroes in Kansas 325
Vinson, R. T., Shreveport, La 330
  Planter; how he employs labor 340
  About the "Kansas fever"; its result 340
  Wages and tenants 341
  Peaceful elections 341
  Who gets the money the negroes earn 342
  Planters run all the risk 342
  How much "a hand" can work 340
  Freedom a good thing for all parties 343
  Comparison of white and black laborers 344
  Improvement in condition of all people 345
  No instances of violence toward negroes 345
  The negroes have more protection than the whites 346
  Good treatment of slaves; why 346
Waters, B. J., lawyer, Fort Scott, Kans 1
  Number of exodusters arrived there 1
  Their poverty and condition 2
  Absorbed by the community 2
  No hostility against their coming to Kansas 2
  Complaints of exodusters, causes of, &c 3
  Where they came from 3
  Their presence does not create any sensation 4
Wears, Isaiah (colored), Philadelphia, Pa 151
  Occupation and opinions on exodus 151
  Tyranny of whites 152
  Incendiary measures outlined for negroes 153
  Northern people unjust to negroes 153
  The South unwilling to protect the negro 154
  "Survival of the fittest," "Darwinian theory," discussed 155
  Where and how colored people should stay 155
  The process of evolution they are going through 155
  Real position and condition of the exodusters 156
  Republican view of the exodus as a means of escape from wrong that cannot be otherwise righted 157
  Exodus a forced emigration by Southerners 158
  The negroes should stay and fight for their rights in the South 158
  Vacancies filled by Irish and Chinese 159
  Forced exodus used as a remedy for over-population and to get rid of obnoxious elements 160
West, G. C., Topeka, Kans 413
  Reasons negroes gave for coming to Kansas 413
  Destitute appearance of the paupers 413
Wheeler, J. W. (colored), Saint Louis, Mo 4
  About refugees who came to Saint Louis 5
  Number of, arrived there and shipped 5, 12
  Is a tobacco contractor and inspector 5
  Cites reasons why negroes left the South 6, 7
  Their poverty and how they got to Kansas 6
  Wrongs, debts, bulldozing, &c 8
  Statement of negroes about election outrages 9
  Where the negroes came from 10
  Where they were shipped to and how 11
  How they were taken care of in Saint Louis 11
  The exodusters' ideas of Kansas 12
  None return South 13
  Concerning J. Milton Turner's connection with exodus 13
  Why he first encouraged, then opposed it 13
  Assertion and explanation about visit of Mayor Case 14
Weik, J. W., law student, Greencastle, Ind 498
  Demand for negroes in excess of supply 498
  How and where exodusters are pleased and wages paid them 499
Wilmer, Dr. F. A., Dallas, Tex 512
  Causes of the exodus, circulars, &c 513
  Causes of return of exodusters from Kansas 513
  No distinction in school privileges in Texas, but separate schools 513

- Republican and an officer of the State
- Settlement of the State by all colors
- Negroes go to the towns principally
- Topography and fertility of Texas
- The drift of population into the northern belt of the State
- The people prefer white immigration
- School lands; sale of, &c

Wright, A. E. (deputy sheriff), Shreveport, La
- From Ohio; a United States soldier in the war
- Opinion concerning alleged hostility of Southern people to negroes and Yankees
- Vast demand for negro labor in Louisiana
- Universal complaint by debtors of being defrauded by creditors, applies to all counties
- The Caledonia riot, opinion on
- Does not believe in report of outrages

Yerger, Alexander, Rosedale, Miss
- County superintendent; how he understands the school system
- How, and why and by whom salaries were reduced
- School laws and privileges apply equally
- The last census
- The exodus from Bolivar County, reasons for
- Wages, prices of merchandise, tenants, &c
- The misuses of public-school funds
- Dishonesty of parties in elections
- Fraudulent returns
- Prosperous and respected Northern Republican residents in Mississippi
- Outliving ostracism and prejudice
- The ballot free to all, no violence
- Relative population of the State
- Colored Democratic voters
- Prices and methods of hiring out of convicts, equal justice to colors
- Split in the Republican party in 1875
- A white convict hired to Senator Bruce (colored)
- About the justice and operations of courts
- Compulsory hiring-law passed by Democrats
- Why he voted for certain Republicans

Zodiac, Herman H., merchant, Minden, La
- No knowledge of wrongs or impositions practiced on negroes in Louisiana
- About extravagant prices charged by merchants for supplies
- How the system of crediting works, risks, &c
- Character and disposal of crops made by negroes
- Effect of failure of last year's crop
- Disastrous effect of excessive crop; why
- Advances and security on crops
- Affidavits from negroes Harris, Warren, Jones, Howard, and Samuels concerning their good treatment by whites
- Affidavit from negroes Hodges, Terrell, and Reed

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